

Institute of Social and Religious Research

CHURCH UNITY MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

H. PAUL DOUGLASS

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Church Unity Movements in the United States

By

H. PAUL DOUGLASS

Author of

"Protestant Coöperation in American Cities,"

"Church Comity," "1000 City Churches," etc.



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INTRODUCTION

The Why and How of the Present Study

An extensive study of *Protestant Coöperation in American Cities*,¹ published a few years ago, discovered an unforeseen degree of interest in the question of a possible union of churches in the United States. The question of union was not directly raised by this earlier study, which confined itself strictly to the narrower topic of coöperation. In replies to its inquiries, however, numerous and widely scattered individuals of many denominations insisted upon expressing ideas concerning more advanced phases of unity. Many were the fears lest the coöperative and federating movement should entrap its participants in an undesired union of churches, or should force union forward to an untimely and premature issue. Many were the hopes that the growing fraternity and coöperation of the churches might constitute a happy omen of progress toward a united church in America. Either way a vital interest in definite unity movements was distinctly revealed. It became obvious that the fortunes of the less ambitious phases of integration were popularly regarded as being bound up, to a considerable extent, with its larger issues. To find a clew to the future of coöperation one must look into the possibilities of the integrating movement as a whole in the light of its final significance.

There existed, then, a demand for a more comprehensive study of unity. In view of this discovery, the staff of the Institute set itself to develop a new and entirely independent project in this field. The project, of which the present book is a report, was authorized in January, 1930, with the writer as director.

More than 20,000 persons all told by direct communication contributed personal evidence to the present study. Not all of them, of course, agreed with the Institute as to the worth of the study. Some called the matter "too silly to bother about" and turned it aside as of no possible interest. Others thought its discussion inimical to the welfare of the church. To be sure, their expressions were usually equivocal. One generally could not be sure whether the objectors regarded the issue as inherently unimportant or merely as untimely. Some evidently were very much afraid of it. Fear is

¹ New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930.

often a most powerful and obsessive form of interest. A residue, however, clearly felt that the Institute was following an unreliable hunch in concerning itself with unity movements.

TIMELINESS AND INTEREST

In view of the somewhat frequent expression of this attitude, it seems wise to put before the reader at the outset evidence gathered by the study as to its own timeliness and current value. This is to be distinguished from the question of the intrinsic or long-time importance of the problem of unity, which we are not in a position to consider at this preliminary stage.

The general fact is that, whether viewed with approval or alarm, issues of church unity have increasing place in the public mind. This is shown by the increased frequency of their discussion in literature, including books, periodicals and the daily press; by the multiplication of scholarly investigations in this field and of courses of instruction in theological seminaries; by direct evidence, secured in other surveys, of opinion confirming the findings of this study; and finally by the widespread creation of new machinery in the churches to deal with unity, and the actually increased functioning of this machinery in negotiations and completed mergers.

Evidence for each of these statements follows. A count of book titles in the *United States Catalogue* by comparable periods from 1903 to the present, while showing a declining ratio of religious books to the total output, reveals an appreciably larger proportion of books on church unity and coöperation in the last decade than in the previous two.² A similar count of articles listed in the *Readers' Guide* of periodical literature, correlated with increase and decrease of circulation, showed a generally upward trend for the period. The author's own count of articles on church unity from forty-two periodicals listed in three indices of periodical literature showed the following numbers by decades: 1900-09, twenty-eight; 1910-19, sixty; 1920-29, seventy-three.³

This is substantial evidence that the subject of church unity is increasingly coming before the minds of the more intellectual classes in the United States.

This increasing interest spills over into the daily press and even commands feature space in the special Sunday editions,⁴ while a representative of the

² Hornell Hart, "Changing Social Attitudes and Interests" in *Recent Social Trends*, Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), Vol. I, p. 377.

³ How these indices defined "church unity" and whether they changed their definitions during the period covered, is not known.

⁴ See, for example, Parrish, "Movements Among Protestants Toward Church Union Gaining", *New York Herald-Tribune*, February 14, 1932.

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Another line of vital evidence is found in new courses of instruction recently springing up in theological seminaries. A questionnaire answered by sixty-six seminaries, the results of which were published in 1929, had shown these institutions doing very little in the way of definite training even in behalf of coöperative movements.⁵ Now in such institutions as Andover-Newton, Boston University, Union Theological Seminary and Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, specific recognition of unity movements is finding place in the curriculum. These are being supplemented by briefer lectureships in other institutions.

Again, almost overnight unity has become an accepted topic in surveys and other first-hand studies relating to the church. Thus, in 1931, 973 New York Methodists answered the question whether too much or too little attention is being given to the trend to church unity. Their answers divided as follows:

Answer	Per Cent.
Too much attention already	4
Problem significant but will ultimately solve itself	27
Problem very significant and deserving of attention	26
Problem extremely significant and deserving very great attention	43

This same group ranked church unity sixth in importance in a list of twelve "widely discussed contemporary issues of the church."⁶

Fresh and immediate evidence of much interest in the topic of church unity is found in the reactions of large religious constituencies to the present study itself. Getting 20,000 individual returns involved enormous labor, and would have been impossible except for the coöperation of numerous religious leaders of all leading denominations. With few exceptions they were interested in the project, willing to discuss methods, and often to aid in the collection of lists of names of representative persons in their denominations whom the study might approach directly. Forty-three denominational publications coöperated with the study in circulating a ballot on church

⁵ Bass, A. B., *Protestantism in the United States* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1929), pp. 278 f.

⁶ "A Survey of Methodist Episcopal Churches in Manhattan, the Bronx and Westchester," Methodist Episcopal Church City Planning Committee, New York, 1931, p. 38. See also *Methodist Christian Advocate* questionnaire, 1931; Jessett, *Survey of Religious Attitudes and Thoughts of a Western Farming Center* (Colfax, Wash.), State College of Washington; Bumpus, *Five Factors Underlying American Protestant Integration*, thesis for doctorate, University of Pittsburgh; Tate, *Educating Children for Church Unity*, thesis for doctorate, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

union. Much of the data of the study was secured by means of questionnaires distributed by mail. These instruments were unusually long and complicated, but in spite of this an unusually high percentage of returns was received from some of them. The study could not have succeeded but for this basis in widespread interest.

A SPECIFIC TEST

One of these questionnaires asked directly, "Are current discussions of church union valuable and timely?" It was sent to persons selected as representative of the more competent element in the American church. The questionnaire offered six arguments or considerations bearing upon the issue and asked those replying to check the two strongest and the one weakest. The replies as a whole are strongly favorable to current unity discussions,

TABLE I—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS ON ISSUES—ARE CURRENT DISCUSSIONS OF CHURCH UNION VALUABLE AND TIMELY?

(Select Church Constituency)

Arguments	Per Cent. of Replies Rating as:		Per Cent. Distribution of Weighted Score*
	Strong	Weak	
It is useless to discuss church union because churches are separated by differences in principle which they cannot conscientiously yield (2).....	2	73	— 28
The ventilation of denominational differences in discussions of church union tends to fix opposing ideas in the minds of those who hold them; whereas differences not debated may become outgrown. (4).....	2	18	— 8
The sense of the solidarity of Christians and of mutual appreciation between churches should be built up in all possible ways; but the divisive issues involved in actual union should not be raised until there is some practical likelihood that such a movement would succeed. (6).....	10	4	+ 4
Whether or not church union efforts are immediately successful, they constitute a convincing testimony to the world that Christians are not satisfied with their present divisions. (1)	[32]†	2	+ 17
The large measure of agreement already reached, coupled with the growth of toleration and the practice of successful coöperation, makes it likely that a few more years of frank discussion will reveal ways by which many difficulties apparently now insuperable can ultimately be overcome. (3).....	[31]†	1	+ 24
Discussions of church union during recent years have strengthened the brotherly ties between Christian bodies and have disclosed basic agreements as outweighing disagreements. (5)...	23	2	+ 19
Total.....	100	100	100
Number of Choices.....	5,199	2,199	...

* Arrived at by weighting for variability and subtracting "weak" from "strong" replies.

† Figures in square brackets indicate arguments most frequently paired as strong.

but this attitude justifies itself more by hope than by any definite conviction that discussions have so far been highly valuable. Table I shows the distribution of answers received from 2,533 persons of this select constituency.⁷

In the arrangement of the arguments in Table I, those most unfavorable to the value of discussion of union are listed first, and those most favorable, last. The weight of opinion is concentrated overwhelmingly on the favorable end of the scale, as is shown graphically in Chart I.

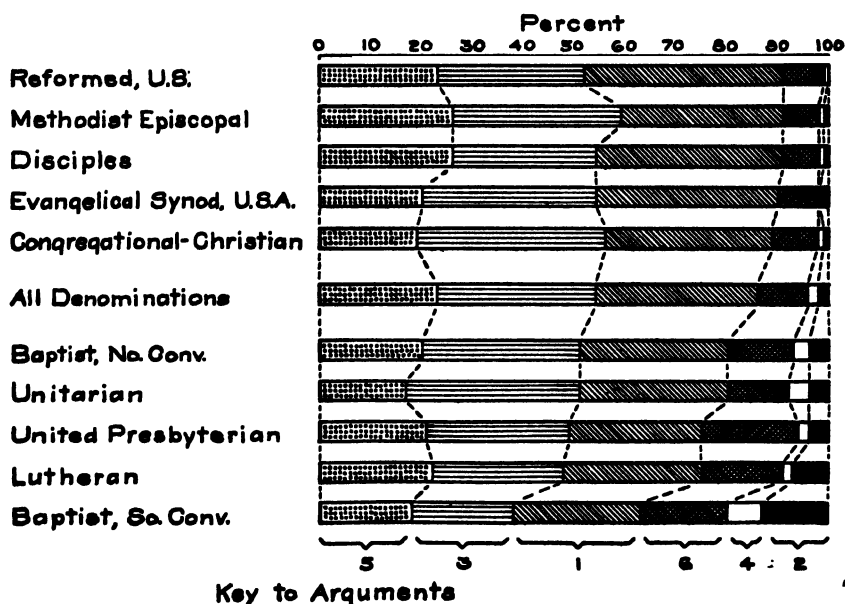


CHART I—ARE CURRENT DISCUSSIONS OF CHURCH UNION VALUABLE AND TIMELY?

Distribution of arguments of 10 denominations compared with that of total select constituency (for arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table I)

This is strong evidence as to the attitude of representative constituents speaking for the more mature element in the church. They do not feel that discussion makes differences more obstinate; nor that differences in principle are beyond discussion. Nearly three-fourths of all replies voted this latter argument as weak. Only a few persons replying would delay discussion because of the fear of raising a divisive issue in the church. The strongly preponderant conviction was that frank discussion may be expected to overcome difficulties to union which now seem insurmountable; and that

⁷ Bracketed numbers following each argument are code identifications by means of which the arguments are referred to in Charts and in the text.

For denominational distribution of sampling see Appendix Table 2; form of instrument, Appendix A; method of securing returns, p. xxxii; and summary of results, Appendix Table 1.

even efforts at present unsuccessful constitute a convincing recognition before the world of the need of unity. Nearly a quarter of those replying say that recent discussion has actually strengthened brotherly ties and has shown that basic agreement outweighs disagreement. The three considerations most favorable to discussion get 86 per cent. of the total vote. What is true of the group as a whole is generally true of the denominations composing it. In the most disapproving case, the three favorable considerations get nearly two-thirds of the votes.

Within this rather limited range of difference, however, a comparison of denominations shows a significant variation in emphasis. Baptist, North and South, Lutheran, United Presbyterian, Reformed Church in America and Unitarian replies give relatively more approval to arguments questioning the value of current discussions, while Congregational-Christian, Evangelical Synod, Methodist Episcopal, Reformed in the United States and Disciples replies are strongest in affirming it. The remaining denominations stand close to the average as it is shown in Table I.⁸

Whatever, then, their differences on other points—and they are many—the overwhelming judgment of all sections of the church emphatically agrees as to the value and timeliness of current discussions on union. This flatly contradicts a minority of individual judgments expressed here and there in the evidence, as well as the attitudes of certain ecclesiastical organs and agencies.

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF INTEREST

So much for formal response to a formal document. Still more significant as evidence was the unexpected flow of communications induced by a suggestion in the questionnaires that anyone who had not sufficiently expressed his opinion was welcome to write further. Such opportunity was taken by several thousands of persons representing an extraordinary range of character and influence, and widely distributed denominationally and geographically. Many expressed satisfaction at being consulted in "so important a subject." Others (assuming that the study was a promotional venture) asked for literature to help the cause along. Very numerous requests were made for additional questionnaires for use in local discussion groups. Still others hoped that the study would itself turn to propaganda: "If you can really start something along this line, *go to it. It is needed.*"

The most widely circulated instrument employed by the present study consisted of a series of eighteen concrete situations or incidents to which response was made by passing judgment on a variety of comments or

⁸ For full statistical data on this questionnaire, see Appendix Table 1.

answers. To each of these incidents was attached one strongly depreciatory comment saying in effect, "The issue involved is of little consequence." Very few replies indeed took refuge in this judgment.⁹ Whatever might have been the attitude toward the discussion of church unity in general, the specific issues involved in actually adjusting churches to one another were almost uniformly felt to be important.

The supreme evidence of increased interest in church unity is found, however, in the recent development of agencies to deal with the matter and in their activity in the immediate past. Virtually all the larger denominations have come to have commissions or special agencies for the consideration of relations with other denominations or for the discussion of general Protestant unification. Feelers are thrown out in many directions. Not a few churches are dallying with the notion of mergers. In a considerable number of cases the stage of formal negotiations has been reached, at least in the verbal sense. It is hard to believe that all this striking change in behavior does not signify anything. Where there is so much smoke, there must be some fire. Some of these movements are set forth in detail in chapter iii. It is in connection with such concrete issues that interest reaches the point of action and becomes decisive. No period of American religious history has seen concern over the divisions of the church coming to the point of effecting actual ecclesiastical changes as have the last two decades.

The above series of evidences amply justifies the verdict of a feature writer for the secular press who says: "Generally speaking, the movement in this generation embraces virtually every Protestant communion. One finds everywhere among Protestant leaders and circles the problem of unity. Church periodicals in this country mention minor angles of the subject frequently. Hundreds of commissions are at work disentangling denominational differences that have arisen since the Reformation. The movement of union and reunion is felt in every part of the world."

The present study, then, is amply justified as an effort to explain the present generation to itself. For some reason the public is giving more thought to issues of church unity than it has in the past. To gather up the major evidence to this effect and to explain the tendency is to contribute to the understanding of contemporary America.

REASONS FOR THE PARTICULAR FORM AND EMPHASIS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

Nearly all of the studies of the Institute of Social and Religious Research have been first-hand investigations of actual phenomena, rather than literary studies of secondary sources. It was taken for granted that the same general method would dominate the present study.

⁹ Chapter xiv.

Certain special considerations, however, governed its particular form and emphasis. Specifically, it set itself to explore a previously overlooked field, namely that of the mind of the rank and file of the American religious constituency.

Now, the record of ecclesiastical discussion of church unity was already voluminous. Each church had its historic platforms and often its recent utterances, the authority of which, for its own followers, was varyingly proclaimed. The representative leaders of virtually the whole of Christendom, except the Roman Catholic Church, had recently met in epoch-making conclave at Lausanne, and had painstakingly recorded their agreements and disagreements.¹⁰ Was not the interest in church unity sufficiently satisfied by such expositions?

The answer was "No"; first of all, because these discussions felt themselves to be inconclusive. Thus, summarizing the Lausanne findings, the presiding dignitary had registered doubt as to the adequacy of the results in the following words:

"The differences which our Reports present are the material for that careful study which must be the new starting-point in our quest. These differences are, many of them, not vertical, dividing Communion from Communion, but rather are horizontal, running through many Communions. They exist as schools of thought within a given Church, not as divisive agencies, but as bearing testimony to that diversity in unity which I believe will be characteristic of the whole united Church. It would be in many instances difficult to pronounce a given position as representing the mind of a given Church. The most that could be honestly done would be to denominate it as representing a school within the Church. In our Reports this has, I am convinced, been given adequate recognition."¹¹

In similar vein the late Dr. Caleb Stetson had written of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States:

"We, too, are divided; we, too, need to be reunited. However definite the church's formularies may be, there are still those who hold divergent theories on the important question of the source of authority. It is fairly evident that there is no clear unanimity in the Episcopal Church at present. How then can we expect those who regard us from the outside to know what we really do stand for and to what we are really loyal? Is not the pressing need, then, for greater unity among ourselves before we attempt to present our church, our tradition, our system of thought, to the members of other communions and ask them to discuss church unity?"¹²

¹⁰ Bate (Ed.), *Faith and Order*—Proceedings of the World Conference, Lausanne and London, 1927.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

¹² Rector's Report, *Annual Year Book*, Trinity Parish, New York, 1930.

Again, suspicions were frequently voiced that ecclesiastical representatives were not always in full accord with the actual thinking of the rank and file of their constituencies. Thus, even a conference on church unity held in 1930 under lay auspices and purporting to reflect a lay viewpoint, came in for this criticism from a leading religious editor:

"One is impressed that much of the approach toward church union is through the ways of the past, from which there is little encouragement. They perpetuate exclusiveness and insist that union shall be founded upon a type of thinking instead of a way of living. The ecclesiastical mind is too history-conscious and much too timid.

"The Buck Hill Falls conference was a great meeting and doubtless of much value to the purpose at which it aimed, but one could not avoid the feeling that it lacked something in bigness of motive for union. The rank and file of the people of the churches to be united have little consciousness of the things which the conference discussed."¹³

Ecclesiastics, in turn, sometimes called rather bitter attention to the deficiencies of some laymen in thinking about the church.¹⁴

How far were these expressions of divergent viewpoint and spirit justified, and how far apart were the leaders and the followers? This the study set itself to determine.

Finally, there was the special case of youth, newly self-conscious and assertive in this present generation. At Lausanne an alleged spokesman for youth had declared:

"It has been my privilege to feel the pulse of youth and study the attitude of youth towards ecclesiasticism in some fifteen countries of the world, and it is stating it mildly to say that youth is plainly apathetic, indifferent toward much of the creedal emphasis of the Church, and is chafing under the restrictions that these inherited forms impose. It is saying to priests and clergymen, 'Why are you so zealous and insistent on perpetuating differences that mean little or nothing to us, when we desire simply to walk in the footsteps of Jesus, to follow the Christ of the Galilean Road and the Indian Road and apply His teachings? Your discussions are largely academic; they are as the grass of the field—green today and parched tomorrow. They are for the passing day, certainly not for eternity.' Youth is praying, pleading, reaching out for a brotherhood of understanding throughout the world, and it urges, and urges rightly, that we provide a practical demonstration of this in our Christian communities."¹⁵

In view, then, of the assertion of a lack of consolidated opinion in denomi-

¹³ Editorial in *The Congregationalist*, Boston, Mass., quoted in the July, 1930, issue of *The Christian Union Quarterly*, p. 74.

¹⁴ Chapter xvi.

¹⁵ Bate (Ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 401-402.

nations, of the suspicion of a possible divergence of views between ecclesiastics and laymen and between youth and age in the church, the present study felt justified in going to great lengths to explore and to emphasize the contribution of the mind of the rank and file. This was in direct harmony with the Continuation Committee of the World Conference. In issuing its material for discussion groups, this committee had declared:

"The next step must be taken, not by five hundred people in a conference, but by the rank and file of the Churches. It is time that they began to *consider*, with the desire to *understand*. Experience proves that real reunion does not come within the horizon of possibility until the rank and file desire it, *knowing why*."¹⁶

MUCH INTEREST—LITTLE UNDERSTANDING

These allegations of the lack of adequate popular thought about church unity, and of the acute need of wider popular discussion, appear at first blush to give the lie to the evidence previously educed of widely diffused interest in the subject. But desultory interest, even though often flaring up spontaneously and easily fanned into flame, is not the same thing as steady interest pressing on to understanding, and does not always lead to collective efforts to understand. Moreover, within a religious population of thirty million Protestants, a bulk of interest absolutely vast might be spread out very thinly.

This paradox actually exists. The explanation is not far to seek. It lies partly in the very incomplete means of diffusing interest that one actually finds. A reading of 1,209 issues of twenty-two denominational periodicals, published during 1931, and well-distributed geographically and ecclesiastically, showed sixty-nine out of every hundred issues without any significant reference whatsoever, favorable or unfavorable, either to church unity or to systematic interchurch coöperation. Silence and preoccupation with other matters was the general rule. Nearly half of all items that appeared were found in six out of the twenty-two papers. In short, such interest as is expressed is highly concentrated. Not once in four issues will the average denominational paper have so much as a word about church unity. The year 1932 made a slightly higher record. Unity was mentioned once in three issues; but eight papers out of twenty-nine still furnished half of all the mentions. Moreover, a large proportion of the articles had reference merely to local or very limited types of union and by no means faced the general issues.

This is substantial evidence of the inadequacy of the church's instruments

¹⁶ World Conference on Faith and Order: Questions for Study, Publication No. 61 (Boston, 1929), p. 2.

for the diffusion of knowledge of unity movements and for their popular discussion. It is substantiated by a recent examination of the religious-education materials of six large Protestant denominations.¹⁷ Judged by their official declarations and actions, these bodies have what may fairly be characterized as a liberal theoretical attitude toward unity. But intensive study of their church-school curricula reveals that the subject is rarely dealt with even abstractly, and almost never concretely in terms of relationships actually existing between denominations today. No knowledge of what is going on in the field of coöperation and unification is being communicated to youth. Only a few definitely unfriendly references to other denominations were discovered, but the situation is characterized by lack of frankness in dealing with the issue and by complete failure to connect the curriculum with the actual positions of these churches with respect to this problem.

Laymen and young people, then, have had very inadequate opportunity to become interested in church union or to express their views. And this goes almost equally for the common, garden variety of minister. The gap between these classes and their ecclesiastical leaders is partly explained by the composition of the agencies which the churches have set to deal with the matter of unity. In an analysis of twelve committees or commissions, with a combined membership of 198 persons whose status was known, two-thirds of the members were found to be clergymen. Of bishops alone—and not half of the churches have bishops—there was one to every two laymen; and there were only six women members out of the 198.

The evidence, then, reveals widely diffused and increasing interest in church unity, but an interest which is very thinly and unevenly distributed and which is limited by great lack of popular opportunity to understand or discuss the theme.

Consequently, in spite of extensive recorded evidence, in spite of the many spontaneous utterances and formal resolutions, in spite of the endless discussions of negotiating committees, one was left in deep uncertainty as to the degree of concern which the modern church attaches to the issue of unity. There remained a whole series of unanswered questions for investigation. What is actually being thought about unity by the rank and file of ministers, laymen and others interested in the church in the modern world? Does the relatively small number of professional leaders who are vocal upon the subject accurately reflect the views of their constituencies or not? Certain partisans had complained bitterly that they were misrepresented by their officials.¹⁸ Do laymen agree with ministers? There was reason to

¹⁷ Tate, *Church School Curricula and Education for Protestant Church Unity*, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

¹⁸ See Hall, *Christian Union in Ecumenical Light* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), pp. 8 f.

believe that some laymen are thinking about the matter in distinctly other and less theological terms than ministers generally affect, terms less technical but perhaps not less vital. Do young people agree with older people on this issue? On many issues they do not. Do the main differences of opinion follow denominational lines or do they cut through denominations, dividing them into more conservative and less conservative wings? It is notorious that the latter alternative is the case in more than one communion, but how is it generally? Finally, on the whole issue, how is the quantity of interest related to its quality? Is it true that "at present, proposals of church union are in the doldrums; nobody actively opposes them, but nobody puts any passion into them"?¹⁹

THE CENTRAL PURPOSE OF THE STUDY AND ITS RESULTING METHOD

CENTRAL PURPOSE

The central purpose of the present study is to answer questions like those just enumerated. It endeavors to lift the issue from the level of generality to that of actual knowledge of popular attitudes and reactions to situations, and from dependence on one-sided impressions to possession of balanced evidence. Description of types of techniques used in the study is to be found in the Appendix. Its method was characterized by the employment of a great variety of approaches. In general, there were three major and parallel processes: (1) the study especially of the recent literature of the subject; (2) the observation of current unity movements; (3) the first-hand investigation of individual attitudes and opinions. Collateral use was made of historical method, sociological analysis and statistics.

The historical and theoretical literature of church unity was studied merely for purposes of orientating its contemporaneous observation. Contemporaneousness, however, was defined so as to cover all data which have entered into the minds of the present generation. Intensive study, therefore, began with 1900. Denominational publications and periodical literature since that date were reviewed, and virtually the entire output from 1930 was read. Of technical books only a working library was used. No attempt to cover the entire scholarly literature of the subject is pretended.

So limited a use of historic and literary background material implied that theoretical discussions of unity were of interest in the main only as related to specific movements, and where one could listen in on them in the literal sense and directly observe the course of discussion. Central concern was focused upon concrete issues as they arose in sessions of ecclesiastical gatherings or were revealed in their recent records. The large number of formal discussions of and negotiations for union in some degree, currently going on

¹⁹ Editorial, *The Christian Century*, Chicago, May 4, 1932.

between religious bodies, furnished ample opportunity to observe the attempt to apply theory to action. Large attention was given to the particular man who expressed the idea or swayed the action. In brief, the investigation attempted to deal realistically with current movements instead of concerning itself primarily with abstract accounts of their alleged objectives and positions.

The chief data of the study have already been referred to. They consisted, all told, of expressions of opinion and attitude from some 20,000 persons broadly representative of the American church. These were secured chiefly in the form of answers to questionnaires.

The study desired to fill the gap felt between official and popular interest in unity and to make a hearing for the "forgotten man," the lay majority; and it adjusted its perspective and formulated its method accordingly. This purpose implied that more than one public had to be approached, and this, in turn, involved the devising of graded instruments for church constituents of varying maturity.

These publics were identified as follows:

(1) *Senior*—A necessarily small group, consisting of persons charged by their denominations with responsibility for church unity movements by appointment to membership on commissions or committees dealing with interchurch coöperation, discussion or negotiations for union, or general commissions on unity. These were the churches' experts. They received a special questionnaire—generally referred to in the text as the "leaders'" questionnaire—on unity issues as ecclesiastically formulated.

(2) *Intermediate*—A more extensive group, consisting of persons known to have some special knowledge of church unity issues through attendance on conferences on the subject, or assumed to have such knowledge because of minor official position in their respective denomination. These represented the more competent element in the church and are commonly referred to in the text as the "select" constituency.

(3) *Junior*—All others, both clergy and laity, not known to have had any special responsibility or contact with the subject; especially young people. These were the church's "rank and file," and are so referred to in the text.

Separate but partially overlapping questionnaires were prepared for each of these three groups. The number of each that were returned and the division of returns between them are shown in Appendix Table 1.

Not only were these instruments circulated by mail, but they were also carried directly, through field workers, to wide areas of the country, particularly in schools and summer conferences of young people. The extensive use of the religious press in the study has already been noted, together with the coöperation of more than forty periodicals in the circulation of a ballot on church unity.

BASIC PROBLEMS OF METHOD

It was fully recognized that the study, in dealing particularly with its third public, the rank and file of the church, had to do with attitudes toward unity that were largely implicit and undeveloped. It was known that the lay element (outside of its scant participation in representative church bodies) had not spoken clearly. The problem was to get it to speak without first putting words into its mouth. The study set itself, therefore, to elicit evidence as to attitudes by direct approach to individuals. Methods had to be devised which should prevent the individual from getting a clew to his answers in the questions asked. In the prospectus explaining the project great care was exercised to avoid any partisan implication. The questions proposed reflected all shades of thought. In developing their original version one or more books, representing each of the established attitudes toward union, were actually placed in order upon a desk and statements drawn somewhat proportionately from each. The results could seem partisan only to one who wanted his peculiar position to get more than its proportionate share of attention. The multiplicity of the questions and the blind order in which they were presented for answer made it impossible for the person to abandon or cover up his actual thinking and resort to some conventional or partisan formula. The questions, moreover, were characterized by a high degree of concreteness. A wide variety of typical situations were presented which those replying were asked to judge. This accounts for the very large number of aspects of the problem of unity on which the study is able to report definite original evidence as a basis for its inductions.

The data of the study, then, were gathered under non-partisan conditions, and were free from the spirit of propaganda. They were secured primarily in comparable form, but were supplemented by ample material taking the form of free expositions of personal views. It is believed that most of the criticisms offered against the method in advance are disproved by its success in securing returns—but of this the entire book must be the proof.

ADEQUACY OF THE SAMPLING

As in any similar study, a major problem was that of the adequacy of the sampling—how to be sure that even 20,000 replies, not all in comparable form, represent the sentiments of 30,000,000 church-members? In meeting this problem, not only was the denominational sampling somewhat balanced, but much attention was paid to the geographical distribution of replies, to due proportion between urban and rural sources; as well as to age, sex, and, to some extent, the occupational distribution of the questionnaires. For example, specific effort was made to get the views of a representative number of farmers.

Full statistical evidence bearing on this problem is given in Appendix

Tables 1, 3, 4 and 5 and Tables II and III. In general, it is believed to prove the following: (1) The denominational returns are adequate to show the probable distribution of opinion within twenty-five denominations including all the leading Protestant bodies. Where the returns were too few for this, they were combined into a miscellaneous class. In addition a small number of replies from Christian Scientists, Latter Day Saints (Mormon), Roman Catholics and Jews were received. They are regarded as symptomatic of the attitudes of these bodies, but are not claimed as adequate samples. Special partial tabulations were also made of returns from the following groups: Anglo-Catholics, Fundamentalists and Minor Denominational Officials. These also were regarded as throwing light upon directions of opinion rather than upon its actual distribution.

(2) The regional distribution of the returns, as shown by Appendix Table 3, very closely corresponded to the geographical distribution of the religious constituency concerned. North, South, East and West were all well represented.

(3) The sex distribution, as shown in Appendix Tables 4 and 5, corresponded closely with that of the population. Males and females were about equally represented.

(4) The age distribution of the sample, however, is very different from that of the population of fifteen years old and upward with which it is comparable. It is overweighted by a disproportionate number of young people. The somewhat one-sided distribution of the sample reflects one of the major purposes of the inquiry, namely, to discover the attitudes of the religious rank and file, and particularly those of youth who will dominate the church of the immediate future. And, curiously enough, as it turned out, the results of the study would have been more favorable to church union if fewer young people had answered the questionnaires.²⁰

The study's sampling, moreover, addressed itself to youth on the level of the average person rather than of the exception. A relatively small proportion of cases were drawn from college groups. Instead, the majority of questionnaires were secured in denominational summer conferences or local young people's societies, representing the total adolescent constituency rather than a select one enjoying exceptional privilege.²¹

The particular characteristic of the denominational summer conference is that it attempts to give the average youth an advanced outlook upon religious matters, just as he stands upon the threshold of responsibility. Such conferences deal largely with the concerns of the particular denomination, while at the same time leading youth toward a maturer consideration of personal religious problems, the larger issues of social ethics, and the acqui-

²⁰ P. 424.

²¹ P. xxxv.

sition of a more adequate world outlook. Drawing largely upon this public for data assured a widely representative character.

(5) The distribution of the questionnaires according to the status in the church of persons filling out this item is shown in Table II. This item was poorly filled in, so that the distribution shown concerns a total of only 12,967 persons, or 84.2 per cent. of total returns.

TABLE II—STATUS IN THE CHURCH OF 12,967 PERSONS REPLYING TO QUESTIONNAIRES

Status	Number	Per Cent.
Ministers.....	2,545	19.6
Lay Persons.....	10,422	80.4
Church Officers.....	2,425	18.6
Non-official members.....	7,232	55.8
Not church-members.....	776	6.0
Total.....	12,967	100.0

This constitutes a very satisfactory showing, considering the purpose of the study to gather rank and file opinion. Eight out of ten returns are from laymen, and there are nearly three times as many replies from non-official laymen as from official. Finally, enough non-members replied to afford an inkling of their peculiar attitudes.²²

These are ample evidences of wide distribution and adequacy of the sample for the statistical use intended, provided the sample is unbiased. The suspicion was somewhat frequently voiced by correspondents that it could not be unbiased, because after all only those in favor of church union would take the pains to answer so difficult and time-consuming an instrument as the questionnaire. An example of criticism of this sort serves to disclose its particular flavor. A Congregational pastor writes:

"Herewith I am enclosing ballot on church union, not because I am especially interested in this project, but because I presume that the advocates of church union, almost without any qualifications, will so flood your mail as to indicate that this sentiment is almost unanimous, while many times that number who have not sufficient interest in the project will not bother to write at all, after the fashion of prohibition 'straw votes,' in which those who would repeal the 18th amendment are much in evidence while those of us who are on the other side see no reason why we should interest ourselves sufficiently even to vote."

Apart from the fact that this correspondent's guess on prohibition was rather out of the way, the most general answer to his assumption is that nearly three-fourths of the data were not secured from detached individuals but from individuals in groups. This is shown in the following analysis of sources from which 15,055 questionnaires were received in Table III.

²² P. 438.

TABLE III—SOURCES THROUGH WHICH QUESTIONNAIRES WERE SECURED

Source	Number Received	Per Cent.
(A) GROUPS		
Denominational Summer Conferences	6,131	40.7
University or College Classes	1,804	12.0
Interdenominational Conferences and Leadership Training Institutes	1,447	9.6
Local Church Groups (of which 460 were in Young People's Societies or Sunday-school Classes and 544 in other types of church groups)	1,004	6.7
Theological Seminary Groups	361	2.4
Other Groups (e.g., Y.M.C.A., Women's Clubs, Staff, etc.)	171	1.1
Sub-Total	10,918	72.5
(B) INDIVIDUALS		
Junior and Intermediate Schedules returned as a result of direct mail cir- cularization	3,352	22.3
Senior Schedules returned as a result of direct mail circularization	664*	4.4
Sub-Total	4,016	26.7
Miscellaneous and unclassified sources	121	0.8
Grand Total	15,055†	100.0

* This figure exceeds that used in tabulation because forty Senior Schedules were received after tabulation of Sections A and C of Senior Schedule.

† This total does not include certain miscellaneous ballots received through the Religious Press and eighty-three miscellaneous schedules which were received too late to be counted, or were irregularly filled out so that they could not be counted.

In most of the cases of grouping in Table III, there was no opportunity for selection. A few local conference leaders are known to have exercised some choice in giving out questionnaires. Usually, however, the unit was the whole class or other continuous group in a school, summer conference or church. It was not a group gathered for the purpose of filling out a questionnaire, but for some purpose of denominational promotion or education. There could be no basis for a selection of its members with reference to the issue involved. For example, the 6,131 questionnaires from denominational summer conferences came from 116 such units representing twenty-three denominations and scattered in all parts of the country. There was no possible reason to believe that those attending these 116 conferences, the interdenominational or local church groups, did not represent a fair cross-section of their respective denominations, within the area concerned. No theological or ecclesiastical tendency was more represented than another; and the most tenable hypothesis is that all tendencies got response in proportion to their actual occurrence.

The only element in the sample which could at all be suspected of bias was furnished by the 624 returns from denominational leaders. These responses came from lists of persons known to be concerned with church unity movements. As already indicated, these people were circularized because their churches had assigned them responsibility in this field, presumably for the reason they had some competency to deal with the issue.

But this did not necessarily bias the group in favor of union. Denominational commissions on unity have quite as often been appointed with the idea of restraining or suppressing tendencies to union as with the idea of fostering it. This is no secret. In general, however, whatever differences of attitude toward union exist within a denomination manage to get more or less fairly reflected in the composition of a commission. All tendencies were, then, given opportunity for expression in the returns.

It is most improbable, either from a statistical or from a practical viewpoint, that the returns were biased. To have gotten a one-sided response from a sample so distributed and so secured would have been a sheer miracle.

By the use of such methods the study found itself in possession not only of large collections of previously existing material, but also of a main body of original material directly statistical in form, supplemented by a vast quantity of documentary data received directly from individuals. Specifically, therefore, the study was able to show for the first time something of the actual distribution of sentiment for and against unity of the rank and file of the church, according to denomination, region, age and sex, and status in the church.²³

LIMITATIONS

Any serious study must set limits to itself in order to prevent its implications from pushing it out of bounds and trying to cover the universe. The present study was limited to the United States and primarily to the non-Roman Christian communions.

THE UNITED STATES

The study as authorized concerned church unity in the United States and was regarded as but one of a possible series of studies covering the entire range of contemporary unity movements. An intensive study of Canadian church union—since completed—had already been authorized.²⁴

The inherent difficulty of observing such a limitation lay in the obvious fact that, at many points, church unity movements in the United States are involved with world movements. This difficulty was measurably met by merely recognizing the most important points of contact, but avoiding any full narrative or appraisal of movements chiefly belonging to or centering in other countries. The recognition of world movements, in turn, kept the study from taking a merely provincial view of the subject. It was not at all assumed that the United States afforded the chief theatre or main focus of

²³ For data concerning the reliability of the questionnaires, see Appendix C.

²⁴ Silcox, *Church Union in Canada* (New York; Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933).

the movement; rather it was definitely realized that the predominantly Protestant character of American Christianity presents a very different balance of denominational elements than that existing in Christendom at large, and hence a different set of problems. On the other hand, the primary applicability and usefulness of American experience and viewpoints to Americans were definitely accepted. The actual prospects of any wider unity embracing the American churches are surely best judged when unity issues as they manifest themselves within national limits are adequately grasped first.

NON-ROMAN CHRISTIAN BODIES

Neither did the present study attempt to cover all religious divisions and integration existing in the United States. It is limited to divisions and integrating movements within Christianity, because, in spite of an appreciable intellectual current toward more inclusive religious integration, no actual movements of significance exist for the combination or fusion of the different faiths. Within Christianity, for the same reason, the study gives no adequate attention to the place and the rôle of the Roman Catholic Church in a possible union of Christendom. Theoretically no issue is more important, but Roman Catholic participation in discussions of or movements for church unity are expressly forbidden by papal encyclical, and there is at present no live movement in the United States for union of Roman Catholics and Protestants. Hence, though the Roman Catholic position on union is summarily presented and limited data from Catholic sources introduced, the major issue falls outside of the main purpose of the present study. This leaves for actual consideration the Protestant and other than Roman Catholic bodies, including the Catholic wing of the Episcopal communion, the various branches of the Eastern Orthodox Church and certain minor bodies hard to classify.

Curiously, however, no single name exists which adequately identifies the religious bodies that belong together under this grouping. The term "Protestant" (though included in the official title of their church) is distinctly unwelcome to one wing of the Episcopal communion and obviously does not apply to the various branches of the Eastern Orthodox Church. For the purposes of the present study non-Roman Christian churches will be intended whenever the question of scope is involved, unless qualifications appear to the contrary.

NARRATIVE OF THE PROJECT

Preliminary work on the literature and method of the project had begun in the spring of 1930. The progress of the work was interrupted for a year following September, 1930, by reason of the transfer of the director to a

project in the Orient. Work was resumed in the fall of 1931. During this period the instruments of investigation were devised, contacts established and direct attendance on conferences and occasions begun. Field work designed to try out the instruments was entered upon early in 1932. Circulation of instruments was concentrated in the spring and summer of 1932. The same period saw the working out of details of statistical method. Parallel with all these processes, study and summaries of literary material had been going on and certain tentative conclusions reached. Intensive circularization of questionnaires to Young People's Conferences occupied the summer of 1932. Statistical summaries were completed in January, 1933, and the writing of the report occupied the director's time thereafter until January, 1934.

The director's chief collaborators in the project have been as follows: Rev. William H. Holloway and Miss Helen Boardman are responsible for gathering the majority of clippings and abstracts; Rev. Wilbur C. Hallenbeck made an extensive series of case studies of negotiations between American denominations seeking union, and shared in the early field work; Rev. W. Rudolf F. Stier served as chief statistician and directed the circulation of instruments, also participating in field work during 1932; Mrs. William A. Leech, Jr., did the field work on community churches; Dr. Jesse A. Jacobs and Mr. Wallace Cook conducted field work in summer conferences; Miss Alice Ebeling and Mrs. E. A. Steiger were secretaries; the charts were made by William A. Leech, Jr.

STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The structure of this report as presented in the present volume follows from its central purpose, namely, to give an accurate and balanced account of church unity movements in the United States, particularly as involving the thinking and attitudes of the rank and file of the church as supplementary to those of ecclesiastics and professionals. The results, then, depend upon the total evidence.

In line with the above distinction, Part I of the volume deals with the objective phenomena of division and integration in the church and with the reactions of the rank and file to the religious situation which the phenomena present.

Part II starts where ecclesiastical thinking is accustomed to start, namely, with an official set of assumptions and arguments on church unity, matters differing somewhat from denomination to denomination, but alike in being professional or official in origins. It then proceeds to follow through with the major traditional topics as recognized in current official discussion.

Finally, the two sets of evidence are compared and appraised in Part III, and the prospects of church union in the United States are judged thereby.

PART ONE

OBJECTIVE TRENDS AND POPULAR REACTIONS

CHAPTER I

The Fact and Measure of the Church's Division

It seems an unpromising approach to a study of church unity in the United States to recall the 213 denominational groups into which American Christianity is divided; especially since, during the last decennial period reported by the Census, twenty-nine new denominations came into existence. Meanwhile, however, seventeen disappeared through merger or otherwise, leaving a net increase of twelve. Today, then, has a more divided church than yesterday? Yes and no. Compared with the membership of the Christian churches, there were fewer denominations in 1916 than in 1906, and still fewer in 1926. The ratio at the earlier date was one for every 170,500 adult members; at the later, one for every 207,500.

Obviously, then, two processes are going on: one of division, the other of integration. The basic theme of the present study in its profounder aspects, is whether division or integration is permanently ascendant in the American church. Yet even in the most exterior aspect of the matter—the relation of number of denominations to population—it requires some interpretation to decide which process is gaining on the other.

To discover this, one must go deeper than the bare facts. But one is not immediately in position to go deeper; the issues involved are far too complicated. The present chapter, accordingly, invites the reader to content himself with modest beginnings. It does not start with definitions nor attempt discriminations about the movement toward unity in the church, which are impossible without large familiarity with the subject. The chapter is not evaluatory nor even fully descriptive. It merely takes a necessary preliminary step by pointing out certain facts that are easily observable on the surface of the movement and that have already been measured.

This limitation avoids for the present all discussions of theories of the church and of the imponderable assumptions, claims and alleged validations on which they are built. Some churches assert that they are true and all others false; some maintain that they function in a manner completely valid, while other churches, though genuine, are invalid in respect to some of their functions; some justify their divisions on principle, while others explain them merely as the result of historic accident. These divergent theories naturally have very large influence upon unity movements. All

these matters will come later in the book. For the moment, the theme is the strictly measurable aspects of the church's division, some of which are objective, others subjective.

MEASURABLE OBJECTIVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DENOMINATIONS

Obvious objective differences characterize the 213 denominations of the United States. These differences are numerical, geographical, socio-economic and cultural. Some denominations are large, others small; some are growing rapidly, others slowly; some are richer, others poorer; some make a popular appeal, others draw on select constituencies. Well-authenticated data, largely from the 1926 Federal Census of Religious Bodies, furnish measurements of difference on these points.¹

DIFFERENCES IN SIZE

Numerically speaking, some denominations are large, others small. Fifty of the 213 have fewer than a thousand adult members and, consequently, are relatively negligible as organized religious agencies. Forty-eight, with from 5,000 to 10,000 adult members, are small from any objective standpoint. Half of the total have not more than 7,000 adult members each, while the twenty-four larger denominations, with more than 200,000 adult members each, constitute 91 per cent. of all Christians in the United States.

For a study of church unity the point at which numbers count most significantly is the relative size of the two great historical divisions of the Christian church, namely the Catholic and the Protestant. These present deep differences in principle. In the present religious grouping of population in the United States they are very unequally represented. Only one-third of the total adult membership could be classified as Catholic, even allowing the whole of the Protestant Episcopal body to this side, in addition to the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches. The United States is predominantly a Protestant nation.

If the present study had concerned world movements for church unity, it would be confronted by a very different situation. In Christendom as a whole, seven-tenths of all church adherents are Catholic and only three-tenths Protestant. This measures one of the sharply quantitative differences between the division of Christians in the United States and in the world at large.²

¹ See also Fry, C. L., *The U. S. Looks at Its Churches* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930).

² Weber (Ed.), *Yearbook of American Churches* (New York: Round Table Press, 1933). The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (pp. 297-8), gives Christendom 299,000,000 Roman Catholics, 133,000,000 Protestants, and 127,000,000 Greek Orthodox adherents, but explains that the Protestant figures for North America are too low because they include only actual church-members, not religious populations as in other countries.

DIFFERENCE IN RATE OF GROWTH

Some denominations are growing much more rapidly than others. Because of different usages as to children, differences at this point are best measured in terms of adult memberships.

Taking all denominations together, adult membership increased at almost the same rate as did population between 1916 and 1926, namely, 39 per cent. Of the twenty-two principal Protestant denominations, just half increased as fast as or faster than population.

A classification of these principal denominations according to rates of growth shows that they are normally distributed around the average, as follows:

Rate of Increase, 1916-26	Number of Denominations
More than double.....	4
One-half to three-quarters.....	4
One-third to one-half.....	7
One-sixth to one-third.....	4
Less than one-sixth.....	3

At the fast-growing extreme stand the Latter Day Saints (Mormon), African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church and the Church of Christ, Scientist. Two of these are regarded by the religious majority as at least somewhat erratic, while the third is a racial church.

At the slow-growing extreme are ranged the African Methodist Episcopal, Evangelical Synod of North America and Norwegian Lutheran churches.

The largest denominations generally stand toward the middle of the list, but vary rather widely with respect to the average. It is important also to note that the relative place of the great denominational families in the total religious population is very little changed by unequal rates of growth. Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans and Presbyterians have all maintained about the same place for three decades.

The causes of these very different growth-rates are beyond the scope of the present study, but they are obviously significant for unity movements or adjustments of relationship between denominations.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Geographically considered, the outstanding fact about American denominations is that, for the most part, they are strongly regional. Many of them occupy territory which is almost mutually exclusive. All but some half-dozen are characterized by limited areas of extreme concentration of memberships. Time has thus identified their natural habitats in contrast with other areas of thin occupancy where they are substantially "out of bounds." In any extensive area of the United States not more than six denominations

would include a strong majority of the Protestant Christians of the area. Consequently, the problem of adjusting churches to one another in any given region does not involve 150 or 200 denominations, but a very much smaller number.

The most obvious principle of territorial distribution is sectional. In very large measure organized Christianity is divided into southern or northern or western churches, rather than national ones. Were there to be an inclusive church covering the whole nation, these sectional habitats of strong denominations might require recognition as geographical provinces within the whole.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES

The group of socio-economic differences among denominations are established by a variety of indices. Thus very important differences in historical antecedents will appear in the next chapter. Some denominations are older, others younger. Differences in age largely determine the degree to which any denomination has become assimilated to a preponderant American type.

Again, denominations show pronounced differences in their degree of affinity for the urban or for the rural types of civilization. Thus, in the distribution of its members, the Roman Catholic Church is four-fifths urban. Of Protestant churches, the Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian in the U. S. A., and Congregational denominations are more than two-thirds urban. They contrast sharply with the Methodist Episcopal, South, Southern Baptist, Norwegian Lutheran and Churches of Christ, which are more than two-thirds rural. The average, represented by the Presbyterian in the U. S., Reformed in the United States, and Disciples denominations, is approximately 40 per cent. urban and 60 per cent. rural. When it is recalled that urban population is regionally concentrated in the United States, one sees that this difference reinforces the provincial distinctiveness of certain churches.

Important indices of denominational wealth are found in the statistics of church finance furnished by the Federal Census of Religious Bodies. These show expenditures both for property and for current expenses. They reveal a more than four-fold difference between the per capita expenditures of the poorest and the richest denominations in their rural churches, and a more than ten-fold difference in their urban churches.⁸

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Measurable objective evidence of psychological difference between denominations is, by its nature, more difficult either to secure or to express

⁸ Fry, *The U. S. Looks at Its Churches* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930), pp. 80 ff. and 92 ff.

than is evidence as to such social factors as have been discussed. Important fragments of evidence, however, are available in a number of lines. Something, for example, is inferable from the different standards of ministerial education which are strikingly revealed in Census material specially edited by the Institute of Social and Religious Research.⁴ But the facts are complicated by the contradictory influences of differing conceptions of the ministry and of sectional levels of intelligence and general education.

Very significant evidence relates to the social and occupational distribution of denominational adherents. This has been explored in a recent study made for the Institute of Social and Religious Research by Dr. C. Luther Fry.⁵ Dr. Fry counted the number of adherents of each denomination as reported in the nearly 30,000 sketches in *Who's Who in America* and calculated the relative number of entries according to occupation. The results are no less than sensational.

Unitarians appear in *Who's Who* thirty-two times as frequently as they would if their representation were exactly proportionate to the membership of the denomination, and more than five times as frequently, relative to their numbers, as the next highest denomination, the Reformed; while the Roman Catholic frequency is less than half as great as that of the lowest Protestant denomination, the Lutheran, which, in turn, is only half of that of the next to the lowest Protestant denomination, the Disciples. The figures are shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV—RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF PERSONS LISTED IN
"WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA," BY DENOMINATION

Denomination	Frequency Relative to Membership
MORE THAN NUMERICAL PROPORTION	
Unitarian.....	32.50
Reformed.....	6.52
Universalist.....	6.43
Protestant Episcopal.....	6.07
Congregational.....	4.96
Friends.....	4.40
Presbyterian.....	3.11
LESS THAN NUMERICAL PROPORTION	
Methodist.....	0.89*
Baptist.....	0.70*
Disciples.....	0.61
Lutheran.....	0.32
Roman Catholic.....	0.13

* Negro members omitted in this calculation.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 62 ff.

⁵ "The Religious Affiliation of American Leaders," *Scientific American*, March, 1933, vol. XXXVI, pp. 241-250; also *Yearbook of American Churches*, 1933, pp. 311 f.

As will be noted, a very marked gap occurs between the upper and the lower halves of the list. Whatever the qualities that get persons listed in *Who's Who*, one group of denominations is very superior, the other very inferior. One can scarcely fail to note that the denominations standing at the very bottom of the list are not those of pure English-speaking antecedents; and it is fair to guess that the showing reflects the actual handicap still experienced by groups which differ from the dominant American stock in the competition for success coupled with intellectual recognition. But whatever the explanation, the fact of difference at this point and its probably practical significance as bearing upon conditions of association between the churches are unquestionable.

OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENCES

Still more illuminating is the statistical comparison of denominationally classified names in *Who's Who* according to occupation. This count shows extraordinary occupational affinities and repulsions on the part of various denominations. These are shown in Table V. Some might have been predicted: for example, the absence of Friends from the army, and of Christian Scientists from the ranks of medicine. Others throw fresh light on more subtle denominational differences.

The Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist groups show less striking occupational variations than the others. This means that they are more nearly cross-sectional of the nation; they represent the great American average. But even they show significant vocational affinities and repulsions.

The observer will doubtless find confirmation in Table V of some of his own private generalizations as well as reinforcement of popular impressions about denominations; such, for example, as that Methodists and Catholics are inclined to politics, or that Unitarian rationalism naturally goes with natural and applied science. Differences in detail, such, for example, as those between Protestant Episcopal and Congregational occupational tendencies, are illuminating. Most of the occupations frequent with one of these denominations are consistently infrequent with the other. In the case of the Protestant Episcopal Church, architecture, an occupation concerned with esthetics, is found associated with ritualistic tendencies in religion; yet it is also found associated with the intellectual freedom of Unitarianism. Apparently, a psychological characteristic may be satisfied in more than one way. This warns the interpreter to be cautious.

The influence of differences between urban and rural distribution of adherents doubtless appears in some of the contrasting showings; for example, those between Disciples and Roman Catholics. It will be further noted that certain denominations have few men of eminence outside of the realm

The Fact and Measure of the Church's Division

TABLE V — OCCUPATIONAL TENDENCIES OF MEMBERS OF 10 DENOMINATIONS

Denomination	Frequency of Occupation among Persons Listed in "Who's Who in America"		
	Very High	High	Low
Unitarian	Architects & engineers; natural scientists	Agriculturists; artists & actors; authors & editors	Army & Navy; politicians; religious workers
Protestant Episcopal	Architects & engineers; Army & Navy; artists & actors	Authors & editors; business men & bankers; physicians	Natural scientists; social scientists; educators; religious workers
Congregational	Natural scientists; social scientists; educators	Social workers	Army & Navy; politicians; artists & actors; physicians
Friends	Agriculturists; social scientists	Artists & actors; social workers; authors & editors; educators	Lawyers & judges; religious workers; Army & Navy
Presbyterian	Business men & bankers		Artists & actors; scientists; Army & Navy
Methodist	Politicians; social workers	Agriculturists; social scientists; authors & editors	Army & Navy; artists & actors; architects & engineers
Baptist	Religious workers	Politicians	Artists & actors; architects & engineers; natural scientists; Army & Navy; agriculturists
Disciples	Agriculturists	Educators; lawyers & judges; religious workers	Army & Navy; social workers; natural scientists; architects & engineers
Lutheran	Religious workers	Politicians; artists & actors	Natural scientists; social scientists; Army & Navy
Roman Catholic	Politicians; artists & actors; Army & Navy	Religious workers	Natural scientists; social scientists; agriculturists; educators; social workers

of churchmanship, while, in turn, more versatile denominations may rank relatively low in eminent religious workers.

That certain occupations tend to "bunch" in certain denominations and others to avoid them shows that some denominations manage to attract, while others repel the kind of people who go into these occupations. Beyond this, it is not claimed that these data permit of any close interpretation. They do, however, suggest very pronounced cultural differences between denominations. And these often appear to have something to do with a denomination's public reputation and its announced theories.⁶

⁶ For interesting speculations about the psychological differences of denominations dating from an earlier decade, see McCombs, *Psychology of the Sects* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1912), and Giddings, *Principles of Sociology* (New York: The Macmillan Co.).

Such objective differences between denominations as have been enumerated inevitably affect and condition the probability of success or failure of any unity movement in which the denominations concerned might engage. They also doubtless help to control the present relationships of these denominations, their tendencies to antagonize and compete, or to affiliate in incidental ways coming short of union. They are very real differences, though wholly incidental from the standpoint of the theological and ecclesiastical controversies by which the church is popularly supposed to be divided.

MEASURABLE SUBJECTIVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DENOMINATIONS

The Christian denominations are not merely divided historically and in the present objective ways which have not been recounted. They also feel divided—some more, others less. Unity movements are likely to go faster and farther with the latter than with the former.

The most direct data revealing these feelings were secured by means of a widely circulated questionnaire on church unity in which 13,827 persons, chiefly Protestants, indicated the degree of difficulty which they felt in associating with members of other faiths and denominations in a set of relationships regarded as normal and habitual within one's own denomination. This was supplemented by data from a ballot on church union in which 5,191 persons who definitely favored union indicated what particular denominations they would exclude from a united church. Evidence from previous studies was compared with these data.

THE INSTRUMENTS

The questionnaire for measuring religious distance was in the form given on the opposite page.

The denominations listed in the column headings of this questionnaire were chosen as substantially representative of the major Protestant varieties occurring in the United States. It will be observed that they are listed under denominational family names. Baptist means Northern, Southern and Negro Baptists. Similarly, Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian are generic names for churches of these denominational families. The person answering intended them to apply to whatever Baptist, Methodist Episcopal or Presbyterian group was called to his mind by these terms—necessarily the ones he was most familiar with.

It was assumed that all twelve relationships listed in the left-hand column of the questionnaire would be entered into without hesitation by members of the same denomination in the course of ordinary church life.⁷ The question

⁷ In general the returns justified this assumption, less than 10 per cent. of those replying checking any hesitancy or refusal against their own denominations on any of the twelve rela-

RELIGIOUS DISTANCE INDEX

(All Questionnaires)

DIRECTIONS: Column on left lists certain relationships which you would naturally have with members of your own denomination. Would you be equally ready or less ready to have them with members or churches of different denominations?

If you would *refuse* to have any of these relations with a member of one or more of the denominations listed, mark "R" opposite that statement under the name of the denomination of which this is true. If you would *hesitate*, but are not sure that you would refuse, mark "H" in the same position. If you have no hesitancy to enter into the relationship, *leave space blank*. *Work rapidly and record your first reaction.*

DENOMINATION

RELATIONSHIPS:	Presby- terian	Quaker	Unitarian	Protestant Episcopal	Congrega- tional	Disciples of Christ	Lutheran	Baptist	Methodist Episcopal
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1. Send a child to their Sunday School	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2. Habitually receive Communion from their minister.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
3. Associate with them in the social life of the local church	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
4. Feel satisfied with a marriage ceremony performed by one of their ministers.....	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
5. Support their local benevolent work	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
6. Unite in observing their Holy Days or other special celebrations	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
7. Marry a member of that church	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
8. Recite the Lord's Prayer with them in public worship.....	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
9. Have a child baptized by one of their ministers.....	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
10. Have a burial service conducted according to their rites	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
11. Acknowledge their church as a genuine church of Christ....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
*12. Contribute to the support of their foreign missions knowing that they teach a form of creed and of worship different from yours									

tested was whether they would be entered into just as easily with members of other denominations, or whether there would be hesitancy or refusal in case of some or all of them.

Some of the relationships were obviously more intimate and significant than others; some more apt than others to involve doubt or scruple as to

relationships. However, the per cent. thus registering some internal revolt varied significantly from relationship to relationship, as follows: Relationship (1) 7.6 per cent.; (2) 24.1 per cent.; (3) 4.3 per cent.; (4) 4.6 per cent.; (5) 5.7 per cent.; (6) 11.6 per cent.; (7) 5.9 per cent.; (8) 5.2 per cent.; (9) 33.1 per cent.; (10) 6.3 per cent.; (11) 17.0 per cent.; (12) 50.9 per cent.

the legitimacy or potency of the religious usages of other religious groups.⁸ Together they were regarded as constituting a simple yet genuine index as to feelings associated with customary behaviors when involving other religious groups in contrast with one's own. The results from their use are presented in the paragraphs that follow.

THE RESULTS: DENOMINATIONS DISCRIMINATED AGAINST

The religious public in the United States is not just as ready to enter into such relationships with members of other denominations as with members of its own. Taking as the basis of measurement, with a theoretical value of 100, complete unwillingness to enter into any of the twelve enumerated relationships with persons of other denominations, Unitarians got 29 per cent. of the total possible objection which they would have received if every member of twenty-seven other denominations had declined to have anything to do with them in any relation. At the other end of the scale came Presbyterians against whom only 9 per cent. of antipathy was registered according to the same measurement.⁹ Table VI shows the relative discrimination registered against each of the nine denominations listed.

TABLE VI—INDEX OF RELIGIOUS DISTANCE FELT BY 13,827
PERSONS OF 34 DENOMINATIONS AND GROUPS TOWARD NINE
DENOMINATIONS *

Denomination Discriminated Against	Distance Score (Per Cent. of Possible Discrimination)
Presbyterian.....	9.2
Baptist.....	9.5
Methodist Episcopal.....	10.1
Congregational.....	10.6
Protestant Episcopal.....	12.6
Lutheran.....	13.8
Disciples of Christ.....	14.8
Friends (Quaker).....	17.8
Unitarian.....	29.2

* For detailed data, see Appendix Table 6.

What impresses one most in studying Table VI is the very slight difference in the degree of discrimination felt toward the first four denominations on the list; also that the second three stand relatively close together in the

⁸ For discussion of sensitive points in personal religious relationships as revealed by this test, see chapter v.

⁹ There is general agreement between this table and one resulting from a religious distance test using less intimate criteria of relationship, presented in the author's *Protestant Coöperation in American Cities* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930), p. 28. Protestant Episcopalians, however, get less discriminated against on this, the more intimate test, but Friends more.

showing. Now, however, the barriers begin to rise; a larger interval divides the seventh and eighth cases, and a very much larger interval indeed the eighth and ninth. Concretely stated, the discrimination-rate against the Unitarian is about three times as high as against any denomination in the upper half of the scale.

Appendix Table 6 presents the data separately for each of the thirty-five denominations and groups which registered their feelings of distance with respect to the nine listed above. The results will be considered in a later paragraph. In general, similar tendencies are shown throughout all denominations. Denominations against which the group as a whole discriminates but little get approximately the same rating from most of the units, and vice versa.

1. DENOMINATIONS DISCRIMINATING AGAINST OTHERS

1) Considering next the discrimination felt against the nine denominations by each of the individual denominations and groups which furnished data, one finds a much wider range of variation than in the former comparison. Ranked by their average distance scores, the denominations stand as shown in Table VII.

2) The honor of feeling least separated from other denominations and of indulging the smallest prejudice toward them goes to the Reformed Church in the United States, followed by the Congregational-Christian. Denominations ranking in the upper quartile of section A of Table VII show only from one-half to two-thirds as much discrimination against others as the group as a whole has, while those ranking in the lower quartile show from one-half more to two-and-one-half times as much. Several denominations in the B section show from five to seven-and-one-half times as much distance as the average. Finally, persons belonging to no denomination at all are more prejudiced than any "regular" Protestant group except the Fundamentalists, High-church Episcopal and Missouri Synod Lutheran.

Of larger denominations (those with over 700,000 members each), the Congregational-Christian, Presbyterian U. S. A. and Methodist Episcopal, South, rank in the upper quartile; Methodist Episcopal in the second quartile; Disciples, Negro Baptist, Baptist (Northern and Southern Convention), and Protestant Episcopal in the third; and Lutheran (combining United and Missouri Synod and other Lutherans in one category) in the lowest quartile.

Turning from an interpretation of the ranking order of denominations to consider the number of denominations which show a specified degree of religious distance, one arrives at distributions shown separately in Chart II, for the total list and the A list of denominations.

More than four-fifths of the denominations on the shorter list and two-thirds of those on the longer one register a distance index of under 20;

TABLE VII—INDEX OF RELIGIOUS DISTANCE, BY DENOMINATIONS AND GROUPS

Rank	Denomination (A)	Number Persons Scoring	Average Score per Person	Rank, A, B & C Lists Combined	Index of Variability*
1	Reformed in U. S.	141	5.76	1	9.86
2	Congregational-Christian	1,273	6.69	2	11.11
3	Presbyterian, U. S. A.	1,189	7.06	4	10.09
4	United Brethren	188	7.19	5	9.69
5	Methodist Protestant	75	7.64	6	9.12
6	Methodist Episcopal, South	750	8.71	7	12.51
7	Moravian	159	8.84	8	12.23
8	Negro Methodist	221	8.90	9	13.53
9	United Presbyterian	149	8.93	10	9.32
10	Methodist Episcopal	3,206	9.09	11	12.82
11	Evangelical Synod of N. A.	74	9.31	12	13.18
12	Reformed Church in America	203	9.39	13	14.39
	Universalist	65	10.20	14	13.76
14	Evangelical Church	420	11.53	16	10.31
15	Negro Baptist	183	11.70	17	15.63
16	Presbyterian, U. S.	728	11.98	18	13.46
17	Disciples of Christ	648	12.02	19	12.62
18	Baptist (Northern Convention)	1,075	13.56	20	15.09
19	Protestant Episcopal	853	14.23	21	17.46
20	Baptist (Southern Convention)	400	14.81	22	16.16
	Friends	345	19.20	24	13.96
22	Lutheran (All)	629	22.28	26	27.34
23	Church of the Brethren (Dunkers) ..	171	23.57	27	18.98
24	Unitarian	281	23.87	28	19.65
25	Holiness-Pentecostal bodies	72	24.00	29	24.41
	Sub-Total	13,498	11.53	..	14.93
Denomination (B)†					
1	Christian Scientist	28	21.18	25	24.15
2	Latter Day Saints (Mormon) ..	83	50.22	33	23.30
3	Roman Catholic	59	50.97	34	32.34
4	Jewish	159	66.09	35	25.63
	Total	13,827	.....	..	.....
Sub-divisions and Groups (C), Duplicate‡					
1	Federated and Community Church ..	(150)	6.84	3	15.01
2	Minor denominational officials ..	(80)	10.65	15	15.01
3	United Lutheran	(366)	15.00	23	17.32
4	Fundamentalist	(84)	26.80	31	26.74
5	High-church Episcopal	(37)	29.89	32	20.80
6	Missouri Synod Lutheran	(72)	75.68	36	32.77
7	"No denomination"	98	26.60	30	29.51

* The Sigma (σ) of the distribution is used as the coefficient of variability.

† B—Sampling too small to be statistically representative.

‡ C—Included in denominational counts in list A.

thus leaving strong distance feeling to be exhibited by only a few denominations. Further inspection of Table VII shows that the widest statistical gap in the A list scores is between the Baptist (South) and Friends denominations. This gap nearly corresponds with the division between the third and fourth quartiles of the ranking scale.

Statistically speaking four groups of denominations are identified by this showing: (1) a "nearest" group consisting of those occupying the upper half of the A list (together with the Federated churches), whose distance feeling is less than the average; (2) a "near" group consisting of those occupying the third quartile with the addition of the Baptist (South); (3) a

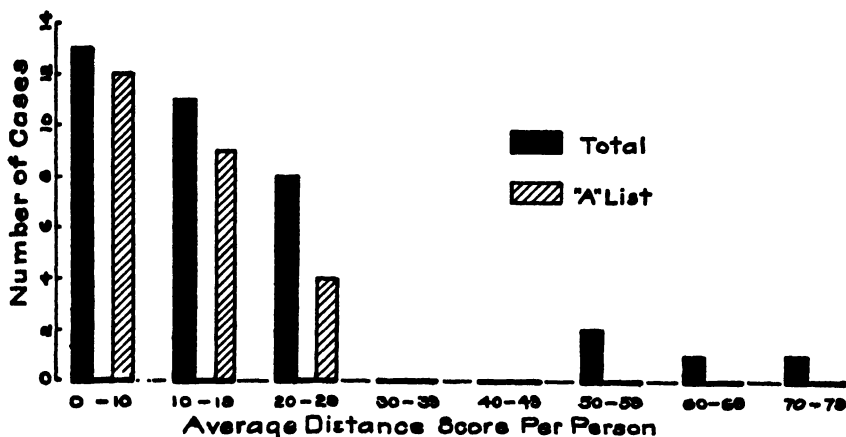


CHART II—FREQUENCY WITH WHICH DENOMINATIONS LISTED IN TABLE VII REGISTER SPECIFIED DEGREES OF DISTANCE FEELING AS MEASURED BY THEIR AVERAGE DISTANCE SCORES

"further" group consisting of Friends, Lutheran, Dunkers, Unitarian and Holiness-Pentecostal bodies, together with Christian Scientist, Fundamentalist and high-church Episcopal groups; (4) finally, a great statistical gulf yawns between all these and the "very far" group consisting of Latter Day Saints (Mormon), Roman Catholics, Jews and Missouri Synod Lutherans.

All these differences originate and are stated in terms of each group's own feelings. Representatives of denominations appearing at the top of the list testify over their own signatures that they would have little difficulty in entering into the habitual relationships of church life and usage with members of other denominations; members of denominations at the bottom of the list similarly assert that they would have much difficulty. Obviously, these differences would be likely to register themselves in the attitudes of their denominations toward integrative movements and proposals. For the

moment, however, the point simply is that here are actual differences in feeling toward other denominations objectively ascertained.

The last column of Table VII headed "Index of Variability" requires separate attention. It will be sufficient for non-statistical readers to understand that this column measures the internal consistency of the religious attitudes ascribed to each denomination on the strength of the average. A low index of variability means that the distance feeling of nearly every individual who contributed to the average corresponded somewhat closely to the average. A high index of variability means that some and perhaps many individuals personally had much more or much less distance feeling than the average of their group, and were to a considerable degree misrepresented by the average.

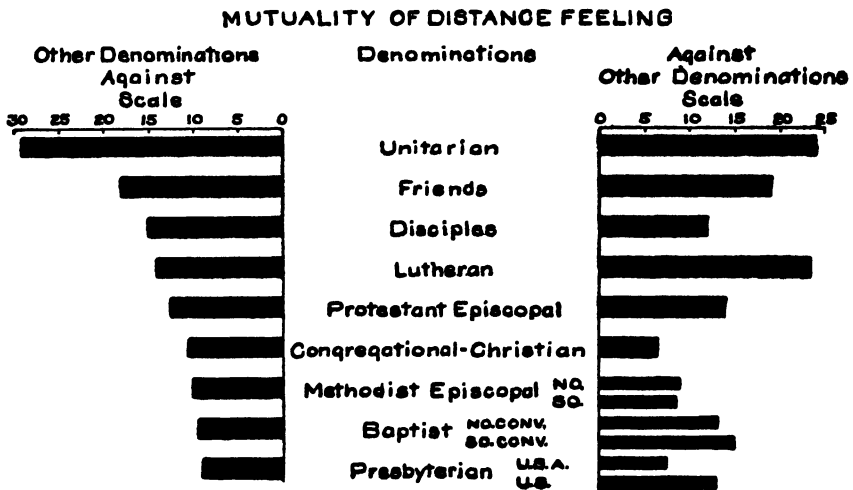


CHART III—DISTANCE FEELING OF NINE DENOMINATIONS AGAINST OTHERS COMPARED WITH OTHERS' DISTANCE FEELING AGAINST THEM

Now it is most significant that, in general, the stronger the prejudice registered by any denominational average, the greater the variability index. Calculated by quartiles, it is found that average variability steadily ascends. Denominations ranking in the fourth quartile register nearly twice as much as those in the first; and denominations in the B list two-and-a-half times as much. In other words, and in general, the more prejudiced the denomination on the average, the further apart are the extremes of feeling within that denomination—the more people there are in it who are misrepresented by the average showing. The extreme antipathy of the Missouri Synod Lutheran group against others is farthest from being the consolidated position of that group, while the high average sympathy for other denomina-

tions of the Reformed Church in the United States, Congregational-Christian and Presbyterian U. S. A. groups closely represents the great majority of individuals in these groups.

MUTUALITY OF DISCRIMINATION

In general, there is most discrimination against denominations which in turn discriminate against others. With respect to the nine denominations listed in the religious distance index, evidence of this mutuality of distance feeling has been worked out in detail in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII—INDEX OF MUTUAL RELIGIOUS DISTANCE FEELING

Denominations Registering Distance Feeling	Denominations Against Which Distance Feeling is Registered: Rank and Relative Amount								
	Baptist	Congregational	Disciples	Lutheran	Meth. Epis.	Presbyterian	Prot. Epis.	Quaker	Unitarian
Baptist.....		+ 8 (6)	+10 (5)	- 4 (3)	+ 5 (8)	+ 6 (7)	+1 (4)	- 1 (2)	-11 (1)
Congregational.....	- 8 (6)		- 3 (4)	-12 (3)	- 2 (8)	- 1 (7)	-8 (5)	-10 (2)	-12 (1)
Disciples of Christ.....	-10 (8)	+ 3 (5)		-12 (3)	- 2 (6)	0 (7)	-5 (4)	- 4 (2)	- 6 (1)
Lutheran.....	+ 4 (4)	+12 (5)	+12 (3)		+ 7 (7)	+ 9 (8)	+4 (6)	+ 3 (2)	+18 (1)
Methodist Episcopal.....	- 5 (7)	+ 2 (6)	+ 2 (3)	- 7 (4)		+ 1 (8)	-5 (5)	- 6 (2)	-11 (1)
Presbyterian.....	- 6 (7)	+ 1 (6)	0 (3)	- 9 (4)	- 1 (8)		-5 (5)	-10 (2)	0 (1)
Protestant Episcopal.....	- 1 (4)	+ 8 (5)	+ 5 (3)	- 4 (6)	+ 5 (7)	+ 5 (8)		- 3 (2)	- 5 (1)
Friends (Quaker).....	+ 1 (5)	+10 (7)	+ 4 (4)	- 3 (2)	+ 6 (6)	+10 (8)	+ 3 (3)		+12 (1)
Unitarian.....	+11 (5)	+12 (7)	+ 6 (2)	-18 (1)	+11 (3)	0 (6)	+ 5 (4)	-12 (8)	

In Table VIII the bracketed figures in the horizontal columns after the name of each denomination show its degree of discrimination against the denominations listed in the vertical columns. The greatest distance is indi-

cated by (1) and the least by (8). Reading the first horizontal column, one sees that of eight denominations listed, Baptists are furthest apart in feeling from Unitarians (number 1) and nearest to Methodists (number 8). The upper set of figures (preceded by the plus or minus signs) shows, in terms of the possible distance score, how much more or less feeling a given denomination has against each of the other eight than they have against it. Baptists have more feeling against five denominations than these denominations have against them, the greatest excess being against the Disciples. They have less feeling against three denominations than these denominations have against them. Of these three, the Unitarian is least tolerant of

TABLE IX—RANKING OF 9 DENOMINATIONS PAIRED ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF RELIGIOUS DISTANCE FEELING BETWEEN THEM

Denominations		Distance Index*	Denominations		Distance Index*
Lutheran	vs. Unitarian	55	Prot. Epis.	vs. Baptist	18
Unitarian	" Lutheran	37	Disciples	" Lutheran	17
Unitarian	" Disciples	36	Meth. Epis.	" Friends	17
Friends	" Unitarian	36	Disciples	" Prot. Epis.	16
Unitarian	" Baptist	35	Prot. Epis.	" Congregational	16
Unitarian	" Meth. Epis.	35	Prot. Epis.	" Lutheran	16
Unitarian	" Prot. Epis.	35	Baptist	" Congregational	14
Presbyterian	" Unitarian	34	Prot. Epis.	" Meth. Epis.	14
Unitarian	" Presbyterian	34	Congregational	" Friends	13
Disciples	" Unitarian	30	Congregational	" Unitarian	13
Lutheran	" Friends	30	Meth. Epis.	" Disciples	13
Prot. Epis.	" Unitarian	30	Presbyterian	" Friends	13
Lutheran	" Disciples	29	Prot. Epis.	" Presbyterian	13
Friends	" Lutheran	27	Baptist	" Presbyterian	12
Friends	" Disciples	26	Disciples	" Congregational	12
Friends	" Prot. Epis.	26	Meth. Epis.	" Lutheran	12
Unitarian	" Congregational	25	Baptist	" Meth. Epis.	11
Baptist	" Unitarian	24	Congregational	" Lutheran	11
Meth. Epis.	" Unitarian	24	Disciples	" Meth. Epis.	11
Friends	" Baptist	24	Disciples	" Presbyterian	10
Unitarian	" Friends	24	Presbyterian	" Disciples	10
Baptist	" Friends	23	Congregational	" Disciples	9
Lutheran	" Baptist	23	Meth. Epis.	" Prot. Epis.	9
Lutheran	" Congregational	23	Presbyterian	" Lutheran	9
Prot. Epis.	" Friends	23	Congregational	" Prot. Epis.	8
Friends	" Congregational	23	Disciples	" Baptist	8
Friends	" Meth. Epis.	23	Presbyterian	" Prot. Epis.	8
Friends	" Presbyterian	23	Meth. Epis.	" Congregational	7
Disciples	" Friends	22	Congregational	" Baptist	6
Prot. Epis.	" Disciples	21	Meth. Epis.	" Baptist	6
Lutheran	" Prot. Epis.	20	Presbyterian	" Baptist	6
Baptist	" Lutheran	19	Presbyterian	" Congregational	6
Baptist	" Prot. Epis.	19	Congregational	" Meth. Epis.	5
Lutheran	" Meth. Epis.	19	Congregational	" Presbyterian	5
Baptist	" Disciples	18	Meth. Epis.	" Presbyterian	5
Lutheran	" Presbyterian	18	Presbyterian	" Meth. Epis.	4

* Per Cent. of possible distance score; not average score, as in Table VII.

the Baptist. Congregationalists in every one of the eight cases have less feeling against other denominations than they have against Congregationalists. With Lutherans, exactly the reverse is true.

The importance of these distinctions in their bearing upon church union will not fully appear till farther on in the study. It is clear, however, that a denomination may have very little prejudice itself, but if it is not equally well liked by others it cannot lead in a unity movement so well as one which is better liked, even though the latter has stronger prejudices. The most loving is not always the most loved and sought for.

In Table IX, pairs of denominations are ranked according to the degree of religious distance felt between one and the other. The first two items show that the greatest antipathy is felt by Lutherans toward Unitarians, and by Unitarians toward Lutherans, but that Lutheran feeling against Unitarians is stronger than Unitarian feeling against Lutherans. The reverse is true as between the Unitarian and the Disciple. Each pair of denominations should be observed, because it is the problems of these particular adjustments which make up the general problem of adjustment between religious bodies.

It will be observed that there is one-third more difference in the distance indices of the denominational pairs represented in the upper fourth of Table IX than in those of the entire remaining three-fourths. Between the pairs listed at the bottom of the ranking column there is almost no marked prejudice to be overcome. It gradually increases, from one side or the other, and generally from both, till it has become a wide difference as between denominations in the upper section of the table.

"With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." It is not one-way discrimination or antipathy which divides Christians—and others—but usually mutual antipathy. If harmonization is to take place, something will have to be adjusted on both sides.

EXCLUSION OF OTHERS FROM THE CHURCH

In connection with an extensive ballot on church union, the results of which are presented in chapter iv, those who voted in favor of general church union were asked to take a second thought and to say whether or not they really meant to include certain other denominations and faiths against whom unusual prejudice was known or suspected. The results of this balloting are shown in Table X for the denominations showing the greatest, the least and the median degree of exclusiveness toward eight others.¹⁰

Since only those balloting for general union were included in this inquiry,

¹⁰ See Appendix Table 7 for complete data.

TABLE X—PER CENT. OF 5,191 CHURCH UNION BALLOTS FAVORING GENERAL UNION WHICH EXCLUDED SPECIFIED DENOMINATIONS FROM SUCH A UNION

Excluded Denominations	Total	Median	Excluding Denominations and Per Cent. of Exclusion				
				Highest		Lowest	
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	45.7	Meth. Epis.....	47.9	Moravian.....	80.0	Negro Meth.....	13.2
Spiritualist.....	45.1	United Luth.....	46.9	Meth. Prot.....	77.2	Universalist.....	9.1
Roman Cath.....	44.9	Ref. in America.....	47.2	Meth. Prot.....	73.7	Negro Meth.....	13.2
Jewish.....	39.8	Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	40.8	Meth. Prot.....	71.9	Negro Bapt.....	5.7
Christian Scientist.....	34.0	Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	33.9	Meth. Prot.....	75.4	Universalist.....	0.0
Unitarian.....	27.2	Pentecostal.....	31.3	Meth. Prot.....	71.9	Universalist.....	0.0
Pentecostal.....	23.3	Ref. in U. S.....	22.2	Meth. Prot.....	61.4	Mo. Syn. Luth.....	0.0
Negro churches.....	17.5	Meth. Epis.....	15.9	Evan. Syn. N. A.....	47.1	Universalist.....	0.0
No Exclusion*.....	33.4	Other Luth.....	31.0	Negro Meth.....	71.6	Meth. Prot.....	5.3

* This line shows that 33.4 per cent. of the total ballots failed to exclude any of the denominations specified, and that in the policy of non-exclusiveness the "Other Lutherans" occupied the median position, while the Negro Methodists had the highest percentage of non-excluding ballots and the Methodist Protestants the lowest.

Table X presumably greatly understates the degree of exclusion of the listed denominations from the standpoint of the group as a whole. The range of discrimination is highly significant, being nearly three times as great in the case of Mormons as in the case of the Negro churches.¹¹

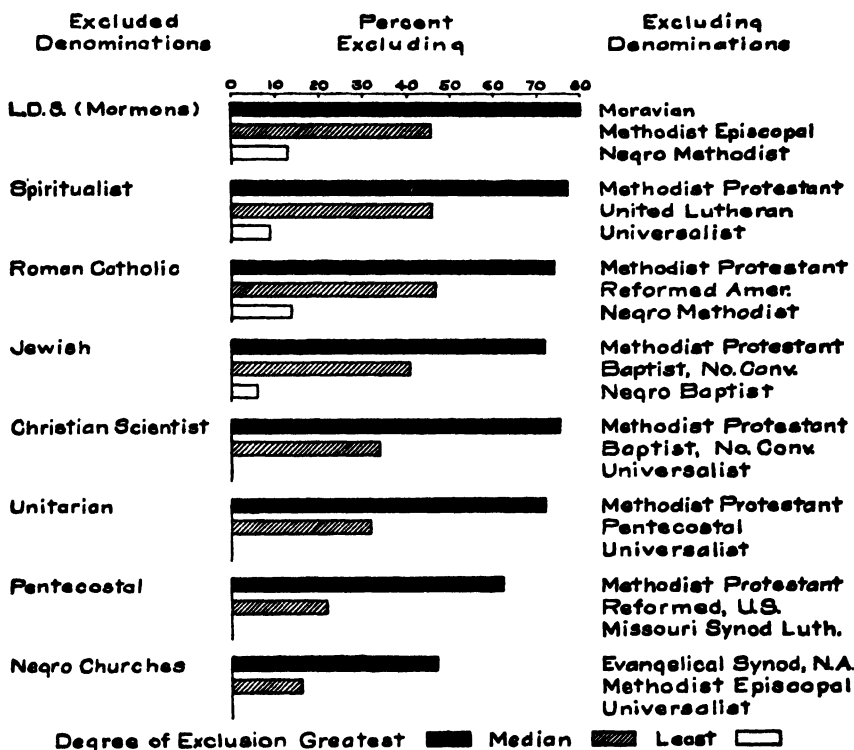


CHART IV—PER CENT. OF CHURCH UNION BALLOTS APPROVING THE EXCLUSION OF SPECIFIED DENOMINATIONS FROM A UNITED CHURCH

For denominations showing respectively the greatest, the median and the smallest per cent. of exclusion

On these data, Methodist Protestant sentiment shows by far the largest tendency to the exclusion of others from the church, this denomination leading with respect to six of the eight excluded denominations. Universalist and Negro Methodist churches show the smallest tendency to exclude others, the former leading on four counts and the latter on two. The name, Universalist, is obviously a suggestion of the theological inclusiveness of the

¹¹ So far as the lists are comparable, the rank-order of the excluded denominations in Table X exactly corresponds to that in the table of religious-distance feeling in the author's previous study, *Protestant Coöperation in American Cities*, p. 28.

denomination, while genial racial traits and their own desire for equality may in part account for the position of Negro churches.

The showing must be considered as a rather large modification of the vote in favor of general church union.¹² There is strong tendency to exclude certain bodies from possible union. In other words, the unity of the church which many contemplate is unity within limits. However, omitting Roman Catholics, only a very inconsiderable fraction of other Christians will be left out by these exclusions. No large Protestant denomination is discriminated against to the point of exclusion from the very idea of a united church.

CONCLUSION

Short, however, of actual exclusion from a united church, large differences of feeling between religious bodies have been shown. Some denominations are emotionally near together and akin to one another; others far apart; still others fall between the two extremes. This is in addition to objective differences, between larger and smaller, concentrated and dispersed, growing and stationary, older and younger, cultured and less cultured. That differences both objective and subjective affect the prospects of uniting the churches is all too manifest. It is out of such diverse elements, if at all, that unity must come.

All told, then, the division of the American population into religious types and groups has been a major fact of the social history of the nation, and is now a major fact of its social structure; so much so, that up to the present moment an adherent of only one type of religion can be elected President of the United States. Some of the measurable realities of the situation have now been reviewed—actual differences to which sectarian divisions more or less closely correspond, settled attitudes which any successful movement for unity will have to overcome. And as yet the deeper grounds and causes of division as churchmen view them have not been touched.

Now, whatever attitude one takes toward the divided state of the church—which some regard complacently as natural and right; others with abhorrence as arbitrary and wrong—one is under obligation to try to understand the facts as they have been put before him. The simplest and most obvious next step is to look into their origins. How did the divisions of the American church come about? The next chapter attempts to answer this question. What, if anything, is happening to modify or end them? And what do the divided millions of Christians think about their own divisions? These inquiries will occupy the further chapters of Part I.

¹² P. 112.

CHAPTER II

Division and Integration in American Church History

Even in a study which, both by deliberate intent and by practical limitations is essentially contemporaneous, there is good reason to include a minimum of history. The first reason, in the case of this report, is that people at present concerned with church unity movements continuously appeal to history. Whether for or against unity, they almost universally attempt to justify themselves by citing one or another version of the life of the primitive church, or the stories of ancient divisions between East and West, of medieval Roman Catholicism, of the Protestant Reformation, of the rise of present denominations. This is particularly true of official discussions and pronouncements. But individual thinking, too, as is widely evidenced in the data, draws piecemeal on alleged historical facts. These historical assumptions, so widely made, constitute a part of the current situation, and one of which it is necessary to take account.

A CAUTIOUS ATTITUDE TOWARD HISTORY

To one who uses the contemporaneous approach to any field of investigation, the capacity of history to throw uncolored light upon present facts will not be accepted without qualification. In view of the great number and complexity of the factors found to be involved in the present situation, one cannot avoid a certain suspicion that historians have sometimes substituted oversimplified and abstract versions of the past for the fullness of reality. In the field of organized religion as much as anywhere, one may doubt whether the alleged reasons are the real reasons most of the time. In particular, one may well be exceptionally cautious of current theological explanations for the sectarian differences of Christianity.¹ To say that churches split on a certain article of the creed, or over the authority of the bishops, or the valid celebration of the sacraments, is all too simple. The inner issue may have been scarcely one of religion at all. To deny all force to religious considerations would be equally fallacious. The likelihood is that a complex variety of factors was involved in the divisions of the past, exactly as a variety of factors is involved in the integrations of the present.

This judgment appears the more credible when one considers the origins

¹ Such as those offered wholesale in Bass, *Protestantism in the United States* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1929).

of ecclesiastical sects in America. The majority were introduced by immigration. Each immigrant group brought its peculiar religion with it. But the typical characteristics of the immigrant group is that it represents a racial variation from the dominant stock, that its economic status is precarious, that it has an inferior social position, and that its cultural experience in the new world is complicated. That it also keeps a distinctive religious expression through the survival of the transplanted sect is simply part of the total picture of group isolation. The reasons the group gives for its peculiar faith are far from the true social explanation.

Sects which did not originate by immigration generally arose through frontier schisms. But the experience of frontierization has been subject to frequent sociological analyses, and is found to involve a wide variety of factors, psychological, economic, social and cultural, with which religious factors are mixed in a single environmental complex.

All these factors may have helped to cause a sectarian division, or may be involved in its removal. One cannot, therefore, defend the supposition that the mere adjustment of their theological differences would achieve a reunion of denominations. One may be fairly certain, on the other hand, that if he can find a considerable variety of factors coinciding in influence and reinforcing one another, he has reached some explanatory clue. The variety of factors makes it improbable that all the trends will be in a single direction, but definite major trends which show a long continuance will have considerable prophetic value.

With such precautions, the present study attempts to find a background in church history. It goes beyond origins and development and throws a certain light upon the current positions of the churches and even upon the prospects of their further unity.

HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

Two preliminary considerations are of help in the construction of a framework within which the continuous processes of history may be viewed. First, with respect to space, it should be noted that an empty continent was filled in by waves of settlement from east to west. At first the different religious elements, to considerable extent, settled on different latitudes in seaboard territory. So long thereafter as the process of nation-building was primarily one of the taking up of land by successive waves of emigration, the later-comers habitually settled farther west than the earlier ones. A regional separation of denominations thus originated which still continues as the rule of religious distribution in the United States.

With respect to time, it is well to recall that a full half of American history was absorbed by the colonial period in getting settlement as far west as the Alleghenies. The later-arriving peoples have had a much shorter

time in which to respond to the evolutionary forces that have moulded the nation. Certain denominations have not had one-half, one-third, or one-tenth as much of American experience as the older denominations. These late-comers cannot be expected to show the same degree of preparation for integration, especially if their national and racial antecedents are not those of the dominant stock.

The epochs of American history have been variously distinguished by different historians. From the standpoint of religious evolution and for the purposes of this book, the following are recognized:

First, the colonial period which perpetuated on these shores a civilization derived from Europe. This was followed by a far-reaching social revolution accompanying and consummating the political revolution which led to national independence. Immediately following the full establishment of the nation and for a century thereafter, the dominant experience of the American people was that of living on or just behind a frontier. The westward movement of population created successive fringes of settlement whose life wrought in the entire nation a peculiar mind and temper. Since the frontier moved farther west from decade to decade, it is not possible to get at its exact terminal date. Roughly speaking, 1835-1840 may be thought of, however, as marking the climax of the frontier period. Thereafter followed a farm and village civilization in which settled conditions tread very rapidly upon the heels of the frontier. The country was quickly knit together by new means of communication and made prosperous by the invention of new types of farm implements. The end of this period may be found at the exhaustion of free land, officially announced in 1890. This marked the transition to the urban era, chiefly identified with the present century, in which the balance of population has turned cityward and the major issues of national life have been made to face in new directions.

Within this framework, the present chapter undertakes to trace the most characteristic tendencies of organized religion, especially as they appear through the conflicts and divisions of churches, or show a trend toward their adjustment and unification.

COLONIAL CHURCHES

Contrary to partisan exaggerations of the influence of minor ethnic stocks upon American history, it is demonstrated beyond question by the First Federal Census, that of 1790, that the nation at the end of the colonial period was overwhelmingly English in origin. It had transplanted a civilization in which the essential social structure of the Old World had been preserved. Among the transplanted features were the ecclesiastical divisions of the age.

It is not the part of the present study to explore these divisions in their

pre-American phase, and it should only be necessary to recall some of the main facts. The age of American settlement was an age moving away from unity. Nationalism had taken the place of theoretical unity of a western world under a Holy Roman Empire, and democracy had magnified the place of the individual in the scheme of things. The grand attempt at world government through common religious ideals, expressed in the medieval papacy, had broken down before the forces of the Protestant Reformation and of secularism, and had been shattered into many bits.

The world out of which America grew was consequently full of sects, and colonization in particular was largely carried on by sectarian groups. Desire to escape persecution in their homelands made such groups ripe for emigration. They had also the advantage of cohesion and discipline to equip them for their hard struggle with the wilderness. Most of them were religiously radical, some politically radical as well; but all were essentially cultural conservatives seeking to establish in the new world traditions of the past against the day when their present generation of leaders should be dust.

A second characteristic of European civilization which the colonial period transplanted to America was that of the state church. In spite of the many sects state churches were the rule; and the sects that sought freedom from state churches generally intended to become state churches themselves in the communities which they might build. The established colonial church, with its suppression of dissenters, was merely following precedent. In many colonies, however, the struggle for political dominance rapidly changed the status of the sect to that of the state church and vice versa. At the close of the colonial period, however, nine out of thirteen colonies still had state-supported churches, and their political contentions were only settled as the old order was swept away in the social revolution which followed the achievement of national independence.

In spite of this story of conflict, however, the dominant tendency of the colonial period was one of accommodation and adjustment, the facts of which are familiar. Proprietors and promoters had to attract settlers to their empty lands in the new world. In order to get them, they had to promise religious toleration, which became a dominant factor in the emigration policy of the period.

In 1663, for example, the directors in Holland of the New Amsterdam colony warned Governor Peter Stuyvesant that banishment of Quakers tended "to check and destroy your population" and suggested discontinuance of such rigorous proceedings against them as long as they were not seditious.²

² Thomas, *History of the Friends* (American Church History Series), Vol. XII, pp. 215-16.

"Thus," writes Greene, "in all these proprietary provinces there developed a practical kind of liberalism usually influenced by business considerations, which permitted considerable differences in religious faiths and practices. These variations, once admitted, created a situation which made subsequent intolerant or discriminating policies increasingly difficult."⁸

Toleration was also a religious theory with some of the sects, notably the Quakers. There was also a marked gain of religious liberty in England following the Revolution of 1688, and a gradual spread of the spirit of tolerance in the western world, so that the bitterness of the struggle of the churches was mitigated.

Another factor figured largely in the situation. As has often been pointed out, the state church in America failed signally in securing the allegiance of a majority of the people. Even though the church was tax-supported, most of the citizens did not give it their active allegiance. This compelled all the churches, state-supported as well as sectarian, to become propagandists. Those identifying church-membership with citizenship and those dependent upon voluntary membership alike had to gain their effective support by their personal appeal. This inherent necessity tended to make the two types alike. Thus the distinction between established church and sect broke down.

Still further, the strong tendency toward equality, which has characterized pioneer civilization in new lands, wrought strongly upon the churches. Such denominations as the Lutheran and Protestant Episcopal came to be nearer the general type than at any period before or since.

NEW CONFLICT

A secondary tendency to conflict set in toward the end of the colonial period and became acute. This must not be allowed to obscure the long-time trend of the period. The ground of this conflict was the difference which had gradually grown up between the seaboard and the colonial frontier. The fringe of settlement east of the Alleghenies was never a frontier in the later sense because old-world influences were more dominant in the colonial than in the national period, and because of the much lower rate of settlement which permitted society to retain its old moulds with little alteration. The two regions had nevertheless developed in unequal degrees and in different directions. Cotton Mather's unflattering opinion of the new settlements, with their untaught families "like to Perish for Lack of Vision," is often quoted. Conflict of economic interests accelerated the feeling of difference. The rural and mercantile classes were farther and farther

⁸ Greene, Evarts B., "The American Record in Relation to Religious Liberty," address delivered at the Washington, D. C., Seminar of the National Conference of Catholics-Jews-Protestants, March 8, 1932. (New York National Conference of Jews and Christians, 289 Fourth Avenue.)

separated in experience and sympathies. In towns and cities, what it is now fashionable to identify as an "alliance of Calvinism and Capitalism" expressed itself in the development of middle-class churches. Certain denominations, notably the Congregational and Protestant Episcopal, became so identified with the seaboard as, for a long time, to lack capacity for westward expansion. Even to the present time these churches have remained predominantly urban. Other denominations, closely identified with the fringe of settlement, took on the beginnings of a definitely frontier character, and showed the earliest distinct symptoms of exaggerated emotionalism and a tendency toward division which later marked the classic period of the frontier. The revivalistic tendency, culminating in the Great Awakening, brought forth its division between Old Side and New Side. This was essentially a split between the staid religious conventionalism of the longer-settled and wealthier communities and a cruder, border type of religion.

Of issues formally in debate between the two parties an outstanding one was the authorization and qualification of the ministry. The revivalistic churches stood for spiritual gifts and spontaneity; the established churches for regularity and a classical education. The constitution of a Separatist church in 1745 drew the issue as follows:

"That every brother that is qualified by God for the same, has a right to preach according to the measure of faith, and that the essential qualification for preaching is wrought by the Spirit of God; and that the knowledge of the tongues and liberal sciences are not absolutely necessary; yet they are convenient, and will doubtless be profitable if rightly used; but if brought in to supply the want of the spirit of God, they prove a snare to those that use them and all that follow them."⁴

The Separatist challenge to authority went at times to excessive lengths, including not only civil disorder but sexual irregularity. In consequence of this sectional clash of standards, a good many local churches separated from their former fellowships; but new denominations as such did not appear. At worst, then, ecclesiastical division in the colonial period found its characteristic form in rival parties and schools of theological thought rather than in complete schisms. This was in greatest contrast with the next chapter in the story when, having passed the Alleghenies, the frontier fairly spawned sectarian divisions for forty years.

EARLIER NATIONAL PERIOD

Organized Christianity, at the beginning of the nation's independent life, was measured by some 3,000 local churches of twenty-eight denominations.

⁴ Tracy, "The Great Awakening"; Confession of Faith of a Separatist Church, organized at Mansfield. (1745) p. 318.

Of these denominations ten were indigenous and eighteen imported. The chief significance for the church of this new epoch of American history is found in two points: First, in the profound social revolution which accompanied and followed the political revolution through which the nation came into being, and second, in the still more profound influence of the frontier upon that national character.

The popular imagination has perpetuated a biased interest in political revolution. This has blinded most Americans to the fact that basic reforms, which took a hundred years in England, were worked out in a decade or two by the new American nation. Along with the abolition of landed privilege and far-reaching legal reforms went the disestablishment of the colonial state churches.

A glimpse into the local history of any typical older settlement in the years following the Revolution shows concretely what was going on. The fringes of these century-old towns had seen the gradual appearance of undesirable neighborhoods, poor and segregated, peopled by "deserters, Hessians, riff-raff," uprooted by war from their former places in society. At least so the newcomers seemed to the staid townsmen and the middle-class landholders secure in the franchise behind the religious monopoly of a state-supported church. Frequently, the new populations were found clustering about some water power beside which new industries were springing up. They thus became the progenitors of the nation's factory workers. One traces something of the struggles of these new people for equal privilege in the pathetic ups and downs, the feeble and intermittent life of their earlier churches. Not with equal rapidity in all states but generally by the end of a quarter of a century, the people of these churches had won full legal status and citizenship, while their churches had broken the religious monopoly and become accepted institutions of their communities. Comparable things were happening throughout the nation. Hereafter there was no legal barrier to the unlimited growth of sects.

This group of coincident changes amply justifies Beard's enthusiastic verdict: "It was in truth an economic, social and intellectual transformation of prime significance—the first of those modern world-shaking reconstructions in which mankind has sought to cut and fashion the tough and stubborn web of fact to fit the pattern of its dreams."⁵

Following the Revolution came a vast movement of westward expansion and a century of life on the frontier. This cut even more deeply into the established habit and temper of the nation. Revolutionary ideas, social and political, became doubly potent when transferred to the as yet uninhabited regions of an entire continent and wrought out under unprecedented

⁵ Beard, Charles A. and Mary R., *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), pp. 292 ff.

physical and psychological conditions. The successive American frontiers as portrayed by James Truslow Adams⁶ acted as a series of sieves which sifted out the older culture and inherited tradition and eliminated education and refinement. The typical frontiersman was intolerant of all such niceties, and made a virtue of his own rudeness. The matter is well put in Turner's classic passage:

"At the frontier, the bonds of custom are broken and unrestraint is triumphant. . . . The stubborn American environment is there with its imperious summons to accept its conditions; the inherited ways of doing things are also there; and yet, in spite of the environment, and in spite of custom, each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past; and freshness, and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas, and indifference to its lessons, have accompanied the frontier."⁷

Scientifically speaking, the West was peopled in large measure by a natural selection of those who were young in years and childishly and ignorantly optimistic by temperament. Mentalities of these types dominated the expansion of the new nation. Its course is well marked by the deterioration of status in the Lincoln family from that of men of property and affairs, minor capitalists and office-holders in the colonies, to the poverty-stricken crudity of the Kentucky cabin. Culturally, therefore, not less than politically, the first great cleavage was between East and West. Religion took its emotional bent from the frontier, but its distinctive aim was to subject its converts to an ethics inherited from the East; so that, as Niebuhr wittily remarks, "Conversion was substantially a recovery of eastern inhibitions."⁸

More and more, however, population and the balance of political power passed westward; while success, the physical achievement of nation-building, constantly fed self-esteem until the recognized American character was achieved. A confident people had acquired the habit of looking westward. Men broken by the last wave of migration became the leaders of the next, and "the clearest voice of new guidance came out at the freshest frontier group."⁹ The upshot of the process is aptly summarized in Adams' epigram, "America secedes from the Old World."¹⁰

As part of this process the nation created a new religious type the essential mark of which was sectarianism. With the geographical movement

⁶ *Epic of America* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1932), pp. 122, ff.

⁷ Turner, F. J., *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1921), p. 38.

⁸ Niebuhr, H. Richard, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929), p. 143.

⁹ Paxton, F. L., *History of the American Frontier* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), p. 102.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

from east to west, new sects increased in numbers and aggressiveness. Sec-tarianism is still quantitatively most prevalent in the newer West or in segregated areas where frontier conditions still continue.¹¹ The older colonial churches as well, as they expanded beyond the Allegheny Moun-tains, took on more definitely sectarian traits, and a varied group of sects rapidly came into existence by schisms in these bodies.

The occasion of the multiplying sects was obviously the extreme indi-vidualism of the frontier and the unlimited opportunity it afforded for persons under emotional tension to follow their religious hunches. A Baptist worthy had testified to this in his own case. After a three weeks' church controversy in 1749, during which "a disagreeable temper was soon dis-covered and much heat in debate . . . as the author was essaying in his secret approaches to the throne of grace, to give up this case to God, a sud-den conclusion came in, that the Baptist way is certainly right, because nature fights so against it."¹² Out of such conflicts and reasonings grew religious divisions which survive to the present moment.

Sociologically speaking, however, the cause of this multiplying of sects was primarily the fact that social changes were taking place at unequal rates. While all the great denominations went away into the wilderness, some of their elements went faster and farther than others, while others lagged behind. The main body did not move fast enough for the wilder spirits; it nevertheless moved too fast for the slower ones. This brought about two-way splits, respectively radical and conservative, in virtually all existing denominations. Individual leaders simply felt called of God to put themselves at the head of one or another of these conflicting tendencies.

Schism naturally took different forms under different types of church organization. Thus the loosely organized Baptist churches early developed three parties. One, socially conservative, had outgrown persecution, had become comfortably established and had begun to found institutions of higher learning. Another, radical, aggressively carried the revival move-ment to new territories. Between the two stood a mediating party. Under different names, these three tendencies divided and recombined in kaleido-scopic variety from section to section. Thus the conservative "General" Baptists were charged by some of their brethren with being "too super-fluous" in their dress, and with retaining members who acknowledged them-selves to have been baptized without conversion. These specifications iden-tify a lax and worldly tendency among the churches. The conservative group in turn objected to the "eccentricities" of their separatist brethren,

¹¹ Mode, P. G., *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923), pp. 79 ff. and 90.

¹² Backus, Isaac, *A History of New England with Particular Reference to the Baptists* (New-ton: Backus Historical Society, 1871), Vol. II, p. 36.

their disregard for an educated ministry and the trembling, weeping, screaming and catilepsy which characterized their religious gatherings. A more moderate Baptist group sympathized with the revival movement and united with it after its excesses were somewhat outgrown.¹³

Of all the denominations, Methodism—in spite of its autocratic leadership at the first, and its centralized government—most perfectly attuned itself to the spirit of the frontier. It had early outgrown its swanky period when Asbury was trying to keep preachers in knee breeches after all other American males had taken to trousers. A deep affinity developed between the Methodist church and the political instincts of the new West.

"The great mass, if not the entire, of the Methodist Church and her adherents were Republicans, and so were the entire infidel portion of the community, tho these two classes were antipodes in all things pertaining to religion; yet, as they voted the same ticket, the infidel relaxed his opposition, and would occasionally go and hear them, and, on hearing the dogmas of Calvinism exposed as false doctrine, and not in accordance with the Bible, the infidel opened his eyes and ears with astonishment, and said, 'If the Methodist views of the Bible are true, we have no objection of it!' They would protect and defend, and even contribute to the support of the Methodist ministry, and occasionally hear them, from motives of policy, because every convert to Methodism, in those times became a Republican, if he was not one before.

"On the other hand, Calvinism and Federalism were yoked together as the dominant *isms* of the state, and many, supposing that Calvinism was a Bible doctrine, rejected both; but, on learning the truth in the matter, they not only dropped their opposition to the Bible, but became converted to God, in many instances."¹⁴

These lines are scarcely non-partisan, and they doubtless represent the tendency to oversimplification against which one was forewarned. The complex of psychological factors which enabled Methodism to popularize itself was more varied and more subtle than the explanation quoted. Nevertheless, it is highly significant that Methodism suffered no conservative split and that her radical schisms, such as that of O'Kelley in 1792, and the later Methodist Protestant defection, were over governmental issues rather than doctrinal ones. But in these cases also unequal readiness to accommodate the church to frontier ideals of equality—coupled with the local growth of class distinctions—were the central points at issue.

Presbyterianism, at first identified with the dour Scotch-Irish stock, was more resistant to change. Consequently, its schisms were more violent and extreme. The conservative "old school" party excluded the more moderate

¹³ Newman, A. H., *History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (American Church History Series, Vol. II), chapters iii and iv.

¹⁴ Brunson, Alfred, *A Western Pioneer* (New York: American Baptist Publication Society, rev. ed., 1915), Vol. I, p. 43.

"new school" presbyteries in 1837-8, and the two wings remained separate ecclesiastical bodies until 1869. Nearly two decades before had occurred the schism of the radical Cumberland Presbytery, after a typical clash of temperaments in which the main body of the church took action against what its champions branded as "the lawless and insubordinate spirit rife in the West,"¹⁵ while the revival party was glorying in the claim that its secession had given "a check to Popish usurpation [of power] in the Presbyterian Church."

The still more conservative churches of German origin saw numerous breakings-off of new bodies under Methodistic frontier influences. Their schisms were still going on after those of the English-speaking colonial churches had substantially ceased. It is, therefore, not too much to say that between 1790 and 1830 substantially every older denomination had experienced a schism due to the fact that the main body could not keep up with the more radical spirit of the frontier.

Partly corresponding to, but in general somewhat later than radical schisms, came a second crop of conservative schisms growing chiefly out of three conditions. The first was associated with the revulsion of the richer, more cultured and more urban areas of the country from sympathy with the frontier movement. This resulted in a virtual segregation of the Congregational and Protestant Episcopal churches as, for the time being, denominations of the seaboard states. The most extreme conservative movement, socially and economically speaking, was Unitarianism which, in its origins, was sharply limited to the mercantile and manufacturing end of Massachusetts, and still retains its original affinity for the vicinity of the Boston State House.

Secondly, in some of the denominations, conservative tendencies were reinforced by later immigration from stubborn stocks, notably Scotch and German. These found the churches of their kindred in America too much affected by the national spirit to furnish them comfortable religious environments. They consequently tended to establish themselves in sectarian separation. This tendency is well illustrated by the history of the Associated Reformed Church.¹⁶ The "Old" and "New Lights" were simply different generations of Scotchmen. A third and immigrant generation could get along with neither. Hence a new sect.

Thirdly, there came a cooling off of the first heat of the frontier spirit as the literal frontier rapidly gave way to settled communities. Sects now arose attempting to preserve disappearing frontier attitudes which they defended as "primitive." These attitudes had shocked and outraged their

¹⁵ Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky* (Lexington, 1847), p. 39; and McDonnold, *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (Nashville, 1888), p. 80.

¹⁶ Sweet, W. W., *Story of Religion in America* (New York: Harper and Brothers), p. 209.

grandfathers when they first appeared in colonial days. Their separatist fathers had nevertheless accepted them and established them as the normal marks of religion west of the Alleghenies. But now the sons of these same fathers were founding colleges to reinstate the repudiated higher learning and were establishing missionary boards to evangelize the West. Orderly system and regular methods of teaching and preaching had drawn the fires of frontier religion. This was too much for the more passionate survivors of the older day. They vigorously opposed the new spirit in the name of the past.

The Wood River Baptist Church of the Illinois Association wrote in its minutes for 1820: "The church is not willing for any of her members to have anything to do with the board of Western Missions." The Apple Creek Anti-Mission Association of Illinois "grew largely out of the fear of taxation for religious purposes." Its constitution (of 1830) states:

"We as an association do not hesitate to say that we declare an unfellowship with foreign and domestic missionary and bible societies, Sunday Schools and tract societies, and all other missionary institutions.

"No missionary preacher is to have the privilege of preaching at our association."¹⁷

In brief, just as the swing toward the wilderness had thrust out its religious pioneers in advance of the main movement, so now the revulsion from the wilderness of the main movement left a belated fringe out of harmony with progress.

In spite of these elements of conflict it is nevertheless possible to see very strong tendencies toward uniformity in this period as a whole. In short, a national church type had formed on the frontier and been modified by the genius of permanent settlement. For two hundred years a conventional type of revivalism was the chief external feature of American Protestantism.

"The frontier not only divided its pioneers from the established churches of the East but also impressed upon them a common pattern of religious life and a common religious symbolism. The camp-meeting was an early form of denominational coöperation in which Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist preachers united. The conversions which took place whether in response to Calvinist preaching or to Arminian appeals were of the same type. The hymns which were sung, the prayers which were offered, the symbols of heaven and hell which were employed, the sins which were condemned and the righteousness which was portrayed, were the hymns, prayers, symbols, sins and virtues of the frontier—not those of any special group. Furthermore, as is the case in almost every migration, adherents of various sects previously isolated were thrown together

¹⁷ Sweet, "Religion on the American Frontier," *The Baptist* (1931), pp. 62-64.

on the frontier and achieved a social unity which was bound to affect their religious prejudices and divisions."¹⁸

Universal use of a common technique, coupled with the essential neighborliness of the new world, gave frontier religion the uniform emotional tone which critical historians are inclined to trace to the repressiveness of Puritanism, the decline of art, the lack of recreation in the West. All of these lacks demanded compensations and tended to take themselves out in what were frequently little less than orgies, but which became the accepted religious expression of the majority of the American people.

Again, religion received common traits from the predominatingly active tendencies of the people. With a continent to do with, Americans became a nation of doers. This characteristic is similarly traced by the historians to climate, to pioneer life, and above all to the consciousness of achievement, justified by the great and speedy material success of the American national experiment. The active spirit tempered the sense of helplessness implicit in the old Calvinism and turned the dominant religious tendency of the frontier into a mild Arminianism, as represented by Methodist doctrines. Active efforts at expansion, aggressive methods for conserving their membership and gains, practical working objectives as the conscious goals of their striving became outstanding characteristics of all American churches. These emphases still differentiate them, and draw frequent criticism from their European brethren.¹⁹ Thus, in spite of their sectarian divisions, the churches developed a common religious tendency dominated by the American temper.

Practically and ethically, too, the main body of the churches were strongly conservative and in their conservatism were very much alike. They strove against the same frontier evils. They set up the same essential pattern of religious social life which they sought to preserve by discipline.

Even the later-coming churches of immigrant population were very largely drawn into essential conformity with these emotional, active and conservative tendencies; so that while the non-English-speaking sects remained more or less at variance from it (and will, consequently, require later notice), the dominant national church type very greatly impressed even these more resistant types. Striking evidence of this is found in the very general remodeling of their constitutions on the lines of the structure of American government.

It was this actual progress in uniformity which furnished the sociological basis for the great adventure of the Disciples of Christ. Here was an indig-

¹⁸ Mode, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff.

¹⁹ See Visser 'T Hooft, *The Background of the Social Gospel in America* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink and Zoon, 1928).

enous movement representing, as Niebuhr points out, "a frontier effort to gather into a single group the religious people who, coming from many churches and traditions, had been moulded to a common pattern by the West."²⁰

Finally, within the early national period appeared the first unitive tendencies to contradict the characteristic sectarian break-up of the period. The "plan of Union" between Congregational and Presbyterian churches effected a large measure of coöperative support of frontier churches and a non-competitive policy in the religious development of the West.²¹ It remained in operation for forty years and left behind it a theory—more or less well observed—that these bodies would not occupy the same communities.

With the era of social and ecclesiastical organization, the young nation began also to develop missionary, Bible and Sunday-school societies, as instruments for the religious guidance of the nation as a whole in the acceptance of the continental destiny. It is significant that the earliest of these styled themselves "American" missionary societies and that they were actually interdenominational for several decades.

In the outcome, therefore, the end of the period showed the integrating tendencies strongly gaining upon the divisive ones. As already indicated, the churches of the later-comers kept on having their divisions, thus giving the appearance of the divisive tendencies lasting throughout.

While, therefore, the net result was the great multiplication of sects during the earlier national period, and while integrating tendencies had not yet started any movement for the actual recombination of divided church bodies, it is not too much to say that the meaning of their divisions had already been greatly reduced. The eruptive frontier religious spontaneity and the rude and forceful individualistic leadership which gave them drive and fire had rapidly vanished, leaving traditional sectarian differences more and more to express themselves mainly as theological rationalizations.

RELIGION IN A FARM AND VILLAGE CIVILIZATION

The rapid forming of a farm and village civilization behind the American frontier has already been noted. This quickly established itself as the dominant national type. Frontier emotional and mental traits continued, but were less spontaneous. The frontier had been tamed to conservative habits. It had recovered eastern inhibitions. This implied a shift backward in emotional balance in religion to which previous reference was made.

The three outstanding institutions of civilization in this period were the family, the church and the school. The necessities of agricultural industry and the isolation of farm families under a system of extensive agriculture

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 166.

²¹ Sweet, *op. cit.*, pp. 306 and 375.

forced the family group into a close unity of outlook and conduct. The famous Northwestern Ordinance of 1785 had dedicated the new territory of the nation to education and religion. The building of homes, churches and schools, and the establishment by these means of stable group life in conservative ideals, was the crowning achievement of the epoch. Organized religion prospered, foreswore its frontier prejudice against an educated ministry, founded numerous colleges and theological seminaries and became the accepted custodian of the code of individual morals.

Parallel with this achievement went the establishment of the more equivocal national traits, such as the adoption of size as the main measure of progress, the fixing of "boosting" as a typical American virtue, and exaltation of work as though it were itself a grace—this unconsciously passing into the conception that successful money-making is a mark of personal character and a patriotic duty. These traits helped to explain why, with all its austerity of religious and moral outlook, the nation took the attitude toward land of a transient exploiter, why the gambler's impulse expressed in speculative ownership was stronger than the home-owning instinct, why the nation despoiled her natural resources, and so generally tolerated ugliness which might easily have been removed. The sense of permanence came slowly; the spirit of the frontier was still potent; the restless nation has the disease of physical change in its blood in spite of its settled habits and strongly established moral and social tradition.²²

The epoch affected the church primarily in the direction of assimilation, uniformity and adjustment. The habit of union "protracted" meetings continued even after the camp-meeting had waned. The more individualistic religious groups, such as the Moravians and Dunkers, whose doctrines of communism long kept them separate, increasingly fell into conformity with the national type.

Somewhat paradoxically the colossal breach between the North and the South measured by the Civil War testified even more strongly to the strength of the unifying forces in the nation. The originally contending sections, East and West, had become so assimilated to one another that when the break came it was on lines of latitude rather than of longitude. Moreover as the denominations came to separation over Civil War issues, it was not as sects that they divided but as accepted churches identified with the respective civilizations of North and South. In brief, the churches had in the large become respectable middle-class institutions, showing highly uniform characteristics and deeply involved in the general social setting to which they belonged. It was in this capacity that each followed the flag of its choice. They had lost the sectarian originality and intensity of the fron-

²² Adams, James Truslow, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-194, 217, 225.

tier. Economic differences, such as lay behind the conflict of North and South, and the later contrast between rural and the increasingly urban types of civilization, stood out as exceptions to the general tendency of the period toward uniformity. Behind these actual but really minor differences, the denominations grew more and more alike, though continuing to think that it was their divergent doctrines that kept them apart.

The external aspect of the period was indeed strongly marked by conflict. Division on political lines became the rule with the major denominations. The first schism, that of the Wesleyan Methodist division of 1840-41, was incited by anti-slavery radicalism. The attempt of the main body of the denominations to hold a middle ground proved successively unavailing as the Baptists in 1845, the Methodists in the same year, and the Presbyterians in 1858, came to the parting of the ways and matched the political breach between the sections with ecclesiastical division.

A second set of divisions grew out of belated frontier tendencies. Though the actual frontier had rapidly moved westward, and had become a thinning line affecting an ever-decreasing proportion of the people, a recrudescence of the frontier spirit showed itself from time to time in a return to extreme emotionalism, in charges of worldliness hurled against more settled and civilized ways as they became established in the church, and in outbreaks of radicalism, often right but always irresponsible. These reversions to an earlier type of religion were essentially symptoms of the hold-over of the frontier within a farm and village civilization. They characteristically took place on poor land, with the less prosperous rural classes, in the "bushy back yards" of half a dozen states.

The outstanding religious conflicts of the period, however, were those within minority elements of population, consisting either of newly arrived immigrants or of older immigrant stocks newly reinforced by immigration. These racial strains were foreign to those of the dominant population. They had not had equal time for assimilation. Moreover, they came to the United States in successive waves which turned into reactionary cross-currents within the main American stream. The religious experience of these groups was greatly complicated by such factors and in large degree they recapitulated the process of acute sectarian divisions which had been characteristic of the English-speaking stock of an earlier period.

For sectarianism had been at work in Europe as well as in America. Protestantism had broken into new fragments which emigration successively brought to America, until the map of Europe seemed transferred to the United States and imported sects had more than equaled indigenous ones. The new immigrants used the instinctive tactics of all human groups in such circumstances. They isolated themselves behind language barriers. They turned to extreme conservatism as a defence reaction against the

larger uniformity. They entered into enforced competition with the older groups. All these factors tended to keep the immigrant element to itself.

Meanwhile many of them found churches established by earlier comers of their own race and faith. These churches, however, had become partially assimilated to the American type, so that the new immigrant felt out of harmony with them. This was particularly marked in the Lutheran and Reformed groups. The irenic leadership of Schmucker, for example, had gone far toward getting early Lutheranism into step with the common religious life of the period. This accommodating tendency was submerged by the influence of the new German immigration.²³ Again, later Dutch immigrants of the Reformed faith found even the western wing of the Dutch Reformed Church too American for them, and consequently set up the Christian Reformed body as a separate denomination in 1845-47. Practically every denomination not of English origins was subjected to right or left wing divisions, the Evangelical Synod separating from the Lutherans, and the progressive from the more conservative Dunkers. Indeed, this reinforcement of conservative religious tendencies by immigration has continued to the immediate past and the churches of the latest-comers have notably not yet caught up with the integrative trends of national religious development.

The Negro churches present a special case embodying exactly similar principles. For the Negro, freedom was the exact equivalent of what late immigration was to the foreigner. Since the development of anti-slavery agitation, and especially since the Civil War, the Negro church has very closely repeated the experiences of the other religious groups. Racial self-assertion has been its substitute for frontier experience. It impelled the Negro, when opportunity offered, to assume control of his own religious destinies. At the same time, he was subject to inequalities which, he felt, virtually expelled him from the white churches to which he had previously belonged. The consequence was the almost universal division of Negro Christians from their earlier ecclesiastical fellowships.

Within the racial group, the divisive tendency continued, aggravated probably by the race's lack of long-continued integrating experience and by its incomplete participation in American life. With the Negro, then, as well as with the foreigner, the forces of uniformity and integration have not as yet had full play.

In spite, then, of the spectacular conflicts of the farm and town epoch, shown in sectional divisions of northern and southern churches, in belated schisms due to the hold-over of the frontier spirit, in the characteristic right and left wing divisions of immigrant groups, and in the divisions of the Negro churches, the deep-going unitive forces of the period began again to come to

²³ Jacobs, *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States* (New York: Christian Literature Co., 1893), American Church History Series, Vol. IV, pp. 71, 343-4.

the surface. Important beginnings were made in the regrouping of the terribly shattered Lutheran body into three general divisions, respectively progressive, mediating and reactionary, as well as in unions of considerable Lutheran groups of the same nationality.

In brief, as soon as the groups with shorter American experience had had time to repeat the pattern of conflict and division which the older groups had known before them, they were increasingly caught up into the trends of the American type and began to show symptoms of integration. The net result was a great increase in the number of separate denominations, during the period, but again with a diminishing significance attaching to their differences, so that it became possible for integrating forces to affect the total situation as they could not at any earlier date.

THE CHURCH IN THE URBAN AGE

Beginning with about 1890, a date marked by the exhaustion of habitable government land open for free homesteading, the nation entered upon a transition which culminated in a sharp reversal of the entire trend of its history. American civilization became urban. The covered wagon turned in its tracks and led the great trek of population to the cities. Within a generation urban ascendancy was strongly established. Some of the concrete realities which lie behind this statement are as follows:

- (1) More than half of the population is urban.
- (2) Most of the population is gathered up into great metropolitan regions about colossal cities to which they are visibly tied by intensified means of communication and to which they are invisibly tributary in a thousand ways.
- (3) The urban conquest of the imagination and its compelling power over American standards and points of view has become unquestionable.
- (4) In the composition of its population and in its economic activities the village has become increasingly unlike the country and more like the cities.
- (5) Not only has farming in large measure adopted a machine technique, but the typical American individualism of the farmer has largely yielded to coöperative organization. This signifies the achievement of group attitudes like those of the city dweller.
- (6) The changed balance of civilization is further revealed by such a circumstance as that there are more commercial courses than there are agricultural courses in the high schools of the villages of America.
- (7) Of strictly economic factors, it is noteworthy that between 1910 and 1920 industry outstripped agriculture as a major occupation of America. Indeed no major occupation except agriculture has shown continuous decrease in the proportion of workers engaged in it.
- (8) By 1930 the non-farming rural population actually equaled the farm

population, this measuring the waning power of agriculture in its own territory.²⁴

The resistance of the country to the menacing power of the city brought new elements of conflict into the religious situation. Denominations were very unequally urbanized. Some had three-fourths or more of their memberships living in urban territory; others as little as one-fourth. The points of view at the two extremes were strikingly different and the more rural and more urban divisions of denominational families found in this distinction a barrier to reunion. Surveys showed the strong hold-over of the rural religious tradition in the city and the affinity of rural migrants in the cities for erratic and emotional types of religion to which they had been accustomed.²⁵ Many of these sects originated on those fragments of frontier which still survive in the isolation of the southern mountains or on the arid lands of the Southwest.

Another source of conflict was found in urban immigration from southern and eastern Europe. More new sects have been imported from these sources than have originated in any other way during the last two decades. Curiously enough, in the main, these represent the eastern Orthodox Church which claims to have preserved Catholic union unbroken. Its autonomous national branches are one in faith and order. Transplanted to the new world, they nevertheless added fresh religious divisions corresponding to each petty nation of eastern Europe.

The American city, as such, has not been prolific in new sects. It has, however, brought forth a few, such as the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, reflecting the fortunes of the poor and socially disinherited under urban conditions. It is significant, however, that this denomination expanded by gathering into its fold certain distinctly rural sects of the southern mountains.

All told, then, the urban age is marked by the change of trend in organized religion from division to integration.

Evidence of this change is found first in the outcome of the rural-urban conflict itself. This conflict appeared most definitely in the controversy between modernism and fundamentalism.²⁶ Up to the present moment, however, the strife between the two has not resulted in ecclesiastical schism. Their adherents remain as contending wings within the same denominations. Never before in American history have divergencies so bitter, so highly organized, and so long continued failed to result in the separation of

²⁴ Kolb & Brunner, "Rural Life," chapter x, in *Recent Social Trends*, Report of the President's Research Committee (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932).

²⁵ Douglass, *1000 City Churches*, pp. 76 ff. and *The St. Louis Church Survey*, p. 60 (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1926, 1924).

²⁶ Cole, Stewart G., *The History of Fundamentalism* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931).

denominations. This fact is most convincing evidence of the ascendancy of accommodation and integration in the urban era.

A second evidence is the further cooling of older sectarian hatreds. Of this change, this book as a whole is massive proof. It is a change which increasingly strikes detached observers. The uniformity of American life has, for a long time, drawn forth the comment of critical foreigners, some of whom have pointed out that it covers religion as well as other American traits. Denominational differences generally do not strike these observers as standing for real differences in civilization.²⁷

Final evidence is found in the actually reduced rate at which religious division is proceeding. One sees this most clearly by comparing the growth of population and the number of denominations from epoch to epoch. This is done in Table XI.

TABLE XI—INCREASE IN NUMBER OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES COMPARED WITH INCREASE OF POPULATION, 1790-1930

Period	Population	Per Cent. of Increase		Total
		Imported	Indigenous	
1790-1835.....	281.0	5.5	150.0	57.1
1835-1890.....	321.0	84.2	204.0	152.3
1890-1930.....	95.0	17.1	48.7	38.7

This table not only shows that denominations are multiplying more slowly in the present urban age but that the diminished rate of those imported from other countries is especially marked.

These tokens proclaim the present era as distinctly one of integration rather than of division. The unitive forces were totally absent from no epoch; now they have reached ascendancy. Their more definite ecclesiastical expressions during the past thirty years are exhibited in the next chapter. How far they may go is the problem of the entire study and cannot be answered before the final section.

INTEGRATIVE MOVEMENTS AND EVENTS

The major types of integrative movements are discussed in detail at the end of this chapter and in the following one. In the light of the above more general evidences of the integrative trend during the urban age, it is accordingly possible to deal most summarily at this point with a select number of significant events.

The first year of the new century saw the meeting of the National Federation of Churches which five years later held an Interchurch Conference on permanent federation whose decisions, as accepted by the constituent

²⁷ Siegfried, André, *America Comes of Age* (London: Cape, 1930), p. 350 ff.

denominations, culminated in the organization of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, in 1908. This national federation was ante-dated by a number of state and local federations, more of which sprang up under the leadership of the Federal Council, until a federal interchurch system had been created, representing the great bulk of Protestants in the United States, which increasingly serves as a correlating center for coöperation.

Beginning with 1900, also, a new advance was made in the integration of the forces of religious education by the establishment of the interdenominational Editorial Association which developed common instructional material for the great mass of Sunday-school youths of all denominations. This was followed by the Sunday School Editorial Council in 1910; and the integrating process in this field culminated, in 1922, in the International Council of Religious Education. This body is recently coming into closer working relations with the Federal Council of Churches.

The year 1903 saw the beginning of the long series of negotiations for union between individual denominations which has continued throughout the period until it has affected practically every major division of the church. Almost the total body of American Christians belong to denominations which have been considering union in one or more directions during the urban age. The story of these negotiations forms the theme of chapter iii.

From 1906 dates the Laymen's Missionary Movement, first of an important series of efforts, under lay auspices, for the practical unification of churches in work. It was followed by the Men and Religion Forward Movement, in 1912, in which the social applications of religion were especially stressed; by the Buck Hill Falls Institutes of Religion, under the auspices of the *Christian Herald*, in 1929 and 1930; and by the far-reaching Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry which rendered its report, *Re-Thinking Missions*, in 1932, followed by supplementary volumes in 1933.

From 1907 dates the first of the great interchurch administrative agencies of coöperation, the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Mission Boards of North America. Designed to constitute a point of contact and forum for discussion in matters of interdenominational interest, this agency has fostered notable unity movements in the foreign-mission field. Its organization was closely followed, in 1908, by that of the Home Missions Council and of the Council of Women for Home Missions, to function similarly as interchurch service agencies for the home-mission boards of the United States. By originating this galaxy of notable movements, the first decade of the century is marked as an epoch of coöperation and federation.

With the second decade, the integrative processes passed over into the phase of confessed unity movements. The appeal of the fifth Lambeth Conference of bishops of the Anglican communion was finding somewhat gen-

eral official response on the part of individual denominations throughout the world. In 1910 was founded the Christian Unity Federation, a voluntary association of communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church, later enlarged to include members of other communions, which sought to foster unity in service and a common understanding between the churches as preliminary to full organizational union. The same year the General Conference of the Protestant Episcopal Church initiated a call for a World Conference on Faith and Order to be participated in by the whole of Christendom. The movement was delayed by the World War, and the chaotic conditions of the post-war period, but was finally held in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1927. In this notable gathering special representatives of virtually the entire Christian church, except the Roman Catholic, met together. They explored at length the agreements and disagreements of the respective divisions, but made no effort at the time to envisage specific terms of general union. A Continuation Committee was appointed to carry on further studies and discussions and a second World Conference is proposed for 1935.

From 1910 dates the rapid development of the agencies within denominations which might take official account of unity movements, with the establishment in that year of the Permanent Committee of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. on Coöperation and Union. Since that date practically all major denominations have set up similar permanent committees or commissions authorized to enter into conference or negotiation for union either general or with other particular churches. The present study examined the negotiating machinery of thirty leading denominations. Only nine had no committees. Thirteen had general committees; five, committees to consider particular mergers, and three, committees of both types. Of committees whose origins could be definitely dated, only one was established before 1900, while one-half have come into existence since 1921. This measures the rapid increase of integrative machinery.

The experience of the churches in united war work inspired and found a sequel in two notable, though as events proved, abortive efforts at larger integration, one in the field of coöperation, the other in that of organic union.

The mood of the moment had greatly stimulated the imagination of the church and enormously expanded its missionary and service programs. These found expression in numerous and ambitious denominational forward movements. At the same time the churches were finding themselves increasingly committed to coöperation. It seemed natural therefore to bring all these movements under a common plan and to commend them to the nation through a unified process. The result was the Interchurch World Movement, originated in 1918. It attempted a series of world-wide surveys of needs which it was the task of the churches to meet, and undertook to

budget workers and resources for the total task which was then to be carried out denominationally, but on a non-competitive basis. After an impressive beginning, however, the movement failed.

A parallel movement for larger-scale ecclesiastical union owed its initiation to an overture of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. inviting "the Evangelical communions of America to meet with our representatives for the purpose of formulating a plan of organic union." This overture was responded to in a preliminary conference of nineteen denominations, and a second conference in Philadelphia, in 1920, adopted a plan for "The United Churches of Christ in America." The plan was to become operative when six denominations had accepted it. The recession of the spirit of unity in war service, however, allowed the plan to die of neglect.

The decade following 1920 was one in which the American churches were increasingly involved in international unity movements. The Lambeth Conference "Appeal to all Christian people" had restated issues relating to the Christian ministry in terms more acceptable to the non-episcopal churches. The Lausanne World Conference of 1927 has already had mention. Two years earlier, in Stockholm, had been held the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, a broadly representative gathering dealing on an international basis with issues of practical unity, among which social and industrial problems were outstanding. In 1927 the Church of Christ in China had been formed out of a larger number of denominations at the center of which stood Presbyterian and Congregational elements.

The Papal Encyclical, 1928, forbidding Roman Catholics to participate in discussions of church union was regarded as the official reply of that church to the Lausanne Conference in which it had declined representation.

The Christian Unity League, a movement initiated by the Reverend Peter Ainslee, a Disciples minister of Baltimore, was established in 1928. It consists of a group of individuals of many communions associated in a Pact of Reconciliation which binds them "to strive to bring the laws and principles of our several communions into conformity with the principle of the equality of all Christians before God, so that no Christian shall be denied membership in any of our churches nor the privilege of participation in the observance of the Lord's Supper and that no Christian minister shall be denied the freedom of our pulpits by reason of difference in forms of organization." The League in subsequent years has held sessions in important centers of the country, marked by the practice of intercommunion between representatives of denominations which do not generally permit it. This movement of individuals for unity, without waiting for their churches to catch up, has led to frequent defiance of ecclesiastical custom and is correspondingly opposed.

In 1928, the Home Missions Council and the Federal Council projected an ambitious "five-year plan" for the survey and administrative readjustment of Protestant forces in the United States. This plan has since been carried out vigorously by the mission boards coöperating through these agencies, and culminated in an important report and conference to appraise results in 1934.

The three years of the new decade have continued the various tendencies initiated during the previous three decades. The Lambeth Conference of 1930 redefined the unity of the Anglican communion in federal terms and approved the separation of the Anglican Church in South India from this communion to become part of an indigenous united church along with elements from non-episcopal churches, but without breach of continuity, standing or fellowship. In 1932 the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry recommended the administrative unification of the foreign-mission boards of the major Protestant denominations of the United States. The same year, the Federal Council of Churches revised its constitution so as to make it more distinctly the official representative of the constituent denominations carrying on its work through fully authorized representatives.

CONTEMPORANEOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF UNITY MOVEMENTS

The thinking of the period since 1900 focuses upon the rapid evolution of events, such as have just been sketched. The reading of the total output of general periodical literature under the topics of coöperation and union, shows that two-thirds of all printed discussions are timely commentaries on events and only one-third are considerations of theoretical issues.

One-half of the topics discussed in a total of 153 articles covering thirty years related to five major topics, one-fourth to six secondary topics and one-fourth to ten occasional topics. These are indicated in the following tabulation:

Major Topics	Number of Times Discussed
Movements and organizations for union (including seven foreign movements)	25
Church federations and federation movements	17
Local unions and community churches	12
Interchurch coöperation	11
Partial unions by mergers of denominations	11
Secondary Topics	
The church's order and ministry	7
General summaries and interpretations	7
Union on foreign-mission fields	6
Theories of unity; unity and diversity, etc.	6
Social psychology and evolution as bearing on unity	5
Church union as bearing on peace between nations	5

The incidental topics were: Catholic and Protestant reunion; union in life and work; problems of church and state; Protestant presuppositions and postulates; the nature of the church; the interest of youth in unity movements and inter-faith relationships other than Protestant and Catholic.

This list fairly represents the scope and emphasis of American thinking in the field of church unity for the period under discussion.

Shifts of emphasis in discussion correspond to the evolution of events as already set forth and justify the characterization offered of the successive decades.

From 1900 to 1910 discussion in periodicals relates primarily to interchurch coöperation, with Protestant-Catholic reunion as a minor note. From 1910 to 1920, the expansion of the federation movement is strongly reflected, together with the beginning of unity movements. From 1920 on, emphasis focuses particularly on unity movements and mergers of denominations, with discussions of social psychology, ecclesiastical theory (largely reflecting the Lausanne discussions) and internationalism as the secondary themes.

Less noteworthy is the shift of the period from personal to formal ecclesiastical discussion. Outstanding names of the first decade of the century were Lyman Abbott, of the *Outlook*, and William Hayes Ward, of the *Independent*, whose conduct of the respective publications represented the heyday of personal religious journalism. Other weighty exponents of unity movements were Cardinal Gibbons, the Reverend Newman Smythe, and Dr. Charles A. Briggs.

Since 1910 discussion has been officialized in ecclesiastical overtures and responses. The successive "Appeals" of the Lambeth Conferences, and the negotiations of the various communions on unity, together with the World Conference on Faith and Order, dominate the discussion. Individuals still continue to make notable contributions to popular discussion, including Bishop W. T. Manning, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, and Dean Shailer Mathews. Of periodicals, the *Christian Century* and the *Literary Digest* have given greatest space and emphasis to unity movements in recent years.

SUMMARY

The urban age, then, is distinctly an era of ecclesiastical integration in the United States. Virtually all churches that have had anything like parallel evolution have been assimilated to a common type, which makes integration in some measure not only possible but wellnigh inevitable. This generalization has worked itself out convincingly in the rapid panorama of movements and events. Positive evidences of the unitive tendency are found in the increase of coöperation and comity between denominations, in the growth of federations and community churches, in the multiplying of movements seeking general organic union, and in the completion of actual merg-

ers, both between related church bodies and between some previously unrelated. In such manifold ways the organized religious forces of the United States have found means of coming together. All of this constitutes objective bases for an expectancy of further integration.

But the integrative movements and alleged differences are obviously of several different sorts. Some merely take various aspects of systematic forms of coöperation or federation. Others go so far as the union of related denominations. Still others seek to effect larger or smaller partial unions. A few aim at the organic union of the entire Christian church.

Of the more limited and tentative movements of integration the most important are the interchurch Federations and Councils, and the various forms of union or community churches. The more outstanding examples of movements of the federated type have already been mentioned. They divide into two classes according as their fields of coöperation are comprehensive or limited. The more comprehensive ones, heading up in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, seek to express "the fellowship and Catholic unity of the Christian church" in all-sided programs of coöperative activity, which are extended throughout the system of state and local organizations. The Federal Council affiliates twenty-five denominations with about twenty-two million members. It was constituted by formal corporate action of these denominations and has full ecclesiastical sanction as an interdenominational agency.

Contrasting with the Federal Council, stand various interchurch agencies, presiding over limited fields of coöperation, like the Councils of all home-mission boards and the International Council of Religious Education. The denominations constituent to these major coöperative agencies are listed in Appendix Table 8.

In contrast with integrating tendencies proceeding from the top down, such as have just been considered, stands the movement for local church union working from the ground up. This significant movement attempts to unite the religious forces and unites without waiting for action upon a denominational or national scale. Very largely it is inspired by the burdensome cost and the divisive tendency of competitive churches in small communities, but it also has deep roots among well-to-do and intelligent suburban populations who have become emancipated from sectarianism.

The movement for local church union manifests itself in a variety of developments. Sometimes it takes non-denominational form; again it federates two or more denominational churches without severing their allegiance to their own denominations; still again it sets up agreements and understandings whereby a denominational church is recognized as the church of the whole community and attempts to function as such. In these various ways and without the guidance of any clear-cut philosophy, some

thousands of American communities have been finding their own short-cuts to unity and have reached what, to them, is merely a natural and sensible way of religious organizational life.

Such movements, whether proceeding from the top down or from the bottom up, have greatly modified the existing denominational system, changing its spirit, manner, and functioning, yet without denying its principle or substantially altering its structural forms. While these are important chapters in the narrative of the integration of the American church, because many of their more important aspects have been exhaustively covered by previous Institute studies, they are not elaborated upon in the present report.²⁸

The bearings of these preliminary phases of unity upon its more complete phases, as well as the reaction of popular attitude and thinking toward them, are amply dealt with in later chapters, especially vi and viii. For the present, therefore, the discussion turns to unity movements in their definite ecclesiastical forms as they seek to combine entire denominations into larger wholes.

²⁸ Douglass, *Protestant Coöperation in American Cities*, 1930, and *Church Comity, A Study of Coöperative Church Extension in American Cities*, 1929; Hooker, *United Churches*, 1926; Brunner, *The Larger Parish*, 1934 (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research).

CHAPTER III

Partial Unions in Twentieth Century America

As indicated by the analysis of the last chapter, the twentieth century has witnessed not only the development of the extensive machinery of inter-church coöperation and federation which the last chapter presented, but also a notable tendency to actual unions of denominations by twos and threes. The present chapter tells the story of these unions of existing fractions of the church into larger wholes.

Some of these partial unions are the undoings of historic divisions traced in chapter ii. Divided religious groups have simply come together again. Or, if they never were actually together in one organization, they may have had common antecedents and a consciousness of family relationships. This was true of the Lutheran and Reformed groups in different countries, which immigrated to America as separate bodies, and have shown great inclination here to draw together in recent years. Still other unions have been accomplished between bodies which were never one, and had no common history, but merely certain long-standing affinities of temper and spirit, or which had achieved similar traits by evolution within a common national environment.

Some partial and limited unions were attempted but failed; others were consummated, more are still being discussed or negotiated.

The common characteristic of these unions is that they challenge and reverse the tendency to division. All told, they greatly reduce the number of denominations and thereby constitute a modification of the denominational order of obvious historic importance. Some of the consummated unions merged very considerable groups; others under discussion concern even larger ones. To many they seem to presage the consolidation of organized religion in the United States into a few divisions instead of many. Their relation to general union will have later consideration. For the moment it is proposed to regard them merely as integrative movements, following the method of piecemeal union of parts of the church rather than that of a general returning to some single principle or plan of union, or that of an unscrambling of all existing divisions in order to start afresh.

COMPLETED MERGERS

Since 1900, twenty-three denominations have merged into ten, and these by remerger have been reduced to eight, as shown in the following tabula-

tion, in which it will be noted that the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., and the Congregational denomination have each taken part in two mergers:

Year of Merger	Denominations Merged	Present Name
1906	Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. Cumberland Presbyterian	Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.
1911	Northern Baptist Convention Free Baptist	Northern Baptist Convention
1917	Hague's Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod Synod of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church of America United Norwegian Lutheran Church in America	Norwegian Lutheran Church of America
1918	General Synod of Evangelical Lutheran Church, U. S. A. General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South	United Lutheran Church
1920	Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. Welsh Calvinistic Methodist	Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.
1922	Evangelical Association United Evangelical	Evangelical Church
1924	Reformed Church in the U. S. Hungarian Reformed in America	Reformed Church in the U. S.
1924	Congregational Evangelical Protestant	Congregational
1931	Congregational Christian (General Convention)	Congregational-Christian
1931	Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States Lutheran Synod of Buffalo Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa and Other States	American Lutheran Church

Even this is not quite the full list, for some of the more erratic religious bodies had their recombinations as well as their divisions. Thus the Church of the Living God and the Church of the Living God, General Assembly, united into the Church of God, "Pillar and Ground of Truth." Scattered evangelistic associations were brought together under the General Council of the Assemblies of God, etc.

Considering these mergers by decades, the number has increased as follows: one in 1900-1909, three in 1910-1919, four in 1920-1929, and two since 1930. Except for two cases in which the Congregational churches were concerned, the uniting denominations belonged to the same denominational family, and in these Congregational cases, they were identical in polity and somewhat similar in general outlook. But even though the distance to be bridged was small, difficulties enough to union were found. No union was consummated between widely separated denominations.

Again, except in the cases of the Lutheran bodies, one of the parties to the merger was always a relatively small denomination which merely had to be grafted on a much larger body. The difficulties of adjusting bodies possessing numerical parity were avoided. Practically speaking, the smaller body was merged in the larger.

HOW PARTIAL UNIONS WERE ACCOMPLISHED

The story of the ten cases is pretty much of one piece. Generalizing, one finds that these unions were consummated only after long periods of negotiation and gradually improved relationships. They were not entered into inadvisedly or lightly, but advisedly and soberly, after long delay.

In the majority of cases, as previously noted, they represented the return to its parent denomination of a body which had previously separated during the period of the American church when division was rampant. In contemplating reunion, the two generally found that the differences that caused the split had largely been outgrown. Matters formerly sharply at issue had come to be seen in different perspective. The equality of the uniting churches was in no case theoretically challenged; all that was needed to effect union was the ironing out of practical difficulties. The broader tolerance of the present century was commonly recognized as easing the problem of reunion.

In most cases, however, minorities were opposed to reunion; and in some cases these held out as continuing denominations under the old names.

Thus, upon the reunion of the Evangelical and United Evangelical Churches, 20,000 of 90,000 United Evangelical members dissented on the plea of irregularity in the procedure by which the union took place, and continued as a separate denomination under the name, Evangelical Congregational Church. In 1904, 68,000 of the 198,000 Cumberland Presbyterians refused to join in the union with the Presbyterian, U. S. A., Church and remained a separate denomination.

Negotiations for union followed an extremely formal pattern, according to which the faith and customs of the uniting churches were solemnly compared almost syllable by syllable and letter by letter, with the invariable discovery that they presented no essential difficulties.

In the merging of democratically organized churches, the right of local churches to maintain their own confessions of faith and methods of worship was generally reserved. In most cases, the argument for avoidance of duplication and waste was widely used; and in virtually all cases, accomplished union was hailed as a step toward the general unity of the church which was professed as a goal.¹

¹ For the prevalence of these arguments in popular thinking about church unity, see chapter iv.

EXCEPTIONS

Exceptions to this general story were sometimes found. The Evangelical Protestant churches comprised a loosely related and narrowly localized group rather than a fully developed denomination. They looked around for the larger fellowship which would leave them most nearly as they were before, and chose to unite with the Congregational body. Contrary to the general rule, the Congregational-Christian merger was one of denominations almost entirely occupying separate territory. The union of these complementary groups greatly strengthened the national distribution of the resulting denomination.

Again, the Lutheran mergers were distinctive in that they were not generally the healing of earlier American schisms, but merely the bringing together of groups of virtually identical faiths, originating in different waves of immigration, which had grown up in separation before the country was unified, as it is today, by transportation and communication. Furthermore, the merger which constituted the United Lutheran Church brought together bodies which had split sectionally before the Civil War.

No data exist to show what reduction of local competition and waste or what gains in morale and usefulness may have resulted from this resolving of twenty-three religious bodies into eight. Charges of excessive haste in consummating some of these unions have been made, but no one seriously proposes the return of any of them to the former state of division.

PROPOSED UNIONS

In addition to unions consummated, twenty cases of formal proposals and negotiations for the union, or for the fundamental adjustment of relations between two or more churches, have been under consideration since 1900. These have involved twenty-six denominations. In eleven cases negotiations seem to have terminated without securing the union proposed. The list appears on next page.

DIFFICULTY OF EXACT ENUMERATION OF CASES

This tabulation is set down subject to qualification as possibly more exact than the facts warrant. It is exceedingly difficult to determine what constitutes a case. Negatively it is certain that mere general overtures for union, open to all denominations, like the Lambeth proposals, do not set up actual negotiations between any. Preliminary feelers, however, are sometimes put out and tentative replies are returned which may or may not be counted as proposals or the beginnings of negotiations.

On the other hand, it is impossible to say that a case has been terminated for good; since even when a proposal has been voted down discussion con-

Denominations Involved	Date Negotiations Commenced	Date Negotiations Ceased
1. Congregational—Methodist Protestant—United Brethren in Christ	1903	1910
2. Presbyterian, U. S. A.—Presbyterian, U. S.—United Presbyterian—Reformed in America—Reformed in U. S.....	1903	1931
3. Presbyterian, U. S. A.—Presbyterian, U. S.....	1904	1922
4. Presbyterian, U. S. A.—Reformed in U. S.....	1906	1914
5. Presbyterian, U. S. A.—United Presbyterian.....	1907	....
6. Congregational—Protestant Episcopal.....	1908	1923
7. Presbyterian, U. S.—Associated Reformed Presbyterian.....	1909	....
8. Methodist Episcopal—Methodist Episcopal, South.....	1910	1931
9. Methodist Episcopal—Methodist Protestant.....	1910	....
10. Presbyterian, U. S.—United Presbyterian.....	1912	1931
11. Protestant Episcopal—Eastern Orthodox.....	1910	....
12. Congregational—Universalist.....	1915	1927
13. Universalist—Unitarian.....	1915	....
14. African Methodist Episcopal—African Methodist Episcopal Zion..	1917	....
15. Methodist Episcopal—Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	1918	....
16. Presbyterian, U. S. A.—Reformed in America.....	1918	1931
17. Reformed U. S.—Evangelical Synod of North America—United Brethren.....	1918	1930
18. Baptist—Disciples.....	1919	1930
19. Methodist Episcopal—Presbyterian, U. S. A.—Protestant Episcopal	1919	....
20. Reformed U. S.—Evangelical Synod of North America*.....	1931	....

* Unions approved by both denominations since preparation of this manuscript.

tinues, and it may get the floor again at the next ecclesiastical assembly with the possibility of being technically rehabilitated as a pending action.

Thus the union of northern and southern Methodism was defeated by the vote of the southern church, yet the Episcopal Address delivered to the General Conference in 1931 contained these significant words:

"By all the ties of history and doctrine and spiritual kinship we hold a relation to the Methodist Episcopal Church closer than to any other of the evangelical churches. Not only are we related; we are brethren. . . . As is well known, the Plan of Unification was not acceptable to a sufficiently large majority of our people. We believe, however, that this failure was only temporary, and we cherish the hope that at some future time we shall be wise enough to find a way whereby a united Methodism, with undivided energies and unwasted resources, may deliver her full strength upon the common task."

The Conference also set up a Commission on Interdenominational Relations charged especially with cultivating fraternity with the northern church, looking forward to ultimate union.²

Still again, it is difficult to say when negotiations listed as pending may have ceased to have any real vitality. For example, the report for 1932 of the Presbyterian, U. S. A., Department on Church Union says:

² "Union of the Two Churches," from Fraternal Address to General Conference, *The Christian Advocate, South*, May 13, 1932.

"The Presbyterian-Methodist joint commission recognizes that, under existing circumstances, considerable time must elapse before negotiations looking to organic union of the two churches can be brought to a consummation. The education of the membership of both churches to so radical a change in denominational status would be necessarily slow; many legal and organizational problems would demand thorough and extended study, and union itself is not desirable unless and until it shall be the result of an existing spirit of unity, which must be a growth and cannot be forced."³

The following is the official interpretation of this situation: "It is not true to state that negotiations have been stopped or suspended if by suspended you mean that they have been indefinitely postponed. It is the fact that negotiations are proceeding with great deliberation, and that apparently progress at present is likely to be made along the lines indicated by the subjects referred to the committee 'to study all the questions on relationship.'"⁴

The *Presbyterian Banner* (May 19, 1932) thinks, however, that the Department's report "practically disposes of the matter, and it is hardly worth while keeping up the appearance of negotiations."

Subject to such rather large qualifications, which look both ways, the writer presents the above summary of cases as representing his best understanding of the situation.

Considering numbers of cases, proposals for union varied from seven initiated during the decade 1900-1909 and three during the decade 1910-1919 to ten since 1920.

PREVIOUS RELATIONSHIP OF DENOMINATIONS

Of these cases ten were those in which all the negotiating denominations were historically related, including three cases in which there had been schisms; six cases were of denominations similar in belief, custom and polity though not historically related; while four were of unrelated denominations in which one at least of the negotiators was dissimilar in some important characteristic.

Compared with the completed mergers, two-thirds of the cases now under discussion involved denominations of somewhat equal size in which the sheer weight of numbers did not predestine one group virtually to be submersed in the other. In spite of this fact, the fear of submersion was often alleged, even by very large minorities. All told, the proposed unions involved the adjustment to one another of more nearly equal bodies but of less similar ones. This naturally involved much more difficult problems

³ Editorial, *The Presbyterian Banner*, May 19, 1932.

⁴ Letter of the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., December 14, 1931.

than those involved in the completed cases, and to meet them a more idealistic philosophy had to be developed. Thus a leader in the effort to unite the Congregational, Methodist Protestant and United Brethren churches urged:

"No matter how wide apart the churches may be in historical origin, usage or ceremonials, a dominating spiritual purpose will make the path to unity plain. If there isn't a common vital spiritual bond, no amount of ecclesiastical patchwork will accomplish it."⁵

The actual difficulty of the proposed unions may be roughly gauged by the length of the negotiations. In terminated cases they took on the average between ten and fifteen years. Certain negotiations regarded as still pending began nearly a quarter of a century ago.

DENOMINATIONS CONCERNED

In the twenty formally proposed unifications, the Presbyterian, U. S. A., denomination was involved seven times; the Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, U. S., and Reformed in U. S. four times each; Congregational, Protestant Episcopal and United Presbyterian three times each; Evangelical Synod, Methodist Protestant, Reformed in America, United Brethren and Universalists twice each; and Baptist (North), Disciples, Methodist Episcopal, South, Unitarian, Eastern Orthodox, Associate Reformed Presbyterian, African Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal Zion once each.

CLASSIFICATION OF PROPOSED UNIONS

NATURE OF PREVIOUS AFFINITIES

These partial unions obviously mean the drawing together of denominations already somewhat alike and possessed of special affinities. By far the larger number were based on the family solidarity of the denominations concerned. Of these the Presbyterian-Reformed group furnished seven cases and the Methodist Episcopal group five, two of which concerned Negro branches.

A second group of proposals concerned denominations whose special affinities in polity, customs or doctrine were clearly marked; as for example, Baptist and Disciples, two congregationally organized bodies, practising the same form of baptism and both strongly stressing the independence of the local congregation; the Universalist and Unitarian marked by a liberal theology, and Protestant Episcopal-Eastern Orthodox reflecting a common Catholic tradition.

Less clearly marked affinities already bound together certain churches of

⁵ Stephens, D. S., "Sanity, Enthusiasm and Union," *Independent*, November 3, 1904, p. 1,022.

similar national origins, such as the Reformed in U. S., Evangelical Synod and United Brethren, though their traditional theologies and politics differed.

The relatively numerous cases of negotiations beyond the bounds of common antecedents or family relationships involving the Congregationalists reflect the versatility and adaptability of this denomination. A peculiar "elasticity," which makes it able to overlook traditional differences at many points, was pointed out in connection with its negotiations with the Protestant Episcopal Church looking toward the regularization of the ministry.⁶

Recent negotiations between very large denominations of variant history and polity, such as the Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian and Protestant Episcopal, have behind them no special historic affinities. They reflect an advance from proposals for union of the like to proposals for union of the relatively unlike. Later evidence, however, will show that the actual likeness of related denominations may easily be overestimated; so that the difference in principle is not so important as one might assume.⁷

KIND OF UNION PROPOSED

All of the twenty cases under consideration proposed some essential unification of the denominations concerned; they did not, however, all propose organizational union of the same kind or degree. Rather they presented four types of unification: (1) limited functional union, not involving even a central ecclesiastical body; (2) a strong type of permanent federal union; (3) corporate mergers of two or more denominations into one; and (4) mutual recognition by certain denominations of one another's ecclesiastical validity, and their unification by virtue of a common ministry.

The proposed union of the Northern and Southern Methodist Episcopal churches was an example of the federal type.

The plan, as explained by Bishop James Cannon, Jr., of the southern church, did not "aim to bring about Organic Union. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, would not agree to that plan because it would be swallowed up and be a minority of one-third in the General Conference and on all general boards and commissions. There shall be one Church with two jurisdictions. Every vote in the General Conference shall be by jurisdiction and shall require the accepted majority vote of each jurisdiction to be effective. . . . Unless both parties vote for a proposition, that proposition cannot be adopted. The relative size of the two bodies represented in the Conference or assembly cannot determine the final action. The very essence of the compact is willing, hearty coöperation, without compulsion,

⁶ *Episcopal Recorder*, September, 1923.

⁷ See Charts XXXVIII to XLI.

and the refusal of either party to the compact to coöperate in any proposal is one of the rights distinctly nominated in the bond."⁸

In most cases, however, whether within family groups or between unrelated denominations, the unification proposed involves the actual merger of two or more into one. The original negotiations of the Presbyterian churches of the North and South were on this basis. But obviously, even here, the strength of the combination, even when accomplished, would be determined by the type of unity already existing within the combining units. Thus certain congregationally organized bodies, like the Northern Baptist, describe their unity as consisting not in a common creed or central government, but merely in fraternal sentiment and the possession of common administrative agencies for missions and education—without ecclesiastical power, but unified under the Northern Baptist Convention. The union of the Free Baptists with the Northern Baptists accordingly consisted in a unification of their administrative machinery, leaving individual churches free to differ in respect to the tendencies of belief and usages which had been the original occasion of the separation of the two groups.

In the case of the Protestant Episcopal and Eastern Orthodox churches, the proposal was not for organic unity, but for the recognition of one another as ecclesiastically equal, the legal establishment of the ecclesiastical validity of the practices of the two bodies, the parity of their ministries and the right of intercommunion. The crux of the situation was defined as the translation by the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople of a formal decision on the validity of Anglican ordination into a decree.⁹

Similarly the Congregational-Protestant Episcopal Concordat was a proposal for the piecemeal regularization of the ministry so that it would have validity and standing in both communions, and did not involve the merger of the two ecclesiastical bodies.

From the standpoint of the bodies chiefly concerned unification of orders is not inferior but rather superior in significance to the corporate union of ecclesiastical organizations. Organizational amalgamation is not the form of union required or contemplated either by the Eastern Orthodox or the Anglican conception of the church. The more radically Protestant bodies seem to assume it; and it is the most natural conception in cases of reunion of families.¹⁰

In contrast with these three major forms of unification, the Baptist-Disciples proposals were merely for a limited functional unity, a scheme of preferential coöperation between these two bodies based on their assumed

⁸ James Cannon, Jr., *The Present Status of Methodist Unification*, p. 19.

⁹ William Chauncey Emhardt, *Strides Toward Reunion at Lambeth*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰ The far-reaching consequences of different ways of thinking on this point will appear in later connections. See pp. 245-6.

closeness to one another. The Joint Report proposing this "unity of program" was chiefly concerned with twelve suggestions of practical methods of working together. These dealt with: (1) the exchange of fraternal messengers; (2) the unifying of foreign-mission work; (3) comity on the home field; (4) coöperation in the field of education; (5) joint conferences on the various phases of the work of the church; (6) joint ministerial meetings; (7) coöperation of the religious press; (8) close fellowship of laymen's organizations; (9) joint meetings of women; (10) joint young people's conferences; (11) further consideration of unity of program; (12) call for prayer.¹¹

Besides proposals for partial unions of the four types enumerated, there have been others which still remain in the exploratory stage. The exact nature of the unification which they contemplate has not been envisaged and varying assumptions may be held. This is probably a true characterization of current Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian and Protestant Episcopal negotiations.

The field of partial unions thus evidently includes a variety of forms, among which proposals for outright amalgamation do not cover more than half the cases. The actual situations, as revealed, amply justify the verdict, "The movement towards unity must proceed not along one line only, but on many parallel lines."¹²

THE COURSE AND PROCESS OF PARTIAL UNION

With such varying objectives, it is no wonder that the twenty cases took different courses and arrived at different conclusions. Limitations of space obviously prevent one from tracing each case in detail; and generalization, though necessary, is difficult. Yet even so, there is a considerable similarity between the cases when studied in their common aspects. This the immediately following paragraphs will attempt to point out.

ANTECEDENT CONDITIONS

It must be taken for granted that all the denominations concerned were subject to the pull of the general coöperative and federative movements which have already been described. This fact was often rehearsed in the denominational statements justifying negotiations. The general watchwords of the coöperative movement are often repeated: for example, the necessity of union to fulfill the prayer of Christ, to cure duplication and rivalry, and to meet the needs of the age as to a united Christian testimony. Thus the

¹¹ Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity, *19th Annual Report* (1929), p. 2.

¹² Report to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1931, of the Commission for Conference with the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches on Christian Morality in Relation to Organic Union, p. 3.

Preamble to the Plan of Union between the Reformed Church, U. S., and the Evangelical Synod of North America reads:

"The will to unite is shown by alliances, councils, federations and organic union of churches in Europe, in America and on the mission fields of the Orient. In view of these facts and movements, in which one may see clearly the guidance of the spirit of our Lord and Saviour, who prayed for all 'who believe in me' that all 'may be one,' it behooves the churches, especially those of the same land, of the evangelical faith and order, to enter into negotiation for close relationship with the purpose of attaining organic union."¹³

ANCIENT DIFFERENCES OUTGROWN

The courses of negotiations also show much direct evidence of the outgrowing of ancient difficulties. Thus, by formal resolution, the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., takes back all the hard words which it had previously said about the Southern Presbyterian Church. A reporter of the meeting of the joint commission of union between the Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Protestant churches records: "Much to the surprise of a number of the commissioners, it was found that the changes which time had wrought made these churches much the same in polity."¹⁴

Explaining the status of these negotiations to the General Convention of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1930, the President of the General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church said: "Because of the way in which Episcopal Methodism is democratizing its episcopacy, and because of the way in which our folks are autocratizing the presidency, and the executive committee of its General Conference, the question of the episcopacy is increasingly ceasing to be an issue with us."¹⁵

Similar testimony is found in the Joint Report of the Baptist-Disciples commissions in 1929, which read: "The historic principles of the two communions have been identical, and their conceptions of the nature and functions of the ordinance have gradually approximated one another until they are at the present time practically the same."¹⁶

PREVIOUS INTEGRATION OF DENOMINATIONAL GROUPS

Many denominations belonging to related groups had already made their own special beginnings of integration. They were united in world alliances and in national councils. They habitually exchanged fraternal delegates, and maintained special comity arrangements (the imperfect keeping of which, however, sometimes made for bitterness rather than for peace).

¹³ *The Evangelical Herald*, March 31, 1932, Introduction.

¹⁴ *Methodist Protestant Recorder*, July 28, 1931.

¹⁵ *Christian Advocate, South*, June 13, 1930.

¹⁶ Association for the Promotion of Christian Unity, *19th Annual Report* (1929), pp. 2-3.

These already existing types of integration were naturally appealed to as in the case of negotiations between the Reformed Church in America and the Presbyterian, U. S. A.

"Although these two denominations had been closely related throughout their history, had coöperated together in the General Council of the Reformed Church in America and the Western Section of the Alliance of Reformed Churches throughout the World Holding the Presbyterian System, and had certain coöperative agreements, this is the first time a serious consideration of merger was undertaken."¹⁷

In this case also the interchangeability of the ministries of the two denominations was urged as a consideration. "In the Eastern Synod 29 per cent. of the ministers have been members of the Presbyterian Church and 20 per cent. have served as ministers in the Presbyterian Church. In the West, 8 per cent. of the ministry have been members and 10 per cent. have served as ministers in the Presbyterian Church."¹⁸

In other cases the negotiating denominations were already closely united in the expression of religious sentiment, as for example, in the common use of a hymnal or book of ritual. Less closely related denominations were able to appeal to a more or less "common heritage" and to the growing use of federated agencies.

THE VARYING COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS

In spite of diminished opposition to union due to the outgrowing of differences between denominations, and in spite of the backing and momentum of integrative movements which had already swept many religious bodies into more or less loose confederations, efforts for partial union have found their course full of vicissitudes. For some of these an analysis of the situation easily finds reason. They inhere in the fact that the field of possibility contains such various types of union. Two denominations may be equally sincere in the desire to unite and still prefer different kinds of union. But the negotiators also bring varying dispositions to the common problem. Thus the approach to partial union was sometimes an open-minded effort to find out whether any type of unification was possible. The Presbyterian, U. S. A., General Assembly, for example, defined its attitude in 1922 as follows:

"Resolved, That by the phrase 'closer relations,' so far as this General Assembly is concerned, is to be understood any and all forms of Church

¹⁷ *Acts and Proceedings of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America*, 1929, pp. 176-181.

¹⁸ *Acts and Proceedings of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America*, 1930, p. 577.

relations, involving coöperation, federation, or organic union, as the Providence of God may indicate."¹⁹

Even with so untrammelled a start as a given negotiation developed a denomination might find itself quite definitely at loggerheads with its fellows as to the kind of union to be sought. Such a condition became stubborn during the efforts of the Northern and Southern Presbyterians to unite. The northern church (Presbyterian, U. S. A.) thought of union as a complete organic merger. Nothing less than this was satisfactory; it would be only a compromise and hardly worth struggling for. The southern church, on the other hand, considered union as a loose federation without any material change in the rights or authority of the denominations as they stood. It "insisted on the autonomy of the [separate] churches and refused to give the proposed Federal Assembly power in home missions, or to vest final authority in it in matters of doctrine and discipline, or to grant the Federal Assembly power over church property."²⁰

The mutual explorations of possibilities of union between these two bodies always fell back upon these divergent views of the kind of union desired.

Other negotiations were characterized by the disposition of the churches concerned to trust one another and go ahead with transitional forms of union without trying to envisage the final form. They were content to rely upon time and experience to see the matter through. Such an aspiration was voiced, for example, in the joint statement of the Congregational and Universalist commissions in 1927: "The quickened sense of comradeship will fashion its own ecclesiastical instrumentalities. None of us can yet foresee clearly what sort of organized fellowship will arise to give form and coherence to the spiritual unity that Christians of the open mind gladly confess."²¹

Such conciliatory attitudes enabled certain denominations to shift the basis of union during negotiations. As the mutual purpose was clarified some had the grace to take less than they desired. In other cases both were led to see larger possibilities of union than they had first contemplated.

The windings and turnings of actual negotiations are too complicated to be followed in detail. One turns again, therefore, to take up the thread of the generalized account.

INITIATION AND PROCEDURE

The initiation of proposals for partial union of all types generally lay within the national bodies of the respective denominations, sometimes on

¹⁹ *Presbyterian Digest*, 1922, Vol. II, p. 136.

²⁰ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.*, 1919, p. 160; and 1920, pp. 176-191, and p. 181.

²¹ Reported in *The Christian Century*, March 3, 1927.

the basis of overtures from subordinate divisions of the church. They were generally carried on by commissions on relations with other denominations, whose rapid growth since 1900 has already been noted. The Congregational-Protestant Episcopal Concordat offers an exception. Negotiations began between the state organizations of the two bodies. The national body of the Episcopal Church ultimately acted. The Congregational national body did not feel called upon to act, because the proposal involved only the relations of individual ministers to the local body.

In canvassing the possibilities of union, negotiating committees and commissions used the obvious methods of correspondence, joint sessions and partial reports preceding the final action. The fields most exhaustively explored were generally those of Faith and Order. Assuming, as all negotiations between strictly Protestant bodies did, the legitimacy and essential parity of the negotiating parties, little need was found for restating conceptions of the nature of the church and its unity. In exceptional instances, the essential Protestant view was reasserted, as, for example:

"The visible unity of the Christian Church, though obscured, is not destroyed by its division into different bodies or denominations. All of these unions or associations of particular churches which maintain the essential laws and ordinances of Christ are to be regarded as true branches of the Catholic or universal Church."²²

EXPLORATIONS OF CREEDAL DIFFERENCES

The most exhaustive and space-consuming process had to do with the adjustment of the creeds. Much of this occurred between bodies which already knew their essential agreement, was more or less formal, and was met merely by combining the two doctrinal bases into one without modification. Thus the documents relating to the proposed organic union of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. and the United Presbyterian Church of North America provided:

"The Union shall be effected on the doctrinal basis of the Westminster Confession of Faith, together with the amendments adopted in 1903 by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, together with the Confessional Statement adopted in 1925 by the United Presbyterian Church of North America; and together with the Larger and Shorter catechisms; all of which are recognized as being substantially identical in doctrinal teaching, and agreeable to and founded upon the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, acknowledged as the inspired Word of God, the only infallible rule of faith and practice."

The resulting hodgepodge in this case is summarized in semihumorous vein by a participating observer:

²² Documents re. Proposal for Union of Presbyterian, U. S. A., and United Presbyterian Church, N. A.—*The Provisional Form of Government*, p. 59.

"Here you have the doctrinal basis for the proposed union of Reformed and Presbyterian churches in extenso: 172 articles in the Westminster Confession of Faith; 303 questions and answers in the Larger and Shorter Catechism; 129 questions and answers in the Heidelberg Catechism; 37 articles in the Belgic Confession; 50 articles in the Canons of the Synod of Dort; and 44 articles in the United Presbyterian Confessional Statement; a grand total of 744 articles of wholesome, rather highly seasoned Calvinism to present to the inquiring mind of this modern world. It is true, of course, that these documents largely duplicate one another, so that when a man has gotten meat out of one of them, he knows what is in the other four. While these five documents make a doctrinal basis which is long and complex and rather ancient—two being of sixteenth century origin, two of the seventeenth, and only one belonging to the twentieth century—they do present a body of wholesome doctrine, a body of doctrine which, I believe, is thoroughly scriptural, and which has a definiteness and strength about it which is greatly needed in this day."²³

Sensitiveness as to theological differences turned out to hinge not so much upon the standards of the churches as upon their tolerance of variation in interpretation and emphasis. This was particularly noticeable in the case of southern denominations which were afraid of modernistic tendencies in the northern branches of the same church. The Baptist-Disciple approaches, however, came to a sudden end over a curiously unreal doctrinal issue, which showed that ancient differences could still be appealed to on occasion, even when they had ceased to have real vitality for most of the participants. In contrast with the primary place given to creedal agreement in the majority of negotiations were the terms of Congregational-Universalist discussions. These did not contemplate any creedal statement as the basis of union but defined Christianity rather as a common way of life.

DIFFERENCES IN CHURCH GOVERNMENT

The major features of church government were naturally the same within the denominational families. Difficulties in this realm were dealt with either by resort to a federal form of union, or by concessions allowing for variations of practice in the local units of the respective denominations. Thus the Presbyterian-Reformed proposals specified that:

"Congregations holding the consistorial form of organization as practised by the Reformed Church in the U. S. and the Reformed Church in America, shall have the right to retain their present form of organization, and new congregations organized thereafter may at their own choice adopt the consistorial form of organization, or that practised by the Presbyterian churches."²⁴

²³ Wishart, W. I., "The Doctrinal Basis for Presbyterian Church Union," *The United Presbyterian*, December 24, 1930.

²⁴ The meeting of the Joint Committee on Unity of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Wm. J. Reid, *The United Presbyterian*, November 27, 1930.

Where denominations with widely different polities considered union, the proposed government was necessarily a composite, as illustrated in that adopted by the United Church in Canada. The equality and interchangeability of the ministry was not an issue, except in cases already noted of the Protestant Episcopal-Eastern Orthodox and Protestant Episcopal-Congregational negotiations. In these cases, the ministry was the essential issue dealt with.

OTHER DIFFERENCES INVOLVED

Various other issues were occasionally prominent in negotiations. They involved the fields of worship, or of ethical conviction, or of practical attitudes, including differences arising in the varying intellectual and economic levels represented by the negotiating denominations.

Except for the issue between United Presbyterians and other Presbyterians over the place of the psalms in worship, no issues centering primarily in the field of worship were encountered. Liberty of local variation was always assumed. This point was typically covered in the Presbyterian-Reformed proposals as follows: "Whereas, Having the same spirit and owning the same Lord, we none the less recognize diversity of gifts and ministrations for whose exercise due freedom must always be afforded in forms of worship and in modes of operation."²⁵

In one exceptional case, that of conversations between the Protestant Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, the field in which the possibilities of unity were to be explored were at first limited to that of social ethics. This limitation was adopted because, from the standpoint of the initiating church, the fields of faith and order were being handled in another way. Agreements on ethical issues were recorded as follows: "It was found that there was no room for real difference of opinion between Christian men in relation to any of the matters considered. It was also found that organic unity of the churches represented was in no way involved in any of the findings of the Conference."²⁶

It is noteworthy, however, that the function of the committee made responsible for these conversations was later enlarged so as to include other aspects of union.

In connection with the exploration of formal issues, considerations of two other types were most frequently appealed to. The first were considerations originating in ethical principles. Such principles were particularly invoked by churches of the congregational type. While creedally inclined churches were appealing to the standards, these churches were concerned about fidel-

²⁵ *Presbyterian Digest*, 1922, p. 230.

²⁶ Minority Report in Report of the Commission for Conference with the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches on Christian Morality in Relation to Organic Union to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1931, p. 4.

ity to truth and freedom of interpretation as over against authority. The logic and temper of these viewpoints are indicated in the following quotation: "None of us could enter a fellowship that would compromise loyalty to the truth as any one of us may see it. . . . A common purpose to share the faith of Christ is a power strong enough to break the fetters of custom and timidity and sectarian jealousy that hitherto have put asunder Christian brethren who at heart are one, and who can better serve the kingdom of God together than apart."²⁷

Concerning the proposed union of the Universalist and Unitarian Churches, an editorial opinion of the latter body read: "Whenever you tend to unite liberals on any basis that shuts the door of their independent investigations, the whole thing becomes one vast futility. It is our power to disagree that ought to bring us together. It is our difference that ought to unite us."²⁸

A second type of consideration from which arguments bearing on union were frequently drawn was the practical. This involved, for example, a considerable series of issues advanced in the main as between churches of the North and the South, such as the status of women in the church, the administrative separation of Negro churches, and the question of church and state. All of these came up in course of negotiations between northern and southern branches of the same family. How such issues bulked in Southern Presbyterian thinking may be judged by the following excerpts from documents relating to Presbyterian unions:

"Contrary to the policy of the Southern Presbyterians it is commonly reported that the United Presbyterian Church is the most political of the churches in this country."²⁹

"The different policies of the Northern and Southern Churches regarding women's sphere in the church are each believed to be sound and would not be surrendered."³⁰

"This union is based on the statement of the Confession of Faith, that Synods and councils are to handle or conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical; and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs, which concern the commonwealth, unless by way of humble petition, in cases extraordinary, or by way of advice

²⁷ Joint Statement issued by the Commissions representing the National Council of the Congregational Churches and the Universalists General Convention, *The Christian Century*, March 3, 1927.

²⁸ *The Christian Register*, October 8, 1931.

²⁹ Foster, John S., "Are We Ready for Organic Union?" *The Christian Observer*, September 25, 1929, p. 10.

³⁰ Sherrard, J. L., "Organic Union of Presbyterian Churches," *The Christian Observer*, March 26, 1930, p. 7.

for satisfaction of conscience, if they be thereunto required by the civil magistrate."⁸¹

Another set of practical considerations pertained to the geography of the negotiating churches. It is curious to find, in one case, the argument that churches occupying different territory should unite, because they thus become more national in scope and there is no problem of local adjustment to be reckoned with; while, in other cases, it is argued that a proposed union is unnatural because the churches involved are not in geographical contact. How geographical and theological arguments sometimes intertwined is seen in the following quotation: "As to the union 'opening pulpits' to our ministers 'in every section,' an able minister who had been pastor in a large church for many years before returning South, says the modernists have the greater voice and 'fill about all the prominent pulpits' with their own men."⁸²

Social and economic issues also entered into negotiations for partial union; but these were in the main whispered about rather than publicly argued. The issue of the homogeneity of the negotiating groups, nevertheless, came out more or less incidentally in numerous cases. Thus, a Congregational leader of eminence argued against union with Methodist Protestant and United Brethren on the ground that the denominations belonged to different social and educational strata; the Reformed Church in America made social similarity a direct issue in negotiations with the Presbyterians; and the matter was somewhat indiscreetly ventilated in discussions between the Universalists and Unitarians. Thus a Universalist leader, on the floor of his Convention in 1931, said:

"It is very fine to speak of the splendid union of Universalists and Unitarians. Intellectually they mix, thoroughly and well. Actually they mix not at all. The Unitarian Church is by tradition aristocratic. It is Brahmin class in many parts of the country. The Universalist Church is democratic in origin and history. You cannot unite two opposite things, that is against human nature. It comes down to a question of individuals and the individual churches. We are going at it in the wrong way. The higher-up in a denomination can never make a merger. We must consult the people."⁸³

To this a Unitarian editor replied:

"It is true we have a reputation for superiority in respect to social, cultural and intellectual things. This has done us both good and harm in the world; good, this is, because we have endeavored to a degree to maintain certain standards

⁸¹ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in U. S.*, 1929, p. 139.

⁸² Robertson, J. P., "Union and Loyalty to Christ," *The Christian Observer*, November 12, 1930, p. 6.

⁸³ *The Christian Leader*, November 7, 1931, p. 1415.

of life, in manners and ideals and thought; but harm in that we have in cases become proud, snobbish, and aloof. Let us confess and correct these latter things, for if we do not they will continue to be a barrier to union and a righteous reproach."⁸⁴

The economic issue was never frankly confessed, but in numerous instances the question was raised whether a given union might not reduce the per capita level of missionary giving. This was an indirect way of asking whether a richer church was wise to unite with a poorer one.

One must not be blind to the fact that the terms in which certain denominations negotiated for union sometimes implied the assumption that divided interests would still continue within the united church. "If we unite with the Northern Presbyterians," a southern spokesman wrote, "out-numbering us four to one they would always outvote us in the Assembly and 'put over' any political deliverance they wished and our voice would never be heard even within the 'narrow' boundaries of the South."⁸⁵

This limitation, together with the fact that, in this series of negotiations, the more extreme types of division were almost never tackled, possibly justifies the verdict of a secular reviewer that "no important concessions" were achieved in any of them.

Finally, subject to the uncertainty already expressed as to what unions are, in any real sense, still pending, it appears that about as many cases of negotiation terminated negatively as resulted in the consummation of union.

SIGNIFICANCE OF PARTIAL UNIONS

About this showing, however, a number of things remain to be said. First, a number of negotiations started out with a virtually impossible demand for unanimity within each of the negotiating denominations. As already shown, many of the accomplished mergers were resisted by minorities, and in the nature of things unanimity is impossible. A negotiating church has to decide in advance whether it wants union at the price of some defection. For example, the requirement that three-fourths of the subordinate units of certain Methodist churches shall vote favorably for a constitutional change weights the scales heavily on the side of the *status quo*. Not only could a President of the United States have been elected but his veto could have been overthrown by a smaller majority than proposals for union got. Union is deliberately made difficult, as are amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

It is still more important to note that the outcome to these negotiations

⁸⁴ *The Christian Register*, November 12, 1931, p. 877.

⁸⁵ J. P. Robertson, "Union and Loyalty to Christ," *The Christian Observer*, November 12, 1930, p. 6.

must be judged in terms of their objectives, and that these objectives were fluctuating. Some were frankly opportunistic and exploratory. If they did not achieve the maximum that was talked about, some of them nevertheless achieved quite all that was really expected at any time.

It is a fair question whether the greatest single obstacle to the consummation of the group of negotiations as a whole was not that so many of the participating churches were engaging in more than one negotiation at the same time. This applies particularly to the Presbyterian, Reformed and Methodist bodies. They were in the position of an attractive woman bewildered by too many proposals. From the standpoint of matrimony, the real question in such a case is not what particular proposal she accepts, but whether she continues in a marrying mood and finally accepts one of them. Similarly, the failure of a number of negotiations for unity is less significant than the fact that the denominations concerned still continued to search for the most suitable union, and still show prospects of carrying it out.

Still again, it is quite obvious that certain negotiations shifted their scope too often, and tried to pass to a more inclusive phase before a more limited one had culminated. The history of Presbyterian-Reformed relationships and negotiations is a case in point. They provide, according to an official commentator, "a story of a most interesting and logical evolution. Starting with the isolation of denominationalism before 1897 the negotiations proceeded through comity, coöperation, federal union, the union of related denominations, to complete organic union of the evangelical Protestant churches of the United States. This proved, however, to be a house of cards, for with the exception of the comity agreements no point beyond negotiations was reached, and it toppled over because of what appears to have been a mere accident. From this point ten years elapsed before any serious negotiations for union were carried on between the denominations of the Presbyterian-Reformed family."³⁸

A number of negotiations, for example that between the Congregational, Methodist Protestant and United Brethren churches, were actually concluded by the ebbing away of interest. Their vitality simply petered out. Others, as has already been seen, like the reunion of the northern and southern branches of the Methodist Church, are officially off the docket but are almost universally treated as live issues for revival at no distant future.

Among the most immediately hopeful cases of proposed union are those attempting to unite relatively small bodies with the parent stock, as, for example, the United Presbyterian with the Presbyterian, U. S. A., and the Methodist Protestant with the Methodist Episcopal. Unitarian and Universalist union, in loose fashion, in a Free Church of America, and the

³⁸ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.*, 1930, p. 256.

complete merging of the Reformed Church in the U. S. and the Evangelical Synod of North America have been adopted by the bodies concerned and are in process of being consummated.

PSYCHOLOGICAL MOODS AND REVEALING INCIDENTS

The psychological phenomena exhibited by negotiations for partial union are varied and sometimes entertaining. As soon as such negotiations began, certain elements in all churches affected instantly rallied to the defense of the *status quo* and as instantly resorted to vituperation. In such vein a denominational organ editorialized: "The — has been against the project from the beginning. 'We could see not one scintilla of benefit to be derived from the union, but we could see where it would give the hydra-headed monstrosity of graft, greed, corruption and ignorance that has stolen the livery of heaven and is masquerading as a great spiritual power.'"³⁷

In other cases, denominations simply set down their official feet and refused to deviate at any point. This—quite apart from the merits of the position taken—seems to have been true of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., whose Minutes of 1920 declared:

"The Assembly and the Church would view with uneasiness any structure of Union which failed to take into account and safeguard in the United Church the historic convictions and position of this Church with respect to sound doctrine, just and effective discipline, the plenary inspiration and inerrancy of the Scriptures, and vicarious atonement, the spiritual mission of the Church and its obligation to abstain from interference in matters purely of civil or political concern, its position as to its Negro constituency in the South, and other matters of like interest and importance."

On the contrary, a very major fact of the negotiations was the inclination of denominational leadership (as concentrated in national official boards) to get ahead of the rank and file who dominate the local subdivisions of the church. One may suspect that sometimes when the national leaders voted for union, they knew what would happen. They felt safe in favoring it because sure that the people would vote it down. On the face of the record, however, it appears that it is often the local bodies that have defeated union after the national negotiators had concurred or at least opened the way.

The records include striking cases of sudden reversion of sentiment due to what was virtually a mob psychology. The Northern Baptist Convention, for example, overthrew the recommendations of its own committee after a speech from the floor raising a probably spurious theological issue.

³⁷ "Organic Union Rejected," *Star of Zion*, June 5, 1930.

Again, the history of negotiations is enlivened by a series of more or less sensational incidents which witness extraordinary tenseness of feeling and dramatic extremes of action. For example, some "higher up" in the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., "lost" a copy of an official action of the General Assembly which accordingly never went before the presbyteries. This incident is reported in the official records of the body as follows: "With respect to the action of our own Assembly, the resolution . . . was lost or mislaid, and does not appear in the Minutes of the Assembly of 1920, and no copy thereof was preserved, though two copies were furnished to the Temporary and Permanent Clerks."⁸⁸

The controversy in the Southern Methodist Church over union with the Northern Methodists saw leading bishops opposing one another in well-financed campaigns. In the case of the Congregational-Episcopal Concordat, a Protestant Episcopal bishop balked at the last moment over the ordination of a Congregational candidate after the adoption of the agreement by the national convention of the bishop's own church.

Special elements of interest attach to certain negotiations. Thus the discussion of union between Negro Methodist churches raised the question whether Negroes want a racial church at all. Again the conflict in the Reformed Church of America over union with the Presbyterian disclosed a deep-rooted sectionalism within the former body, separating its eastern from its western churches.

A striking variant was introduced into the story by the action of the Protestant Episcopal Church in initiating negotiations with Methodists and Presbyterians over problems of social ethics. The action taken specified that the discussion should be in the hands of "younger theologians." This recognition of youth as having special capacity to think and to decide on issues of union does not occur elsewhere in the record.

Most surprising of all proposals of partial union which the present century has seen was the unqualified proposal, in 1928, of the Methodist Episcopal Church for full organic union with Presbyterians. The proposal was made "without reservation or condition." As was only logical, this was the first of the cases discussed to catch Roman Catholic attention. Contrasting it with the return of small subdivisions to the parent church or the union of denominations already very much alike in doctrine and government, representative Roman Catholic comment pronounced this proposal "momentous." Certainly on account of the size and standing of the bodies concerned and also of the far-reaching nature of the union proposed, this marks the climax of modern American efforts for partial union.

⁸⁸ Presbyterian Digest of 1922, p. 235.

OTHER INCIPIENT APPROACHES

It is, however, by no means the last word. Additional unions continue to be talked about. Many of them have not reached the phase of formal recognition, but are nevertheless phenomena to be reckoned with. Recent mergers of local associations of Northern and Southern Baptists in the border states, a joint session of their two national bodies, and resolutions in other associations calling for the union of these two bodies is a case in point. Another is a recent joint session of important bodies of Friends who had formerly separated on theological grounds. The favorable atmosphere in which piecemeal reunion is being considered is probably more significant even than the sum total of its overt expressions.

POPULAR VERDICTS UPON PARTIAL UNION

This generation of American Christians has seen all the partial unions which this chapter has so far described, and has itself been part of them. The verdict of deeds has already been rendered. But what does the Christian public now think about what it has done? How does it regard the conditions of partial union as they have been revealed in typical cases? How does it react to the admittedly seamy side of the story; or how does it appraise partial union as an omen for the future?

Direct evidence as to popular thinking was gathered on four specific questions of this sort.

A BALLOT ON THE UNION OF RELATED DENOMINATIONS

The ballot on church union affords an objective measure of the strength of sentiment behind such family unions.³⁹ The union of related denominations was advocated by nine-tenths of the votes cast. This is shown in Table XII. Except for the Protestant Episcopal, the denominations least

TABLE XII—BALLOT ON UNION OF RELATED DENOMINATIONS

Denomination	Per Cent. Favoring	Denomination	Per Cent. Favoring
Reformed in U. S.	97.7	Baptist (Northern Conv.).....	89.5
Evangelical Synod.....	96.9	Lutheran (All).....	87.9
Disciples.....	93.5	Friends.....	87.6
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	93.3	No denomination.....	86.3
United Brethren.....	93.3	Methodist Episcopal, South.....	86.0
Congregational-Christian.....	92.9	Presbyterian, U. S.....	85.9
Methodist Episcopal.....	92.6	Methodist Protestant.....	85.0
United Lutheran.....	92.2	Protestant Episcopal.....	84.5
Unitarian.....	91.8	Christian Scientist.....	82.6
Evangelical.....	91.7	Baptist (Southern Conv.).....	79.8
Reformed in America.....	89.9	Missouri Synod Lutheran.....	50.0

³⁹ For description and full statistical returns, see p. 110 f. and Chart VIII.

favorable to such unions are predominantly southern; though at worst, four-fifths of their ballots are affirmative.

It is perhaps significant that several of the denominations that show least favor to family reunion have recently been agitated by this issue within their own denominational households.

A LIBERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD CONDITIONS OF UNION

The union of related denominations, strongly favored as it is by the rank and file of the church, is perhaps less significant than is the liberal popular attitude taken with respect to conditions of union between unrelated denominations.

By definition related denominations are presumed to be in near agreement on the essentials of the church's faith, worship and government. Is it necessary, then, for unrelated denominations to reach similar agreement in these matters before their union can be approved?

This issue was put before a representative rank and file constituency in concrete form by means of a questionnaire. The case presented was that of the lately consummated merger of the Congregational and Christian denominations. The case was stated as follows: "The Congregational and Christian denominations have recently united into one church without adopting a common statement of doctrine or 'creed', on the ground that 'Christianity is primarily a way of life.'" Thirteen thousand, two hundred and fifty-six persons passed judgment upon this union by indicating which of seven judgments applicable to it most nearly coincided with their own. Their verdict was strongly favorable to this particular union on the terms stated. A considerable plurality favored it on grounds applicable to other denominations. A minority justified it merely as an exception. Table XIII shows the distribution of opinion of the persons answering the questionnaire.

Column 1 of the table ranks the seven judgments according to the number of persons who made it their first or second choice. Judgment 2, which expressed the highest degree of approval for union on the non-creedal basis, got more than twice as many votes as any other. This judgment flatly asserts that unity of purpose rather than of creed is "the right basis for the union of churches."

Ranking next to this judgment come two which give creedless union conditional approval. The three disapproving judgments (7, 5, 3) each receive less than 10 per cent. of the total votes. Only 7 per cent. of the more than 13,000 persons replying subscribe to the most flatly disapproving of the seven propositions, namely, that without a creed, neither of the uniting denominations has a guarantee of the correctness of the other's belief.

Chart V presents graphically the results of this questionnaire for ten denominations, compared with the results for all denominations.

TABLE XIII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—
CONGREGATIONAL AND CHRISTIAN UNION

(General Church Constituency)

"The Congregational and Christian denominations have recently united into one church without adopting a common statement of doctrine or 'creed,' on the ground that 'Christianity is primarily a way of life'."

Judgments	Per Cent. of Choices As 1st or 2nd Best by Status in the Church				
	Total	Min- isters	Lay Church Officers	Mem- bers	Non- Mem- bers
The right basis for union of churches is that they shall all be living and working for the same end, not that they shall all explain their beliefs in the same way. (2).....	36	31	38	38	38
Since the two denominations were historically very similar in their general characteristics, they were perhaps justified in omitting a creed as their basis of union. (1).....	15	16	14	14	15
Since it is commonly recognized that the two denominations were "evangelical" in faith, a formal statement of what they believe in common is unnecessary as a basis of union. (6).....	13	14	13	13	12
Whatever basis of union the denominations concerned decided upon would be all right. (4).	11	10	12	12	14
In order to have the right to be considered as a part of the church universal, the churches uniting in this case ought to have reaffirmed their acceptance of the historic creeds of the church which almost all denominations accept, such as the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed. (7).....	9	11	10	9	8
The case described may be justified as an exception, but does not furnish a general rule for effecting church union. (5).....	8	10	7	7	6
Without a creed, neither the Congregationalists nor the Christians have any guarantee that the other denomination has a correct belief, and no third denomination desiring to unite with them can be sure exactly where they stand as to the Christian faith. (4).....	7	8	6	7	7
Total (26,372 choices, 13,256 persons answering).....	100	100	100	100	100

The outstanding phenomenon of the chart is the general decrease of approval for judgments 2, 1, 6, as one reads from the top of the chart to the bottom, and the corresponding increase of approval for judgments 7, 5, 3.

Comparing denominations, one finds, as might have been expected, that the two bodies to whose union the incident refers take a strongly favorable attitude, along with Disciples, Friends, Unitarians and Universalists, whose positions are shown in the upper part of the chart. Federated Church

opinion also shows the same tendency. Some of the largest denominations, such as Baptist (North), Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian (U. S. A.), are not separately charted, because their judgments very closely follow the average. Denominations most critical of Congregational-Christian union on the terms indicated include the United Lutheran, United Presbyterian, Fundamentalist, and Missouri Synod Lutheran. Protestant Episcopal opinion is also appreciably less favorable than the average, but its variation

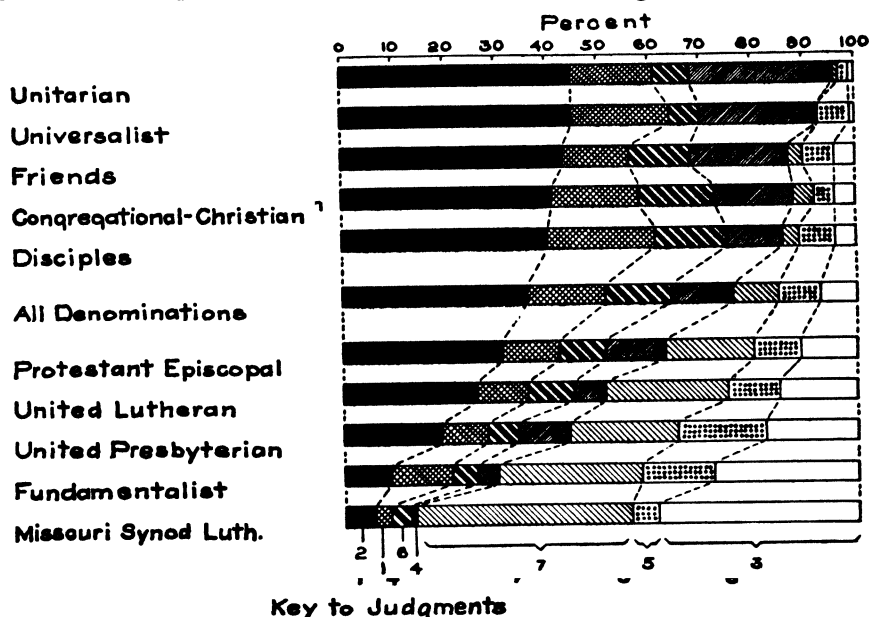


CHART V—DISTRIBUTION OF JUDGMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE CREEDLESS UNION OF THE CONGREGATIONAL AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

For total rank and file constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for judgments numbered to correspond with key, see Table XIII)

is not extreme on any proposition. The most extreme position is that of the Missouri Synod Lutheran, which shows five times as much insistence as the average on the reaffirmation of the ancient creeds, and six times as much insistence that the creedless merger of Congregationalists and Christians is no real ground of union.

Considering particular judgments, the increasing demand for the historic creeds as a basis of union (judgment 7) by denominations standing in the lower half of the chart is strikingly revealed, as is also the increasing assertion that creedless union lacks a basis in real unity.

This showing obviously registers a wide difference between creedalistic churches of various types (Protestant Episcopal, United Presbyterian and

Missouri Synod Lutheran), and, on the other hand, anticreedalist churches (Unitarian, Congregational-Christian, Disciples); and all the denominations taken together show an average much more in sympathy with the latter than with the former.

Comparing ministers with laymen of three types, Table XIII also shows that the former are slightly more creedalistic and more inclined to give only conditional approval to creedless union or to base approval on exceptional grounds. Lay opinion is more favorable to the out-and-out pronouncement that the right basis of union is common Christian purpose and not creed. The general tendency of ministers' attitudes, nevertheless, is not strikingly different from that of the laity or of the religious constituency as a whole.

Summarizing the showing on this incident without too greatly anticipating the fuller discussion of creedal unity in a subsequent connection, it is sufficient to repeat that a strong majority of all replies approve the creedless union of Congregationalists and Christians, while a large plurality emphasize the argument that the right basis for church union is not the identical explanation of belief, but life and work together for common ends.

CONTINUANCE OF DISSENTING MINORITIES

In appraising the significance for church union of the mergers of denominations described above, a factor already noted has to be reckoned with; namely, the continuance in a good many cases of dissenting minorities as

TABLE XIV — DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS — MINORITIES IN CASES OF MERGERS

(General Church Constituency)

"In several cases of merger between denominations, both in the United States and in Canada, minorities have stood out against the union and have continued the old denominational name and organization, so that there has been no reduction in the number of denominations."

Judgments	Per Cent. Choosing As 1st or 2nd Best
Even though not fully complete in themselves, a growing spirit of unity, toleration and inclusiveness is evidenced by these mergers. They are accordingly to be valued as steps toward union. (5).....	40
If, in spite of dissenting minorities, a very much larger percentage of Christians have been brought into union than was true before, these mergers mark real progress. (1).....	32
These cases merely show the impossibility of complete union of churches, if one waits for agreement. Instead all should submit and come under the authority of the one Church as Christ himself established it. (2).....	12
So long as there are dissenting minorities, there ought to be separate church organizations. Union is impossible because conscientious convictions still keep the churches apart. (4).....	10
It makes little difference whether a small minority stays out or comes in. (3).....	6
Total (23,709 choices, 12,419 persons answering).....	100

separate denominations after the merger of the main bodies has been effected.⁴⁰ In view of this fact it is sometimes argued that such mergers mark no actual progress in unity.

This issue also was submitted to the judgment of a representative cross-section of the American religious public by means of a questionnaire in the following form: "In several cases of merger between denominations, both in the United States and in Canada, minorities have stood out against the

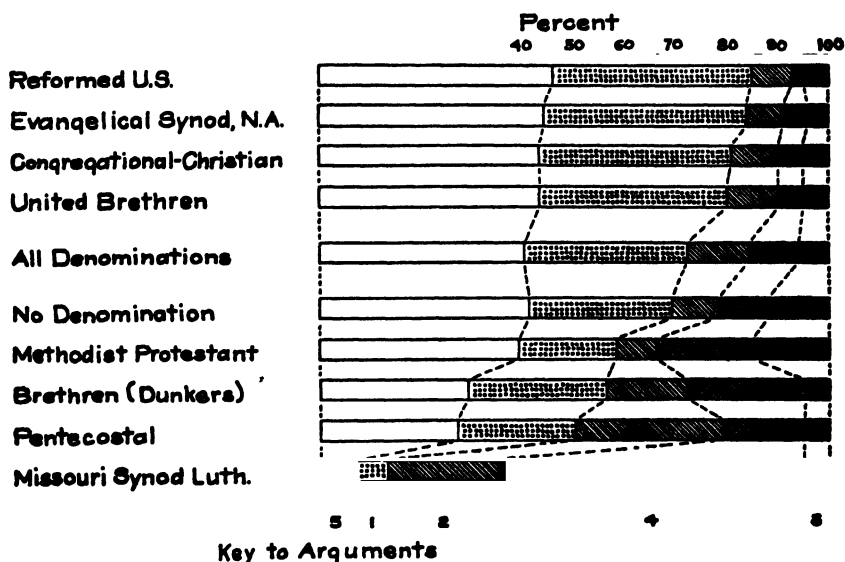


CHART VI—DISTRIBUTION OF JUDGMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE VALUE OF PARTIAL CHURCH UNION IN SPITE OF DISSENTING MINORITIES

For total rank and file constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for judgments numbered to correspond with key, see Table XIV)

union and have continued the old denominational name and organization, so that there has been no reduction in the number of denominations."

Those receiving the questionnaire were asked to reply by indicating which of five judgments on the above situation most nearly coincided with their own. Replies were had from 12,419 persons, a strong majority of whom discounted the risks of continued division and justified partial union even when minorities stand out.

The form in which the judgments were stated and the results of the questionnaire are shown in Table XIV.

In the arrangement of Table XIV judgments most appreciative of partial union stand at the top of the list. The two that most strongly assert the

¹ P. 52.

significance of piecemeal mergers as steps toward union are chosen by nearly three-fourths of those replying. In spite of dissenting minorities, such mergers are valued because they are symptomatic of a growing spirit of unity, or because they involve actual gains in numerical shifting of members into uniting churches. Twelve per cent. of those replying see in the situation evidence of the impossibility of union by agreement, while 10 per cent. say that conscientiously dissenting minorities ought to stay out of such mergers. Only a handful of replies take refuge in a depreciation of the issue altogether.

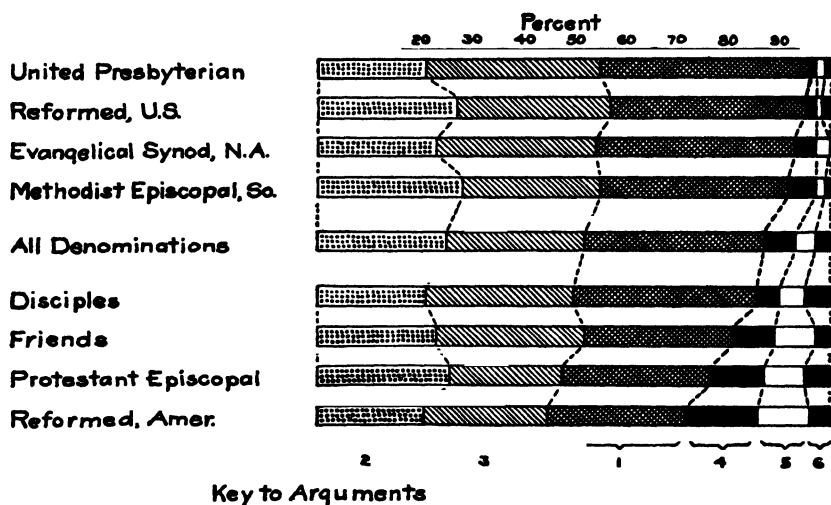


CHART VII—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE HOPEFULNESS FOR COMPLETE UNION OF UNIONS OF DENOMINATIONS WHOSE DIFFERENCES ARE NOT FUNDAMENTAL

For select constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table XV)

Denominational differences on this issue consist chiefly in the considerably more than average value given to the first two arguments of the list by such denominations as the Reformed in the U. S., Evangelical Synod, Congregational-Christian and United Brethren, in contrast with more than average emphasis on the third and fourth arguments by Pentecostals and Dunkers. As the most extreme example, Missouri Synod Lutheran returns give 60 per cent. of their approval to an argument to which the group as a whole gives but 10 per cent. These contrasts are shown in Chart VI.⁴¹

Limited union as realized by the merger of denominations by two's and three's is thus highly valued by the religious public as a whole in its bearing

⁴¹ For full data showing all denominational comparisons, see Appendix Table 10.

upon general union, even in spite of the frequent continuance of dissenting minorities rendering such mergers incomplete.

ARE PARTIAL UNIONS HOPEFUL?

The value of partial unions was finally submitted to the judgment of a select religious constituency. The question as put limited the issue to "the reunion of churches whose differences in doctrine, worship and government were not fundamental." Should the overcoming of the remaining rather incidental differences be regarded as constituting "hopeful steps toward complete union?" The results of this inquiry, as answered by 2,595 persons, appear in Table XV.

TABLE XV — DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS ON ISSUES — REUNION OF SIMILAR CHURCHES

(Select Church Constituency)

"Would the reunion of churches whose differences in doctrine, worship and government are not fundamental, constitute hopeful steps toward complete union?"

Arguments	Per Cent. of Replies Rating as		Per Cent. Distribution of Weighted Score*
	Strong	Weak	
The reunion of the church can never come by gradual evolution beginning with churches of similar characteristics, but only by all Christians abandoning their divisions and accepting a single authoritative church whose essential characteristics were permanently fixed by Christ. (6).....	3	76	— 28
While reunions of related denominations would constitute some practical advance they would not touch the problem of harmonizing conflicting principles such as brought about the great historic divisions in the church; and there is danger that interest in such lesser unions might distract attention from efforts to achieve more fundamental union. (5).....	4	8	— 1
No particular spiritual significance should be looked for in uniting bodies of Christians who are already essentially alike. Real spiritual advance will be achieved only when Christians who conscientiously disagree on serious issues can find a way to come together within the inclusive fellowship of one church. (4)	6	9	— 6
Such unions would greatly reduce the number of divisions in the church, relieve duplication and competition and thus in large measure achieve the practical objects of any church union. (1)	[35]	2	+ 20
This is the place to begin efforts for church union because, if churches whose differences are not fundamental cannot unite, certainly no others can. (3).....	[27]	3	+ 21
Uniting Christian groups which are most alike might clear the way for reconsideration of differences still alleged to be fundamental but which might not prove to be such in the light of the church's present mind and temper. (2).....	25	2	+ 24
Total.....	100	100	100
Number of choices.....	5,308	2,595	

Bracketed figures indicate arguments most frequently paired as strong.

* Arrived at by weighting for variability and subtracting "weak" from "strong" replies.

A range of six arguments bearing on this issue was presented for rating. As listed in the table they proceed from that least favorable to the proposition (at the top of the table), through a series of mediating propositions, to the most favorable (at the bottom of the table). In the outcome the two mediating arguments, number 1, that such unions would largely overcome the objective evils of duplication and competition, and number 3, that they constitute the natural points at which to begin unity movements, got much the highest per cent. of favor; but the hope that such unions might clear the way for more difficult unions also got even larger net support, as shown by the weighted score. The three unfavorable arguments got only 13 per cent. of the total vote.

The distribution of the opinion on this issue of those denominations which stand farthest from the average of all denominations is shown in Chart VII.

One notes at once that the extremes are much nearer together than on the two incidents previously presented. Relatively little weight is given by any denomination to the three actually unfavorable arguments. This showing confirms the results of the ballot on the union of related denominations as previously presented.

Baptist (North), Congregational-Christian, Lutheran and Methodist Episcopal replies strike near the average on this issue.

Considering specific arguments, the chart shows that Protestant Episcopal, Reformed in America and Friends replies rank notably above the average in affirming that partial unions do not touch the real problem of union and involve no spiritual gain. These denominations are at the same time considerably impressed with the danger that partial unions will distract attention from more fundamental union. With respect to the Disciples, interest lies in the very slight approval given to the proposition that the sole way to union is by return to a prescribed pattern of the church. This soft-pedals the historic position of the denomination, as reaffirmed by modern "restorationists." The actually preponderant Disciples opinion, as revealed by the data, is that the right place to begin union effort is with partial unions.

A point worthy of special consideration is that the denominations that see the greatest hopefulness in partial unions are themselves branches of related families. Branches are, however, sometimes on opposite sides of the argument, as is the case with the Reformed in America and the Reformed in the United States.

Slight deviations on single points have a certain significance. The Southern Baptist replies, which are not generally favorable to partial unions, nevertheless hold that they do clear the way for further unions. Methodist Episcopal stress, on the contrary, falls on the practical advantage of partial union in overcoming competition.

The answers of the select constituency as a whole, then, find hope in partial union. This verdict corresponds closely with the results of the ballot on the union of related denominations and with the attitude of the rank and file in consenting to liberal conditions for partial union and in being willing to take the risk of the continuance of dissenting minorities.

THE BACKWASH OF DIVISION

This account manifestly would be one-sided and incomplete without some attention to new sects and schisms whose appearance in recent years was confessed in the opening paragraphs of the book. The character of these new churches may be judged with considerable accuracy by their names. They include The (Original) Church of God, and three other Churches of God, the African Orthodox Church, the African Orthodox Church of New York, the Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God, Churches of God, Holiness (this makes, in all, six "Churches of God"), the Congregational Holiness Church, Divine Science Church, Free Church of God in Christ, Liberal Catholic Church, Liberal Church of America, and Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. There are also three new groups of independent churches bearing the names, respectively, of Baptist, Lutheran and Mennonite.

No one can say that some of these new churches will not become mighty organizations in the future, as movements with similar feeble beginnings have done in the past. It is noteworthy, however, that eight churches of like description disappeared during the last decade, and that in spite of the continuous irruption into being of such erratic sects, the proportionate strength of the well-established denominations continues virtually unchallenged from decade to decade.⁴² Actual unity movements, then, are not greatly slackened by the continued appearance of such sporadic and generally feeble denominations.

SIGNIFICANT DIVISIONS

The only considerable ecclesiastical division of the last decade was that of the American Baptist Association from the Southern Baptist Church. This group of some 1,400 churches and 118,000 members (in 1926) is concentrated in Texas and Arkansas to the extent of 80 per cent. of its members and is 98 per cent. rural. It had been in opposition to the missionary agencies of the Baptist church since early in the century, opposed to all centralizing tendencies, and ultra-conservative in theology. Though declaring that "in one sense it is not a denomination," it has been, since 1924, a distinct organization of Baptists. Its own tendency to further subdivision and the ap-

⁴² P. 5.

pearance within its field of "undenominational" Baptist churches is greatly bewailed by its representatives.⁴³

A similar conservative wing of the Disciples of Christ, centralized in the same territory and emphasizing the same tendencies, had already been reported as a separate denomination in 1906, but its separate character has become clearer during the last decade. "It pictures," writes Garrison, "the schisms of that extreme right wing of the Disciples which has taken literally the duty of restoring the church of the first half of the first century and has divided, as any such body necessarily must, upon varying opinions as to the exact pattern that is to be restored. While opposing the delegate convention, the *Christian Standard* said: 'The very essence of our plea is that the church, in its every detail, must be scriptural, must conform to the New Testament model.' The divisions above listed have occurred because some who hold this theory are of the opinion that the 'New Testament model' excludes missionary societies, or organs in public worship, or Sunday schools, or the admission to membership of persons immersed not specifically for the remission of sins (e.g., by Baptists). The main body of conservative Disciples affirm the principle but make no such fantastic application of it."⁴⁴

In brief, there is a very real rural and conservative backwash of division in the Southwest, resulting from a hold-over in this region of pioneer psychology, which contradicts the main tendencies of the urban age.

As tokens of the continuous power of religion to recreate itself outside of fixed forms, and as raising problems of adjustment between the old churches and the new, between static and fluid types of organizations, these divisive movements have a significance beyond their mere numbers. They show in general that the integrative tendency of this age has limits. The backwash of division is by no means strong enough, however, to reverse the main current.

CONCLUSION

It is important to note that, paralleling the American movements just described, partial union, through merger or other adjustment, of groups of denominations, has been actively under way in other parts of the English-speaking world. The nearest geographically, and the one born of experience which most closely parallels that of the United States, is the United Church of Canada, established in 1925 by the union of Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational bodies. The notable reunion of Presbyterian churches in Scotland was celebrated in 1929. In 1932 culminated the union of English Methodists. The Church of Christ in China and the proposed

⁴³ *The Baptist Standard*, February 11, 1932.

⁴⁴ Garrison, W. E., *Religion Follows the Frontier* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931), p. 298.

United Church of South India represent similar movements on foreign-mission fields.

Now it is doubtless true that all these partial unions, American and foreign combined, may easily be overestimated in importance. Their whole story, as told above, relates to something that has taken place within a central core of denominations which at worst do not stand very far apart. Those which actually feel remote from one another lack the obvious basis of union that these others have had, and they have generally not attempted union. Later chapters will take careful account of such inherent limitations and their bearings upon the ultimate prospect of a united church.

On the other hand, the sum total of the partial integrations of the church, by reason of the many mergers described, does very materially reduce its practical division. Unity even of this piecemeal sort is, then, by no means negligible. It is not merely a national, but a world-wide phenomenon, and one whose end is not yet.

CHAPTER IV

How Far Has Unity Come with the Rank and File?

This chapter and the one following undertake to summarize what the study discovered as to the reactions of popular thinking and attitude toward church unity movements as revealed in the preceding chapters. This is to introduce a new element into the story. The data have now to deal, not with the trends of the eras nor with the negotiations of organized church bodies, but rather with the sentiments of the individual man who constitutes the ultimate unit within the American religious public. From his world, past and present, this man has derived certain attitudes toward religious unity. He has inherited a divided church. He has been educated, formally or informally, into some historic tradition as to the meaning of its divisions. He has gotten a minimum of current discussion of the situation from a thinly-circulated group of denominational publications, along with a little additional help from secular periodicals and the daily press. What he has received from such teachers he has supplemented by direct observation and experience. Tests show that his knowledge of events, such as were set forth in the preceding chapters, is highly inaccurate. But somehow, in varied and often untraceable ways, the rank and file of the religious public finds itself currently possessed of certain notions and prejudices. It is on the strength of these that it reacts in quite definite ways when unity movements, with their accompanying issues, are brought to its attention.¹

Naturally these reactions show large traces of the forces and tendencies reviewed in previous chapters, as they have filtered down into the popular intelligence. The oscillating movements of division and integration, the development of coöperation and federation within one's own generation, and the accomplishment of many partial unions have naturally entered into its thinking. Something the common man has taken over directly from his teachers; more he has made over according to the pattern of his own mind. Subject, then, to these total influences, which cannot now be differentiated fully, where has the average American landed? How far has unity come with the rank and file?

A SUMMARY OF POPULAR THINKING

This chapter endeavors to interpret the thinking and attitudes of that person, who may be called typical from the standpoint of organized religion, the representative of the church's rank and file.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The primary sources of information as to popular thinking were indicated in the Introduction. They consist, first, of a great body of voluntary communications mainly attached to questionnaires, and secondly, of the results of the questionnaires themselves.

In response to a note on the questionnaires reading, "Letters will be welcomed making any comment or explanation of your replies which you think necessary," supplemental and explanatory communications were received from several thousand persons. The typical reply consisted of some three to five paragraphs, covering as many or more topics. Replies ranged from the virtually incoherent to those that represented a sort of compressed tabloid philosophy of the church. Since the primary data on the topics to which the communications related were already in tabulable form, and since the communications were essentially supplemental, they were rated as collateral rather than as primary sources. They were not treated statistically; and since a large number of them were merely marginal comments attached to the more than 15,000 questionnaires, they were not even individually counted. Duplicate copies, however, were made of all communications which were more than fragmentary or which, when detached, expressed any clear idea. All these were read and analyzed as independent data bearing upon tendencies and characteristics of the thinking and attitude of the religious public. As has been shown,¹ this public was well represented by the questionnaires, and the communications merely identified the more vocal element within the larger sample. They constituted an authentic voice of the rank and file and revealed the typical ways in which the masses of the church regard the problem of church unity.

CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULAR THINKING WHICH CONDITION ITS SUMMARIZATION

It is difficult to summarize so varied and extensive a body of data, first because its units had no comparability in form. Naturally, too, not all of the rank and file reached a single conclusion or traveled the same path in reaching their different conclusions. It was clear that some favored existing unity movements, while others opposed them. Approval was sometimes strong, sometimes moderate, sometimes slight. So was opposition. While such general directions of attitude were clearly discernible, individual attitudes strung out over long series of positions between the two extremes, representing degrees of difference which were only roughly measurable.

The voluntary communications were nevertheless very significant in showing the excursions taken by individual thinking or mood to one or another side of every logical position in the attitude series. These variations give

¹ Introduction.

specific flavor to the more general account of the attitudes to which they refer. They preserve the individual note and constitute the attitudinal overtones which greatly enrich the chord.

Obviously, too, the contributions of the rank and file necessarily represent very different qualities of thinking. Usually they reveal the naïve operation of traits and impulses more than they do any clearly rational grasp of objective issues. Some sort of rationalization, of course, accompanies and follows even the most limited experience with a matter felt to be important. Sometimes, then, popular thinking succeeded in passing over into more matured positions. Really novel insights were scarcely to be expected from thinking on these levels. But as evidence of the raw stuff of the situation with which leaders, philosophers and experts have to deal, and as probably the finally determinative factor in the situation, popular thinking takes on an importance of the very first order.

The following pages attempt first to show in what fashion popular thinking makes its most preliminary approach to the problem of unity, and then proceed to a more elaborate analysis of the major points of popular thinking.

SKIMMING THE TOP OF THE MIND OF THE RANK AND FILE

The first evidence to be presented is a summary of one hundred incidental comments attached to a random sample of ballots on church union. Fourteen came from Baptists, eleven from Methodists, thirteen from Presbyterians, with twenty-three other denominations furnishing the remainder. These data were chosen because they represent the most incidental and unpremeditated of the popular responses in the possession of the study. Responses from individuals, of course, could not be gotten without some minimum of instigation. The questionnaire, though calling for specific judgments and deliberately presenting its materials in a broken order so that they might not evoke response in terms of an organized pattern, ran the risk, nevertheless, of touching off a whole philosophy.² The ballot came nearest to being a naked stimulus; and the spill-over of comment, generally scribbled on the margin of ballots, was in rough and concise form. This briefer and more sudden comment was assumed to be more revealing of the mind's first reaction than the weightier and more deliberate responses of longer communications.

When tabulated the one hundred comments were found to fall under three fairly inclusive heads: namely first, general comments for or against the general types of unity mentioned in the ballot; second, comments on other types of unity; and, third, specific comment pointing out other aspects of the problem. Such classification according to content cannot, of

² Introduction.

course, take account of the varied expression of emotional attitudes. Comment was often couched in highly colored personal terms. "I have long been thinking" or "I am very glad to vote" were repeated formulae. The ballot was accepted as a response to one's expectancy or else to his fears. Blessings (or corresponding curses) were poured out on the heads of those raising the issue. Especially a high degree of sensitiveness was revealed as to the evils of the present denominational situation, which was condemned for crudity, unnecessary complexity and competitiveness.

Of general ideas most frequently expressed, the following four were outstanding: (1) there is such a thing as spiritual union which is somehow different from and deeper than organizational union; (2) there is need of opportunity for variety in religious expression; (3) there must be unity in essentials but may be liberty and variety in non-essentials; (4) efforts to change the unsatisfactory existing order should move cautiously, stressing present agreements rather than disagreements and being careful not to make matters worse than better.

Comment as to form and degree of unity directly presented by the ballot was characterized by the frequency with which the following qualifications were attached to it: (1) The union of related denominations is to be regarded as a step only to more inclusive union. (2) The formal unity expected and desired is virtually limited to evangelical Protestants, either defined sentimentally as "true followers of Christ," or doctrinally as persons who accept the divinity of Christ. (3) On the other hand, there was very considerable insistence that union is intended to include "all who would come" and that those left outside are essentially self-excluded. (4) The notion that those formally excluded might be immediately admitted "if they would change," was also expressed—as naïvely as in any caricature.

Another major phenomenon of the one hundred comments was the pointing out of many more stages and stopping points between division and union than the four contained in the ballot. It was argued: (1) that there could be more coöperation than at present within the denominational order, yet not going so far as permanent federation; (2) that somewhere between the reunion of related denominations and complete organic union a group of unions of unrelated but similar denominations might be conceived, resulting ultimately in four or five major types; (3) that there might be a stronger version of federal union intermediate between the present denominational order and that of a "permanent and binding" federal union such as contemplated in the ballot.³

Other phases of union, suggested but not directly derived from the ballot, were sometimes indicated and commented upon. These included: (1) par-

³ See pp. 241-247.

ticular unions now in contemplation, such as between Northern and Southern Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Protestant, Methodist and Presbyterian churches; (2) local unions as represented by community churches, especially in small communities, which were very frequently mentioned; also (3) the need and advantage of union on mission fields. This definitely illustrates the influence on popular thinking of the movements described in previous chapters.

Point an arresting finger at the first one hundred Protestants one meets on the street, utter the words "church union," and one may expect some such response as the above. It indicates the range and direction of ideas relating to unity entertained by the rank and file of the religious public when it thinks "off the top of its mind." It reveals the lines along which the more superficial approach to unity is being made, and something of the equipment, in terms of concepts and ready-made distinctions, with which the religious public apprehends the issue. Any effort to influence church unity movements will have to do first with minds on this level, predisposed to action in such ways.

COMPREHENSIVE STUDY OF THE MIND OF THE RANK AND FILE

The above preliminary study suggests rough categories for the broader study of the mind of the rank and file based on the total body of voluntary communications, including those attached to all ballots and questionnaires, as well as separate letters. The following analytical summary attempts to generalize the content of this whole body of communications. It recognizes feelings and moods as of equal significance with ideas. It presents its results under five heads, as follows: (1) attitudes chiefly emotional, (2) attitudes chiefly practical, (3) attitudes due to the conflict of emotional sentiment and practical tendencies, (4) popular intellectual formulas, and (5) proposed solutions. In the following discussion these divisions are further broken up into twelve sub-divisions. The comment which follows under each head consists mainly of a careful condensation of the substance of the communications, often supported by direct quotations.

POPULAR ATTITUDES CHIEFLY EMOTIONAL

RESIDUARY SECTARIANISM

The first characteristic of the reaction of the rank and file to church unity is that it continues to exhibit sectarian traits, but that their former asperity has been greatly softened.

Running throughout the data there is plenty of evidence that sectarianism is not wholly dead in the church. Its expressions range from the brusque statement, "I want no union with any church," to a long series of abusive

condemnations attached to marginal denominations. This one is "self-deceived" and will "never appeal to level heads." That one comes of an "unclean source." Another represents "a wee grain of truth in a ton of swill." A man who says he is a casual church-goer explains his unsettled religious condition by saying that too many churches try to show that "everyone is out of step but my son John." When he hears this, he says, he attends another church next time. An elderly Disciples minister writes, "The underlying causes which have brought about the present divided state of the churches still exist in active operation." A Methodist Protestant layman says, "If we were to join the Methodist Episcopal Church, we would have about the same problems which we had about 1878 and hence another split; so I think it is better as it is." An elderly woman testifies, "I have been a believer for over fifty years and both the Old and New Books make plain to me that we can know God only by or through his Son Jesus Christ our Saviour. Now how could we join with those who do not acknowledge the vital point?"

Of such unyielding attitudes no denomination has a monopoly. An Episcopal Bishop's daughter writes, "Many of your questions have no relation to our church, which is not at all of the denominations, since it was started by our Lord, brought to Britain in the first century and when Britain became England, it became the Church of England. Our church in the United States is the daughter of that church, one throughout the ages."

Numerous communications quote proof texts; as, for example, "The Disciples were called 'Christians' first in Antioch, Acts XI: 26." "It is as plain as day," writes an aged saint, "the way Christ wanted us to live and explain the scriptures."

Other persons apply stern judgments to denominations with which they do not agree: "There is a large group of bodies whose doctrinal positions are not sound . . . Others are based on fraud and misconception."

A Lutheran minister thinks that convinced sectarians do not change, even when they join other churches: "No matter to what church I may attend, I shall always be a Lutheran at heart. You may say this is a bigoted position. But the same is true of the Presbyterian, Methodist, Quaker, or what have you. Putting a Presbyterian in a Methodist church does not make him a Methodist. He is still a Presbyterian. And all the unionism in the world will not change his ideas. Whenever possible it is best for folks to attend their own denomination where they can feel more at home. I am not afraid of unionism. I have not yet seen it work satisfactorily."

Another correspondent explains that "union always means union with all others who accept my own way of thinking." He adds, "It will take years to change this attitude."

SECTARIANISM SOFTENED

On the other hand, the church unity movement as a whole, the fact that multitudes of people are known to use the churches interchangeably, the extensive data presented in a previous chapter as to the exceedingly small amount of distance feeling between important denominations, prove that while sectarianism continues, it has been greatly softened. Evidences of such softening abound in the voluntary communications. The inclination to claim no more than equality for one's own church is frequently expressed. "There are other good Protestant churches—but none better than the Methodist Episcopal." Methodism in a former generation would not have put the matter so moderately. Correspondents whose questionnaires register little hesitancy toward association in the church life of other denominations frequently say mildly that they would naturally prefer their own denomination if it were available. A good many were moved by the receipt of the questionnaire to canvass their associates and neighbors. In general, they report finding few people who now feel that it is "my own church or none."

Reasons for the softening of sectarian moods are frequently offered. In the opinion of a southern Quaker, modern conditions in thought indicate "a breaking-down stage in much hitherto accepted or considered essential by different denominations making an agreeable union a possibility in time." The clerk of a New York presbytery thinks: "Theological and governmental opinions which created many denominations have become mere historical backgrounds. . . . It should be much easier to unify the church than it would have been fifty years ago." Others refer to the "religious melting pot which has unified populations removed by three or four generations from their religious origins." The actual interchangeability of denominations in use is sometimes cited as a result of this change. The decline of denominational bitterness may leave one quite complacent with the present denominational situation: "There is a decided increase of unity of the spirit in the churches. I see no spirit of antagonism or opposition. Most of us are interested in our neighbors being Christian, not Methodist, Presbyterian or Baptist."

Even those who make unyielding technical distinctions frequently nullify them by their attitudes in concrete issues. Thus a Seventh Day Adventist minister "would not acknowledge other churches as 'genuine churches of Christ' if by that you mean I consider they are following Him in all essentials." He would not, however, condemn any person or church that is doing sincerely what they believe to be the will of God. In the absence of an Adventist Sunday school, he would send a child to the schools of any other denomination, would receive communion from these churches occasionally though not habitually, and would "recite the Lord's prayer with anyone." All told, in eight out of twelve relationships covered by the religious distance

test he would have no hesitancy as to fellowship with bodies which by his definition are not "genuine" churches of Christ at all.

The asperity of liberal dogmatism has sometimes softened as well as that of conservative dogmatism, as is evidenced by the following quotation:

"I am a Unitarian but recognize others have their convictions and emotions which they hold as sacred as I do mine. I have had intimate and friendly relations with members of various churches, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, Catholic, Christian Science, Quakers, Mormons, have sympathetically associated with Jews and Yogi, and know that some of the best people on earth hold beliefs which are entangled in superstition and convention; so I feel a sort of unreasonable shock when these beliefs are attacked by the ridicule of the clever and truth served in satire offered them to taste. The wit seems too costly."

Occasional replies refer to the broadening effects of contact with different races, classes and creeds incident to residence in foreign lands. All told, these utterances are clear evidence of an evolutionary modification of historic attitudes, of which the actual integrating tendencies of the century and the many partial unions of religious bodies are doubtless partly cause and partly consequence.

RELIGIOUS FEELING AND APPEAL TO RELIGIOUS SANCTIONS IN BEHALF OF UNITY

A second marked characteristic of the attitude of the rank and file with respect to church unity is that it is deeply dyed with religious feeling, and continuously appeals to religious sanctions. These attitudes are most often described in terms of sentiment. They are things hoped for "some day in the far distant future." "Beautiful dreams," one calls them, adding, "I only hope and pray that some way will be opened for the realization of the dream." To large numbers of those replying, a movement for union appeals as a fulfillment of long-cherished desires: "I have thought much upon this movement for years." . . . "I have long hoped and prayed for closer union." . . . "I hope the day may dawn when union becomes a reality." . . . "I should like to go on record as heartily in favor of anything which can improve the chances of church unity." . . . "It is certainly a great idea." . . . "I will be glad to help realize such an ideal and help bring it about." . . . "May God speed your work and may the Lord's prayer be answered that all may be one." These are typical reactions.

The conviction that the movement for unity accords with the purpose and desires of Christ is repeatedly recorded. It finds expression on the lowly levels of religious doggerel:

"One heart, one mind, as Jesus prayed,
"And that is how God's church was made."

Again it rises to what one takes to be something like direct spiritual apprehension: "When the love of our Lord is the moving star in our lives, charity will come to our assistance and Christians will naturally flow together."

All told, it seems not a little significant that a purely objective study, one entered upon dispassionately in the mood of scientific curiosity rather than of any advocacy of church union, should so have opened the flood-gates of sentimental utterance, as incidental to the return of a most forbidding questionnaire. When the moods of professionals and theologians come to be studied, a sharp contrast will appear. While they are concerned with arguments, the rank and file strongly tend to regard unity as a directly religious issue, something demanded by the self-evident claims of fraternity and a common faith.

FEARS FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

At the same time, the evidence of volunteered communications shows a widespread suspicion among the rank and file that church unity may endanger religious liberty. Even when clearly differentiated versions of union are presented, and consideration of alternatives clearly suggested, this fear asserts itself. What underlies this attitude appears to be two-fold: suspicion that unity implies a direct attack upon liberty, and dread lest it involve a subtle seeping away of liberty's essence. "I do not believe," runs a typical comment, "that it is possible to have organic union of the churches and at the same time Religious Liberty as long as the Lord makes people with so many different tastes and temperaments."

Some of the communications volunteered on this point suggest an exaggerated religious individualism, as in the following:

"I do not believe in any amalgamation of Christian churches and I hope that such a limitation upon individual thought and conviction, truth as each of us may see it and faith as each of us may embrace it, may be postponed until after I cease to be annoyed by the perennial attempts to standardize everything . . .

"All that I ask is that others concede that my particular acceptance is as real as theirs and leave the genuineness of my belief with God and myself."

Other responses appeal to a particular Protestant version of history, as for example, "Our forefathers came to this country for the freedom of worship and I feel it will be a sad day for this country when one Church is controlled by either State or Pope or any one denomination."

The fear of such domination by an ecclesiastical power or of restraint of freedom of conscience remains a dark reality with many religious people: "There is a great deal of talk of church union today. A number of smaller denominations are uniting with larger ones. There seems to be a tendency to build a super-sect, and I fear it more than I fear the larger number of

smaller denominations; for the world has been cursed for fifteen hundred years by a super-sect and that which is needed today is not so much church union as it is Christian unity."

When therefore unity movements are favored, they are often favored most timorously. Many are the caveats and qualifications. Great stress is laid on voluntariness, on "union only if they unite freely and willingly."

An interesting side-light on this point is found in the characteristic provision of church federation constitutions which makes secession not only legal but respectable. The rank and file are exceedingly wary of being trapped. They dislike any alliance which is not easy to get out of.

Specific judgments rendered upon partial unions already consummated sometimes assert that liberty has already suffered. Thus an influential religious editor asserts: "The great and successful church union movement consummated in Canada failed to emphasize the essential foundations of Christian freedom to anything like the same extent that it emphasized the privileges and obligations of catholicity."

How bitterly some of the smaller nonconformist bodies resent as oppressive present integrating efforts which come far short of union, may be judged by the following quotation from a Seventh Day Adventist woman:

"Only a people with hearts single to God's will are acceptable to Him, and any outward form or superficial union is abhorrent in His sight. In fact the prophecies indicate very clearly that there will be a great politico-ecclesiastical union which will be a persecuting power, for it will unite church and state, and force, or seek to force, all to conform to its decrees by the enactment of religious laws. We see this attempted every year in our National Congress and state legislatures, when the various National Reform Associations and Lord's Day Leagues persistently and untiringly seek to destroy our religious liberty so dearly bought by our fathers, by imposing upon this nation drastic Sunday laws, contrary to the spirit of Christianity or American jurisprudence."

Such obsessive fears for religious liberty can hardly fail to obstruct clear judgments as to the merits of current unity movements. One does not stop to ask what kind of union is proposed, what provision it makes for variety, whether there is recognition of its attendant danger, or whether there are any safety devices, such as the decentralization of authority. As later data will show, the opponents of union frequently set up a straw man to combat. The dominant group retains a bitter group-memory of what it identifies with church union in the past, and this fact deeply colors the present situation.

ATTITUDES CHIEFLY PRACTICAL

In addition to these emotional attitudes toward church unity, the Christian masses are widely impressed by practical considerations.

SENSITIVENESS TO THE EVILS OF THE PRESENT DIVIDED STATE OF THE CHURCH

The rank and file are bitterly aware of and sensitive to many confessed evils growing out of the present divided state of the church. These shame them and trouble their consciences.

The rank and file are troubled because the ethical consequence of division is to force them into unchristian relationships. "By all means we should work together and stop our everlasting overlapping, sheep stealing and belittling gossip" . . . "I favor any form of union that will help to eliminate competition, rivalry and resultant prejudices and hatred."

Most of the evidence, however, deals with the specific evil of division in concrete situations, particularly in local communities. Here is "a village of less than 800 with eight or nine denominations trying to function." This typical story is told over and over again in the communications. There are too many local churches. This involves "wasteful overlapping of our energies." . . . "It wastes money."

"In this community (of 4,000 people)," writes an Iowa pastor, "where in an early day there were four organizations, there are now thirteen, and the last which was added to our number with a resident pastor is supported almost entirely by missionary funds.

"Think of the crime of putting more than \$1,000 a year into a field where there are already twelve different organizations struggling for existence.

"But by what right, I ask, do the national and state leaders of our different denominations ask us to ask those who have sustained heavy losses to increase their gifts, while at the same time these various denominations are wasting more than is necessary to carry forward the work of the kingdom in a far more effective way?"

The terrific wrong of this is particularly apparent in communities especially suffering from the depression. A Florida real-estate man writes, "I cannot see why we should have forty odd churches in this little town and why in the winter season all sorts of professional preachers should come down here and try to convert the best people in the world."

Denominationalism prevents religious work from serving the community as a whole: "We each do our work with our own restricted group. The majority in a given community are untouched and there is not concerted action to get the truth across to them." In similar vein a Presbyterian layman writes from St. Louis: "As one engaged in settlement work I would like to add my voice to those who favor an effective union or federation of churches. The outstanding argument in favor of such a move is that eventually there would develop a united plan for serving every district in a thorough manner. At present whole districts are unchurched, while others are overchurched.

This situation has come because each denomination is self-centered. A real federation would think and plan in terms of a whole city or district."

Another widespread feeling is that the church's division hurts its standing and reputation with the world. Division is weakness. It prevents the church's testimony from being convincing.

On one or more of these grounds numerous correspondents reach a verdict of condemnation upon disunion: "The present system is tragic in our case." A cruder judgment asserts, "Most sensible people think it is a big joke."

USE OF ARGUMENTS BASED ON DIRECT EXPERIENCE

While the ecclesiastic argues from theory, it is characteristic of the man in the street to bring his own experience to bear upon his problems. As previously noted, the evils of division are chiefly recognized in terms of locality. Many communications are eloquently concrete as to where the evidence on which they rely was experienced. It was in Cleveland over a period of twenty years, or it happened in Massachusetts, or Canada or the Philippine Islands. It related to particular integrating efforts, to one's own transfer from one denomination to another, to the effort to unite two related denominations, to disillusion following the failure of the Interchurch World Movement.

When not arguing from personal experience, the rank and file draw heavily upon what they believe to be objective facts. They cite what they have been told about union in Canada or the foreign field, or what they are certain occurred in the past as proved by church history.

Obviously the argument from experience is not all on one side. There are different experiences to appeal to. What is important for the present purpose is the direct authenticity of this evidence. This is tough-fibred data which can be answered only in kind. It has obvious defects. Individual experience is necessarily limited. It is, however, a really momentous fact that the American religious public does so largely derive its attitudes from experience rather than from books. Poor thinking, perhaps, but one's own.

MORE PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Deriving their data so largely from experience, it is only natural to find the rank and file motivated by practical considerations. Little weight is put upon arguments derived from the supposedly inherent nature of the church, from what is necessarily true, or even what is taught in the Bible or the church's doctrine. The mind of the religious public is rather impressed by the way church arrangements work or fail to work. From practical considerations, it is led to practical conclusions.

Consequently, on the one hand, the practical difficulties of union are amply

recognized. The united church would be too big. This may be true even of a local church. It would be unduly complex. It would afford unlimited opportunities for graft and corruption. It would reduce individual participation. People get lazy in a large church. Multiplying churches means multiplying adherents. Competition is stimulating. The varied emphases of the denominations represent temperamental variation or specialization which is a mark of an advanced civilization. After all, people have to be happy in their religious associations, not merely efficient. The effort to force union would defeat itself and the last state of the church would be worse than the first.

Equally, the advantage of union is urged upon the basis of practical considerations. Union means the elimination of duplication and waste. It spells efficiency after the analogy of financial and industrial mergers. It reduces cost, an important item at the moment when the church is under the necessity of retrenching. The church needs the common voice so that its moral authority may be brought to bear upon current issues. It needs a unified organ of action. Protestant unity would enable the Protestant church to combat Roman Catholic aggression. It would save the church from disintegration as a result of the inroads of the "bootleg" sects.

Argumentation on the basis of practical considerations will, obviously, often be contingent. If there is money enough to finance a divided church, well enough. If not, then there should be union. If churches are already sufficiently alike they should unite. If not, stay apart. "If the other fellow will come half way, I should go my half, not otherwise." Numerous correspondents reason along such lines.

Voices, however, are not lacking to protest against the appeal to practical considerations in religious matters. It is unworthy to estimate church values in terms of dollars and cents. Expediency has no rights as against fidelity to truth. These, however, are minor notes.⁴ The mind of the rank and file of the American religious public unquestionably bears the stamp of the recognized national traits. It is much more impressed by practical than by theoretical or technical considerations.

CONFLICTING ATTITUDES

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE IDEAL AND THE PRACTICAL

In view of the strength of religious feeling largely expressing itself on the side of unity and backed by one set of experiences, and in view of the conflicting fact of surviving sectarianism (often in the same minds) backed by another set of experiences and practical considerations, it is inevitable that the situation with the rank and file should be one of perplexity and em-

⁴ See p. 191f.

barrassment. This conflict between the ideal and the practical appears, in the absolute form, as a discrepancy between what is possible and what is desirable; and relatively, as a contrast between the present and the future—the ideal being banished to a far distant time.

Typical formulations of this contrast are: "If I thought it were possible, I would have voted for church union. I should like to have done so." . . . "Union is ideal, federal union may be more practical at present." . . . "Union is desirable but as yet impractical." . . . "Union ultimately but not now." . . . "The form I have marked (union) I am aware would very probably not work now, but it is the one that I favor. Even a federation would not work now. Churches have first to be educated to either."

It is probable that the rank and file are more determined by practical considerations than are their leaders. They do not have so many theories to buttress their ideals.

SENSE OF DILEMMA

The reactions of the rank and file reveal a widespread sense of dilemma as related to church unity. The conflict between the ideal and the practical muddles the situation. "It is too big a question for me." Such an attitude slows down the popular inclination to tackle the problem. Even when one tries to think it through, he is oppressed by a sense of confusion: "I am in the unique position of being a member of a Baptist church, attending a Presbyterian church and doing mission work in a Methodist chapel. I have many thoughts, and some conflicting ones, about church union." This might be taken as the theme song of the rank and file.

An occasional commentator tries to explain the origins of his confusion to himself: "I still have some conflict, when I stop to think about it, between prejudices and attitudes which remain from my early teaching, and my present feeling that the things asked about are not essentials, as far as I am concerned."

The situation results in widespread indecision, varying with temperament from individual to individual. Often when the attitude is clear as to the main issue, uncertainties attach to secondary points: "I have for many years been in favor of church union. In what form, though, I do not know what is best, and while I have marked the latter alternative (general union), I am not so sure but it would be a better plan to adopt the first (federal union)."⁵

A sense of inconsistency in one's answers to the questionnaire is often recorded. One berates himself for his own "wishful thinking" and confesses the need of clarifying his ideas.

⁵ See p. 112.

The chief points of confusion are commented upon in other connections. On one side are moral convictions justifying denominational divisions, on the other, the desperate sense of the iniquity of local competition. On one side are Protestant tendencies and on the other Catholic. Much is to be said for unity, but much also for variety.

That the state of indecision had frequently drawn itself out into a permanent mood was evidenced by the resentment very often expressed against the request for the filling out of a ballot or questionnaire. This was interpreted as undue pressure toward the premature crystallization of opinion. On the other hand, thanks were frequently volunteered for the incentive provided by the questionnaire toward the making up of the respondent's own mind:

"First, the questionnaire has caused me no little concern and uneasiness. I dislike questionnaires because answering them seems very much like crossing a bridge which you are not yet sure you are ready to cross. That is also, however, one of the main reasons I answered it. I was glad to be forced to take a forward step."

The situation is thus muddled by divided moods, indecision and fears, on top of objective difficulties on all sides. In attempting to find ways out, the rank and file have shown no great originality. Their clues to solutions of the difficulty are not essentially different from some proposed by ecclesiastical leaders, which, however, are more fully expounded by such experts. Full consideration of these points had consequently best be left for discussion in the light of the total evidence and after one has heard what the technical mind has to say.

Four ways out of the difficulty, which the rank and file repeatedly seek to use, nevertheless deserve mention, and are necessary for an adequate exposition of the status of popular thought. Of these, two are conventional intellectual formulae, and two suggestions of practical solutions.

These proposals are discussed in the paragraphs immediately following.

INTELLECTUAL FORMULAE

VITAL AS OPPOSED TO FORMAL ISSUES

A large number of American Christians regard religion as one thing and the church as quite another. They distinguish the two so sharply that, to them, talk about the church lacks the flavor of religion. The church is something which intrudes between them and God: "Lest there be a misunderstanding on this account, I wish to say that I believe that salvation depends solely upon the sinner's trust in a divine Redeemer. The questionnaire usually leads one to the impression that it looks upon the visible church as the source, or at least the channel, of blessing." In view of this instinct, there is a widespread attitude which regards church union as a formal

rather than a vital issue. Institutional union pertains to the husk rather than to the kernel. It concerns the artificial rather than the natural processes. "Much of this agitation for union," a Presbyterian minister asserts, "is like the suggestion of eugenists who would mate people like race-horses for their 'breeding qualifications.' Natural selection holds fairly well for religious affiliations."

Some hinge the issue between the formal and the vital on the alleged coldness of the church, or on the church's worldliness, in contrast with the warmth and spirituality of the private religious life. An elderly Oregon woman writes: "I am now not a member of any church. Was once a Congregationalist but moved where there was nothing but Methodist church, so have always attended it for thirty years. But I have lost out on churches. They have all become so worldly—more like Catholic which is not religious at all in my mind. But don't misunderstand me, I have not fallen from Grace or faith in God. He has always been my Refuge and Rock in times of trouble—which I am getting used to."

Others fear that church unity movements reflect merely a secular trend: "Yes, current discussions of church union are valuable and timely, unless it is merely a reflection of the general trend of mind toward merger—merger of bank, business and general commercial interests. These are all made on a basis of financial saving. The saving of money can never be the consideration in church union."

From such viewpoints, church union is a fad, and interest in it is agitation in the unworthy sense: "This agitation for church unity, the way it is carried on, is very harmful to the true Christianity, as it only wants a big organization and cares very little for the earnest conviction. It tends to make the church only a social center, and it is the quickest way to bring the Protestant denominations into the Roman Catholic church. Nothing is more powerful than a definite conviction. If you give the young people the idea that it makes no difference what they believe, they will very soon amount to nothing spiritually. But what is the use. People that think that to be a Christian is only to be something outwardly, do not understand and do not care to understand."

Still others, convinced that unity is a goal, are nevertheless sure that it must be secured only "by vital processes."

The particular points at which the conflict between the formal and the vital is felt relate either to the contrast between external ecclesiastical arrangements and the central verities of belief (either liberally or conservatively interpreted), or to motivation by practical considerations in contrast with what are regarded as the deep things of God. Particularly is it felt unworthy of religion to consider the unity of churches under stress of eco-

nostic necessity. Unity, it is charged, which is merely the liquidation of two bankrupt religious agencies is not a genuine reunion of churches.

The distinction between the formal and vital is applied particularly to certain of the partial unions realized in the recent past. Some, it is felt, have been consummated too hastily, under outward pressure rather than as an expression of inward unity.

On this issue popular thinking is negatively more adequate than it is positively. When it comes to describing the vital movements that are sought and waited for, they turn out to be vaguely something originating in a special divine impulse which must precede external union, something which assures spiritual unity, "unity in Christ," and which cannot be forced.

As pointing the way out of the acknowledged difficulties of the present, suggestions originating with the rank and file are consequently not very satisfactory. They range from the familiar formula for all human ills, "Love Christ and all else will follow," to trust in the further cultivation of vital tendencies to unity, recognized as already present in germ but whose further growth must be waited for.

Finally, the dissatisfaction and unrest over the supposed externality of church unity issues, while clearly a widespread mood, does not actually determine current attitudes. Direct evidence will be presented later showing that a great majority of persons constituting the rank and file do not believe that it is necessary to wait for a further inner impulse before moving forward on the path of external unification.⁶

DISTINCTION BETWEEN ESSENTIALS AND NON-ESSENTIALS

Before it passed over into popular thinking, this distinction had been developed in theological discussions of former ages; and it continues to present a permanent theoretical issue.⁷ It is, therefore, more natural to postpone its discussion until the theological section of the book has been reached. The vogue of the distinction with the rank and file should nevertheless be noted here.

Obviously, it may be applied in different ways as evidenced by the following quotations:

"To me the fundamentals are few—belief in God the father, and love for Him, belief in His Son Jesus Christ as our Saviour, and belief in the brotherhood of man which will lead to practice of the Golden Rule."

"Let us be done with all squabbling and quarreling over doctrines, over scientific beliefs, etc., and let us emphasize these essentials and put all our efforts into following the lead of Jesus."

⁶ See pp. 175-179.

⁷ See pp. 193-195.

"I'm for church unity. Let's cast aside not only all the petty differences, but the seemingly large differences as well."

Even so, the popular mind is strongly inclined to stick at essentials—and to define them variously.

PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

PROGRESS BY STAGES

The hope for unity as cherished by the rank and file, puts the chief reliance upon progress toward the goal by stages. A widely circulated ballot (to be described in the section next following) asked what one would do about church union if he had to decide now. The strong desire already evidenced to distinguish between and, at the same time, to link the ideal and the immediately possible, led 5 per cent. of those filling out the ballot to disregard specific directions and to check two (or more) answers, one of which was designated as desired, the other as now practicable.

Indeed the opinion of the group as a whole is not clear as to the exact goal. It is only sure that a series of steps may be made in what is generally the right direction. Varying termini are indicated at either end of the process and intermediate steps, varying in number and magnitude, are envisaged. Thus, progress may be assumed to start with some indefinite present situation or specifically with the existing denominational system, with the union of related denominations, or with the degree of local union and church federation already consummated. It may end at any point nearer the goal. Thus, of those whose thinking starts with the present denominational system, some would stop with the reunion of related denominations, while others would go on through federal union to general organic union, sometimes even including the Roman Catholic Church. Similar variety of termini are suggested by those starting with the union of related families, with local union or with federal union.

More comments were volunteered as to the stages of progress toward union than on any one point. All told, this evidences one of the most general tendencies of the rank and file. It is widely believed that the church is on the way to some greater unity which ultimately will be relatively inclusive, but there is no agreement as to starting or stopping points.

SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

Among the specific proposals more or less elaborated in connection with the voluntary communications of the rank and file, the majority naturally are indefinite. They may call either for a great reduction in the present number of denominations to "three or four" or "half a dozen not three or four hundred," or they may espouse the principle of the unity of "similar

bodies," regarded as "homogeneous already." Particular partial unions now in contemplation are sometimes approved, sometimes opposed.

Principles of grouping and particular patterns of union, are, however, somewhat frequently suggested. There should be a union into two great church groups, respectively liberal and conservative. There should be federal union, sometimes specified as organized around the Federal Council as a nucleus, within which the present denominations should continue as more or less definite entities. The suggestion of union on the congregational basis is made on the one hand, while the natural rôle of the Protestant Episcopal communion as a "bridge church" is proposed on the other hand. Sometimes the union is of all Protestants; at other times of all Christians; at still others of all religious bodies. Sometimes particular unions are urged as exceptions, notably unions on the foreign field.

The methods by which it is proposed to bring these proposals into effect are very imperfectly expressed. A few imagine that it could be settled by a majority vote of Christians balloting individually under a scheme of universal suffrage. Others fancy an interdenominational commission which could agree upon a common scriptural basis of union acceptable to all bodies. Still others look for union to come by way of intercommunion and equality established between existing bodies on the basis of which unity in organization might easily be worked out. All told, however, the means of achieving union are even more indefinite in the minds of the rank and file than are the steps toward union or the definition of the goal itself.

The evidence of the voluntary communications of the rank and file is much more complete with respect to the emotional state of those replying than it is as to their thinking. Responses run the whole gamut of feeling from fear to adoration, from opprobrium to benediction. The most highly colored or strongly spiced of these utterances show great emotional instability and constitute an interesting commentary upon the ranges of feeling with which discussion and decision in the field of church union have to do. The present body of data, then, furnishes more heat than light. The attitudes and tendencies discussed in the preceding paragraphs are well marked, but conflicting. They contain no means of measuring their relative strength or frequency of occurrence, while the scattered proposals are very inconclusive, as to both variety and definiteness. Accordingly, in order to react to any definite conclusion as to the practical outcome of these currents and eddies of thought and emotion, one must find some means of crystallizing the judgments of a representative American religious constituency.

CRYSTALLIZED JUDGMENTS

As already indicated, means for securing crystallized judgments from the rank and file were actually provided by questionnaires. Both identification

of the rank and file constituency and its circularization by means of a special instrument have been described in the Introduction. In contrast with the theoretical formulations of theologians, the type of question submitted to this constituency was distinctly practical. It related to adjustments of churches within the experience of the average man.

Since, however, the function of the rank and file returns is explicitly that of furnishing balance and contrast to the thinking of more specialized and limited constituencies, it is important that the two strands of evidence should be presented together. Consequently, these data are generally delayed for later chapters, where they appear in connection with appropriate topical discussions.

Three evidences, however, of the crystallized judgments of the rank and file are to be presented at this point, to show the tendencies of popular reactions to more specific tests. These are: (1) evidence as to the ease or difficulty of entering into religious relationships as revealed in the religious distance test, whose more general results have already been presented in chapter i; (2) evidence as to attitudes toward local church unions as effected by community churches; and (3) the ballot on church union.

SIGNIFICANCE OF PARTICULAR RELIGIOUS RELATIONSHIPS

The religious distance test was based on twelve particular relationships commonly involved in the fellowship of Christians in the local church. Its results recorded the willingness or unwillingness of 13,489 persons of twenty-five major denominations to enter into the specified relationships with members of other representative bodies of Christians.⁸

RESULTS OF THE TEST

The result of this test naturally showed very much greater sensitiveness and difficulty on some points than on others.

The twelve relationships are listed in Table XVI, which ranks them according to the degree of religious "distance" attaching to each.

The distance score by means of which the degree of difficulty of entering into the specified relations with other denominations was measured, was arrived at as follows:

Complete unwillingness to enter into any one of the twelve relations with members of any other denomination but one's own would have received a score of 100. On this basis, only a 2.6 per cent. difficulty attached to reciting the Lord's Prayer in public with members of other denominations, while a 19.6 per cent. difficulty attached to the habitual receiving of communion from ministers of other denominations.

Considering the ranking of the twelve relationships according to this index

⁸ Table VII, chapter i.

TABLE XVI—RELIGIOUS DISTANCE INDEX ACCORDING TO RELATIONSHIPS
(25 Denominations)

Relationship with Other Denominations than One's Own	Per Cent. of Possible Distance Score
Habitually receive Communion from their minister.....	19.6
Have a child baptized by one of their ministers.....	19.4
Send a child to their Sunday school.....	16.8
Unite in observing their Holy Days or other special celebrations	12.8
Contribute to the support of their foreign missions knowing that they teach a form of creed and of worship different from yours.....	11.8
Have a burial service conducted according to their rites.....	11.1
Feel satisfied with a marriage ceremony performed by one of their ministers.....	10.5
Acknowledge their church as a genuine church of Christ.....	9.0
Marry a member of that church.....	8.9
Support their local benevolent work.....	7.7
Associate with them in the social life of the local church.....	4.9
Recite the Lord's Prayer with them in public worship.....	2.6

of distance, additional points of extreme and of little difficulty need to be noted. Next to the reception of the Communion, the greatest difficulty attaches to the baptism and the religious education of children under religious auspices other than those of one's own church. Sensitiveness on these points is very much greater than on any other. Rationalizing, one can trace sensitiveness as to Communion to the fact that this sacrament is commonly accepted as Christianity's most distinctive external means of religious contact with God, and that the churches have made much of their differences on this point. It is also easy to see how the problem of subjecting a child to alien religious influences would give pause to many minds.

At the other extreme, in addition to the ritual use of the Lord's Prayer in common worship, it is clear that sharing the social life of a local church or supporting its local benevolences, which are commonly recognized as helpful in the community, does not commit one to any particular religious "slant" or emphasis, even though these experiences are shared with members of another denomination. Very little difficulty, consequently, is felt at these points.

The six relationships standing at the middle of the ranking scale do not differ very much as to the degree of difficulty which they present. Marriage or burial in another church than one's own represent the median cases. Here the difficulty thermometer stands at approximately 10 per cent. of a total possible difficulty of 100.

How each denomination reacts on each relationship according to this index is shown in Appendix Table 12. One knows in advance, of course, that the denominations do not stand on an equality with respect to all twelve relationships. Some do not recognize the sacraments at all. How then can they share them with other denominations? Some do not baptize their

own children. How then should they have them baptized in another church? It is precisely these differences in belief and usage which underly the greater difficulty of relationship at some points than at others. The comparison simply shows how representative opinion crystallizes in view of the known differences reflected in these relationships.

But even at worst, the total refusal or disinclination to enter into this group of relationships with other Christians than those of one's own denomination is not absolutely great. It does not appear to be prohibitive for the majority, even at the points of greatest sensitiveness. Considering religious distance in terms of denominations, chapter i showed very slight difference between the majority of them. Considering religious distance in terms of ease or difficulty of entering into the customary relationships of organized Christian bodies, the present table shows relatively little difference at the majority of points. Of the limited number of relationships thus explored, only a few present extensive difficulties.

ATTITUDES TOWARD COMMUNITY CHURCHES

The community church movement was presented in chapter ii as the attempt of people in many localities to effect a short-cut to the unification of the religious forces of their own immediate areas. No integrative movement is more familiar to the masses and probably none reveals more definitely the trends of popular thinking.

WISDOM AND WARRANT OF COMMUNITY CHURCHES

To secure direct evidence of the attitude of the American religious public toward the community church movement, a typical case of such a church was presented for the consideration of a representative cross-section of rank-and-file opinion by means of a questionnaire. The case was described as follows: "In a middle-western community with a population of 600, the people grew tired of supporting three denominational churches competing for money and members. They therefore agreed to disband them all, and organized a non-sectarian community church of their own." Twelve thousand two hundred and thirty members of twenty-five denominations indicated which of seven judgments on the case most closely coincided with their own. The distribution of their replies is shown in Table XVII.

The largest number of replies contented themselves with asserting that formation of a community church was a sensible thing under the circumstances. Almost as many approved it on the specific grounds of the financial inability of the community to support so many churches. Secondary approval was given to an argument historically associated with churches of the congregational type, to the effect that a local group of Christians acting under the spiritual authority of Christ as its Head is competent to establish

TABLE XVII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—COMPETING DENOMINATIONAL CHURCHES VS. A NON-SECTARIAN COMMUNITY CHURCH

(General Church Constituency)

"In a middle-western community with a population of 600, the people grew tired of supporting three denominational churches competing for money and members. They therefore agreed to disband them all, and organized a non-sectarian community church of their own."

Judgments	Total	Per Cent. Choosing as 1st or 2nd Best, By Status in the Church			
		Min- isters	Lay Church Officers	Mem- bers	Non- Mem- bers
Organizing a community church under these circumstances was exactly what a sensible group of people would naturally do. (7).....	31	27	32	32	30
So small a community could not properly support three churches. Consequently, the action taken was right. (6).....	28	24	28	30	31
The community had scriptural warrant for believing that, whenever a group of Christians conscientiously attempts to form a Church, Christ is spiritually present as its Head, and the action taken by the group is by His authority. (1).....	18	14	19	20	18
While the community was within its rights in organizing a church of its own, it would have been wiser for the church to join one of the existing denominations after getting itself established. (2).....	11	20	10	8	8
Such a thing should not have been done without first getting the consent of the three denominations to which the original churches belonged. (5).....	7	9	6	6	7
Such churches are springing up and dying down all the time, and it is not necessary to take them seriously enough to raise an issue about. (3).....	3	4	2	2	3
The community had no authority to act in the way described, because only properly constituted authorities of some recognized church or denomination can set up a local church. (4)	2	2	3	2	3
Total (23,596 choices, 12,230 persons answering).....	100	100	100	100	100

its own church. Eleven per cent. of the replies gave qualified approval to the community church, but said that after being formed, it would be better to join one of the existing denominations. Only a few held that the church should have got the consent of the existing denominations before action, and 3 per cent. thought the phenomenon of the community church was not significant; but only 2 per cent. asserted that the community had no authority to act as it did.

The rank and file constituency as a whole justifies such community action by so strong a majority that there is little room for individual denominations to take a position of more extreme approval. Unitarian, Universalist and Friends, however, go somewhat beyond the average in favorable attitudes, while Dunkers, all Lutheran, Missouri Synod Lutheran, Methodist Protestant, Latter Day Saints, Fundamentalist and Roman Catholic replies identify the denominations least favorable to community churches. The distribution of judgments by denominations is shown in Appendix Table 13.

On the flat-footed proposition that the community is without authority to order its own religious life because only the constituted authorities of some recognized church can set up a local church, Southern Baptist (contrary to its congregational principles), Evangelical, Negro Methodist, Moravian and Protestant Episcopal returns take the affirmative, while Congregational-Christian, Disciples, Evangelical, Federated Church, Presbyterian, U. S. A., and United Brethren judgments are most extreme in defense of the community's rights to take matters into its own hands.

It is to be noted, however, that if the denominations had been consulted and had refused to accept the community's desire as to its internal religious organization, even the opponents of the community church would not have denied the right of the community to adjust the situation. At worst, then, the group as a whole is for the community church provided it is the sort of community church that is not in militant opposition to the denominational order.

On the strength of this showing, small communities overburdened by denominational churches will get a very solid sympathy from the American religious public if they solve their problem by substituting the community church in some form for the present denominational system. This, as Table XVII shows, is particularly the attitude of the laity. Clerical opinion lags appreciably at this point.

It will be shown in a later connection that the combination in community churches of people even of a very extreme variety of religious faith and outlook does not appear to the American religious public to go beyond the limits of proper variation in the church.⁹

COMMUNITY CHURCH MOVEMENTS VS. DENOMINATIONAL REGULARITY

The formation of community churches obviously does not take place in a vacuum. There is involved their adjustment to the denominational organizations of which they were previously units, or to which their members formerly belonged. In the formation of such churches, what are the respective claims of old relationships representing the laws and customs of the

⁹P. 286.

larger national church fellowships, as compared with those of new community relationships representing limited local fellowships?

Light on this problem was sought in terms of a concrete case submitted to the judgment of the religious public by means of a questionnaire. The case was stated as follows: "Two churches in a rural town in Iowa had agreed to federate into one organization, in the interest of local harmony and the better service of the people. A denominational official forbade one of the churches to carry out the plan because the consent of the denomination to which the church belonged had not been secured." Eleven thousand seven hundred and fourteen persons recorded their choices among seven judgments bearing on the case. These judgments are stated and the distribution of choices shown in Table XVIII.

TABLE XVIII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—FEDERATION WITHOUT DENOMINATIONAL CONSENT

(General Church Constituency)

"Two churches in a rural town in Iowa had agreed to federate into one organization, in the interest of local harmony and the better service of the people. A denominational official forbade one of the churches to carry out the plan because the consent of the denomination to which the church belonged had not been secured."

Judgments	Per Cent. Choosing As 1st or 2nd Best
Churches ought to consider their world-wide obligations and relationships as well as local advantage in making their adjustments to one another. (7)...	24
If the denomination was unwilling to consent to a federation which the local church thought to be in the interests of the kingdom of God locally, the church had a right to follow its own convictions, but the denomination should have been consulted first. (5).....	23
The action of the official was an example of denominational pride and selfishness which frequently maintains churches contrary to the best interests of local communities. (6).....	15
The official showed a very petty attitude in standing out against a union desired by the people of the community. (1).....	14
Unless it could be shown that denominational property rights were involved, it was meddling of the official to interfere against local self-determination. (2).....	11
The official was only insisting upon a regular and legal procedure being followed. (3).....	9
It was probably all a matter of church procedure and redtape, and of no practical consequence. (4).....	4
Total (22,467 choices, 11,714 persons answering).....	100

The distribution of answers in Table XVIII implies that the religious public expects a local community church to retain a clear sense of its larger relationships as well as its advantage to the particular community. It is thought that propriety demands that previous denominational relationships should be recognized and consulted in cases of new adjustments within the community. On the other hand, the religious public is clear that in cases

of a conflict between local and denominational interests, local ones have the right of way. There is strong secondary approval for the judgment that denominational pride and selfishness does in fact often conflict with the best interests of communities, and the interfering official in the hypothetical case is regarded as petty or meddlesome, unless he is intervening in behalf of actual property rights. The plea that the official is merely asking regular procedure fails to move the minds of the religious public. The religious public, moreover, refuses to dismiss the issue as technical and of no consequence.

REGULARITY

On this issue the rank and file as a whole showed a strong tendency toward a mediating position rather than for either extreme. Even the group taking the most extreme stand as defenders of regularity and the legitimacy of interference by denominational officials acknowledge the ultimate primacy of local interest and concede that there are local obligations as well as general.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the data reveal a group of denominations consisting of all Lutheran, Missouri Synod Lutheran, Methodist Protestant, United Presbyterian and Latter Day Saints, which takes a relatively extreme position in behalf of regularity, while Unitarian, Jewish, Christian Scientist and "no denomination" returns are strongest in defense of community rights.

Disciples and Pentecostals reinforce the critics of regularity and go far beyond the average in attributing the official attitude set forth in the incident to denominational pride and selfishness, a viewpoint to which Dunkers, Moravians and United Brethren take exception. On the other hand, Southern Baptist, Evangelical Synod, Moravian, Protestant Episcopal, United Brethren and Unitarian replies join the defenders of regularity in asserting that the official was merely asking that regular procedures be followed, a contention which Congregational-Christian, Disciples, Friends and Reformed, U. S., are especially unwilling to admit.

The incident shows opinion varying somewhat erratically about a central commonsense position rather than a pronounced majority at one extreme with a few dissenters at the other.

This sampling of the mind of the religious public shows that it is strongly on the side of community rights and initiative. These are not to be thoughtlessly exercised; but their claims are preëminent. Denominational regularity has few friends when it comes into conflict with local advantage. This will not be a comforting discovery to minor denominational officials in the attempted performance of their duties.

¹⁰ For denominational comparisons, see Appendix Table 14.

THE BALLOT ON CHURCH UNION

The most extensive and exact crystallization of popular thinking on church union ever achieved is represented by a ballot on church union circulated in connection with the present study and returned by 16,355 persons. Their votes demonstrate popular attitudes toward church union in specific and measurable form.

No similar number of definite responses on the subject was ever secured before from a representative cross-section of the American religious public. When two or more denominations have united, the results have generally been determined by votes of representatives in ecclesiastical assemblies. Rarely has a referendum of the individual choices of church-members been resorted to. Formal discussions also have almost always concerned only a few hundreds of specialists. It is, therefore, counted as the most specific contribution of the present study to its problem that it has secured so considerable a record of crystallized judgments in the form of votes on exactly stated propositions.¹¹

The ballot was circulated during the spring and summer of 1932, in connection with questionnaires employed by the present study. Some forty denominational periodicals also coöperated by printing it in one or more of their issues.

FORM AND RESULTS

The form of the ballot as circulated and the results of the vote were as follows:

Questions	Number	Votes Favoring	
		Final Per Cent.	Preliminary Per Cent.
If you had to decide now what the religious people of the United States should do about church union—would you			
(a) Adopt some form of permanent and binding federal union of denominations, after the analogy of the state and Federal Government in the United States?.....	4,951	30.3	32.4
(b) Continue essentially the present system of separate denominations?.....	5,477	33.5	28.8
(c) Unite the various church bodies into one church?....	5,191	31.7	32.3
Mixed ballots (more than one vote on the ballot).....	736	4.5	6.5
Total.....	16,355	100.0	100.0

The outstanding feature of these results is that almost exactly twice as many replies favor union in some form as favor the continuance of the present denominational system. The mixed ballots, in the main, favored union. Distributing them accordingly, the returns are divided approxi-

¹¹ See Introduction, p. xxxii.

mately into thirds. The votes for federal union and for general union run neck and neck.

In view of the revelation, in the free data previously cited, of a conflict in the minds of the rank and file between the ideal and the practical as related to church union; in view of their frequently expressed sense of dilemma and the resultant indecision; and specifically in view of the widespread conviction that union is to be reached by a series of steps, it was only to be expected that the ballot should show a certain resistance to the demand for the crystallization of opinion on any single judgment.¹² As it turned out, 4.5 per cent. of the ballots were mixed. That is to say, the voter, contrary to instruction, gave them more than one mark.¹³

That every twentieth person should have insisted on voting for more than one alternative is thus significant. Here was an appreciable number of voters who were really not ready to precipitate their choices upon a single judgment.

The last column of the tabulation reports the distribution of the first 7,293 ballots received—well toward one-half of the final total of 16,355. The reduction of the percentage of mixed ballots in the larger sample was due to the more frequent direct administration of the test. The very close approximation of the distribution of the first half of the ballots to that of the total is otherwise remarkable. The statistical correlation between the two is +.97. This constitutes exceedingly strong evidence of the reliability of the sampling.¹⁴

RESULTS OF THE BALLOT, BY DENOMINATIONS

What denominations contributed to these results and how was their sentiment divided? Grouping sixteen minor denominations under the heading "miscellaneous," this question is answered for the major bodies and for certain distinctive groups in Table XIX.

The figures in the first column of Table XIX, showing how the ballots were divided among the denominations, proves that the sample was generally large enough to get a slant on the actual sentiment of those concerned.¹⁵

Chart VIII shows graphically how the vote went in each of the larger denominations. Table XIX also ranks the denominations according to the degree of support given to each of the three options included in the ballot.

¹² P. 101.

¹³ In two experimental circulations of the ballot, on which directions as to checking were not entirely explicit, the percentage of mixed ballots rose to 23.7 in the case of 320 returns, and 40.9 in the case of 231 others.

¹⁴ The union of related denominations was made a separate question in the ballots. As already noted in chapter iii, nine out of every ten voters favored at least so much of union.

¹⁵ For comparison of denominational distribution of questionnaires, see Appendix Table 2.

Church Unity Movements in the United States

TABLE XIX—BALLOT ON CHURCH UNION—RANKING OF DENOMINATIONS BY PER CENT. OF AFFIRMATIVE BALLOTS ON THREE ISSUES

Total Ballots (Group A)	Continuance of Present Denominational Order			Federal Union			General Union			Mixed Ballots		
	Denomination	Per Cent. Affirm- ative	Per Cent. Affirm- ative	Denomination	Per Cent. Affirm- ative	Per Cent. Affirm- ative	Denomination	Per Cent. Affirm- ative	Per Cent. Affirm- ative	Denomination	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
67	Mo. Synod Luth.	89.5	50.9	Ref. in U. S.	50.9	Disciples	Negro Meth.	51.1	Negro Meth.	18.1		
137	Brethren (Dunkers)	66.4	46.5	Universalist	46.5	Pentecostal	Pentecostal	49.3	Pentecostal	14.5		
242	Other Lutheran	60.0	45.7	Evan. Synod N. A.	45.7	Negro Baptist	Universalist	41.8	Universalist	11.3		
365	Bapt. (So. Conv.)	58.3	39.9	Cong.-Christian	39.9	Negro Methodist	United Presby.	39.1	United Presby.	9.4		
632	Presby. U. S.	52.9	36.4	Presby. U. S. A.	36.4	Meth. Prot.	Brethren (Dunkers)	39.1	Brethren (Dunkers)	8.8		
319	United Lutheran	51.4	35.6	Evangelical Ch.	35.6	Meth. Epis.	Moravian	37.5	Moravian	7.9		
155	Moravian	45.1	35.5	Reformed in Amer.	35.5	Evan. Synod N. A.	Presby. U. S. A.	37.2	Presby. U. S. A.	7.3		
1,118	Bapt. (No. Conv.)	44.9	34.5	United Brethren	34.5	Presby. U. S. A.	Evan. Synod N. A.	35.4	Evan. Synod N. A.	7.0		
344	Friends	43.2	34.5	Moravian	34.5	United Brethren	Reformed in U. S.	35.0	Reformed in U. S.	6.8		
271	Unitarian	40.6	33.5	Friends	33.5	Cong. Christian	Meth. Epis.	33.8	Meth. Epis.	6.4		
718	Meth. Epis. South	40.3	33.0	Meth. Epis.	33.0	Meth. Epis. South	Cong. Christian	31.1	Cong. Christian	5.2		
849	Prot. Epis.	40.2	31.0	Unitarian	31.0	Evangelical Ch.	Meth. Prot.	29.7	Meth. Prot.	3.4		
149	United Presby.	39.6	30.3	Negro Baptist	30.3	Reformed in Amer.	Unitarian	28.0	Unitarian	3.3		
189	Reformed in Amer.	36.0	29.3	Prot. Epis.	29.3	Prot. Epis.	Prot. Epis.	27.7	Prot. Epis.	2.8		
146	Meth. Prot.	34.2	28.6	Bapt. (No. Conv.)	28.6	Reformed in U. S.	Negro Baptist	27.6	Negro Baptist	2.6		
405	Evangelical	33.2	27.5	United Presby.	27.5	Unitarian	Disciples	25.1	Disciples	2.6		
69	Pentecostal	28.9	26.9	United Lutheran	26.9	Bapt. (No. Conv.)	United Brethren	24.9	United Brethren	2.6		

197	United Brethren.....	27.9	Meth. Epis. South.....	26.8	United Presby.....	23.5	Other Lutheran.....	2.5
167	Negro Baptist.....	25.3	Meth. Prot.....	23.3	Friends.....	22.7	Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	2.2
713	Disciples.....	24.7	Presby. U. S.....	23.3	Presby. U. S.....	22.2	Meth. Epis. South.....	1.8
71	Universalist.....	23.9	Disciples.....	21.6	United Lutheran.....	20.1	Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	1.6
3,524	Meth. Epis.....	23.1	Negro Methodist.....	20.6	Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	19.6	Presby. U. S.....	1.6
189	Negro Methodist.....	22.2	Other Lutheran.....	20.5	Universalist.....	18.3	United Lutheran.....	1.6
1,340	Cong. Christian.....	21.1	Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	19.9	Other Lutheran.....	17.0	Evangelical Ch.....	1.5
1,394	Presby. U. S. A.....	20.9	Brethren (Dunkers).....	10.2	Brethren (Dunkers).....	14.6	Mo. Synod Luth.....	1.5
163	Reformed in U. S.....	14.7	Pentecostal.....	7.3	Moravian.....	12.8	Friends.....	0.6
129	Evan. Synod N. A.....	10.1	Mo. Synod Luth.....	1.5	Mo. Synod Luth.....	7.5	Reformed in Amer.....	0.5
14,062	Sub-total.....	32.4	Sub-total.....	31.1	Sub-total.....	32.0	Sub-total.....	4.5

(Group B)

72	L. D. S. (Mormons).....	58.3	Christ. Scientist.....	22.7	Christ. Scientist.....	40.9	Jewish.....	14.4
61	Roman Catholic.....	44.3	Jewish.....	27.7	Roman Catholic.....	32.8	Roman Catholic.....	13.1
1,976	Miscellaneous.....	40.0	Miscellaneous.....	25.9	Miscellaneous.....	31.0	Miscellaneous.....	3.1
25	Christ. Scientist.....	36.4	L. D. S. (Mormon).....	18.1	Jewish.....	23.9	Christ. Scientist.....	0.0
159	Jewish.....	34.0	Roman Catholic.....	9.8	L. D. S. (Mormon).....	23.6	L. D. S. (Mormon).....	0.0
16,355	Grand Total.....	33.5	Grand Total.....	30.3	Grand Total.....	31.7	Grand Total.....	4.5

(Group C)*

(81)	Fundamentalist.....	63.0	Minor Officials.....	38.5	No Denomination.....	48.0	Federated Churches.....	20.7
(78)	Minor Officials.....	33.3	Federated Churches.....	29.6	High Church Epis.....	42.9	Minor Officials.....	11.5
(35)	High Church Epis.....	28.5	No Denomination.....	28.5	Federated Churches.....	37.9	Fundamentalist.....	11.1
98	No Denomination.....	19.3	High Church Epis.....	20.0	Minor Officials.....	16.7	High Church Epis.....	8.6
(209)	Federated Churches.....	11.8	Fundamentalist.....	13.6	Fundamentalist.....	12.3	No Denomination.....	5.1

*Bracketed figures already included in denominational totals.

The reader will be particularly interested in noting the position of his own denomination in each of the three columns.

A denomination which gives most of its votes to one of the three propositions naturally has not many left for the other two. Thus, the Missouri

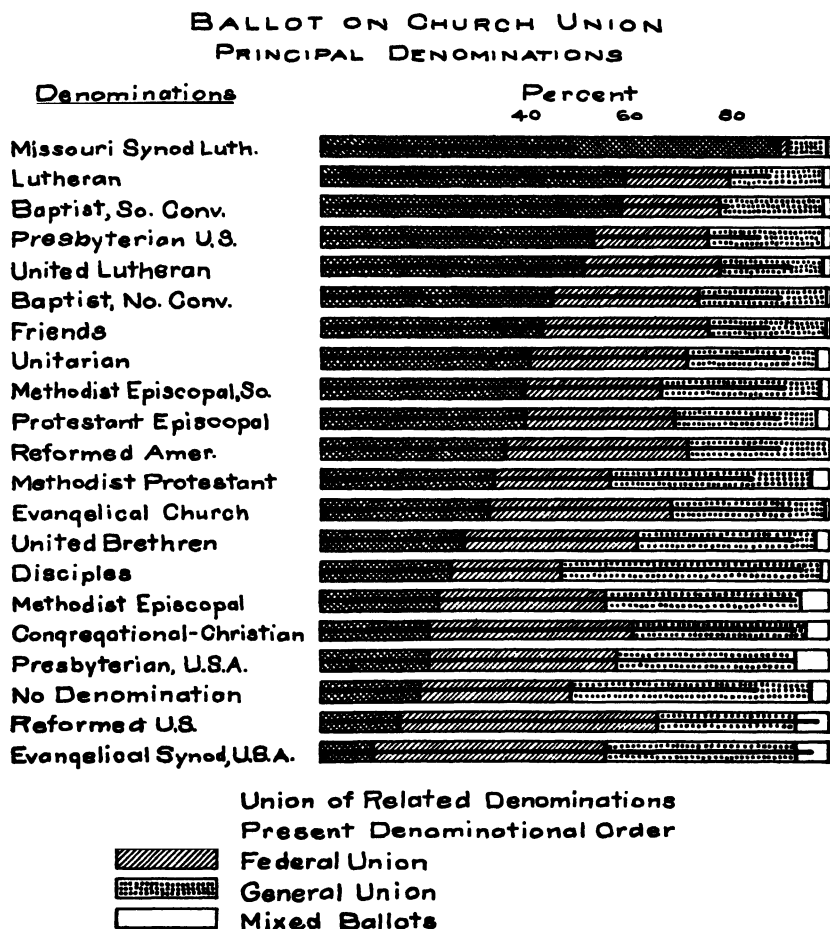


CHART VIII—DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH UNION BALLOTS BY PRINCIPAL DENOMINATIONS

Synod Lutheran leads the list in approval of the present denominational system, as the result of which it stands at the bottom with respect both to federal and to general union. The Reformed Church in the United States, on the contrary, which stands next to the bottom on the first column, is at the top of the second. The Disciples, who stand rather low in the first two columns, are at the top in the third.

The best way to study the results of the ballot is to divide each column into fourths as indicated in Group A of the table and to note what denominations stand in each relative position in each column. The Protestant Episcopal Church occupies the middle position in three of the four columns. In no other important denomination is opinion so evenly divided. Naturally, one will want to examine the positions of certain particular denominations in relation to others. Apparent explanations of the standing of each will probably occur to the reader.¹⁸

The following patterns of opinion appear: Of larger denominations which strongly favor the continuance of the present denominational system, two, namely, the Missouri Synod Lutheran and Southern Baptist, are strongly against union, whether federal or general. This is true also of the "other" Lutheran group (excluding the United Lutheran) and one smaller denomination, the Dunkers. Of denominations strongly against the continuance of the present denominational order, the Evangelical Synod, the Reformed Church in the United States, the Presbyterian, U. S. A., and the Congregational-Christian are strongly in favor of federal union, while the Methodist Episcopal and Negro Methodist are more in favor of general union.

The supplemental denominational list (Group B), which follows the main table, contains denominations returning so few votes relative to their size that the sample could not be regarded as fully representative. They emphasize wide divergences of opinion and their respective positions are at least suggestive.

The last entries of the table, under the heading Group C, indicate the votes of special "wings" or schools of thought in the church whose members in the main have already been counted in connection with their respective denominations. The statistics for some of them are eloquent.

AGREEMENT OF BALLOT WITH INDEX OF RELIGIOUS DISTANCE

No interpretation of these results as bearing upon the actual prospects of church union will be ventured upon at this point. It is, however, to be noted that the results are in strong agreement with the index of religious distance feeling presented in the first chapter. Denominations whose members feel least difficulty in entering into fellowship relations with those of other denominations generally give least approval to the present denominational system and vice versa.

This may be seen in Chart IX, which compares thirty-four denominations on these two points. The correlation between the two series of rankings is +.60, indicating a very considerable relationship. The most noteworthy exceptions to the rule are as follows: the vote of Protestant Episcopal, Dis-

¹⁸ Denominational comparisons are treated systematically in chapter xvi.

ciples and Negro Baptist churches is less favorable to the present denominational system than would be expected from the degree of distance feeling registered by their members, while the Presbyterian, U. S., Methodist Episcopal, South, and United Brethren show more favor for the present denominational system than would be expected on the same grounds.

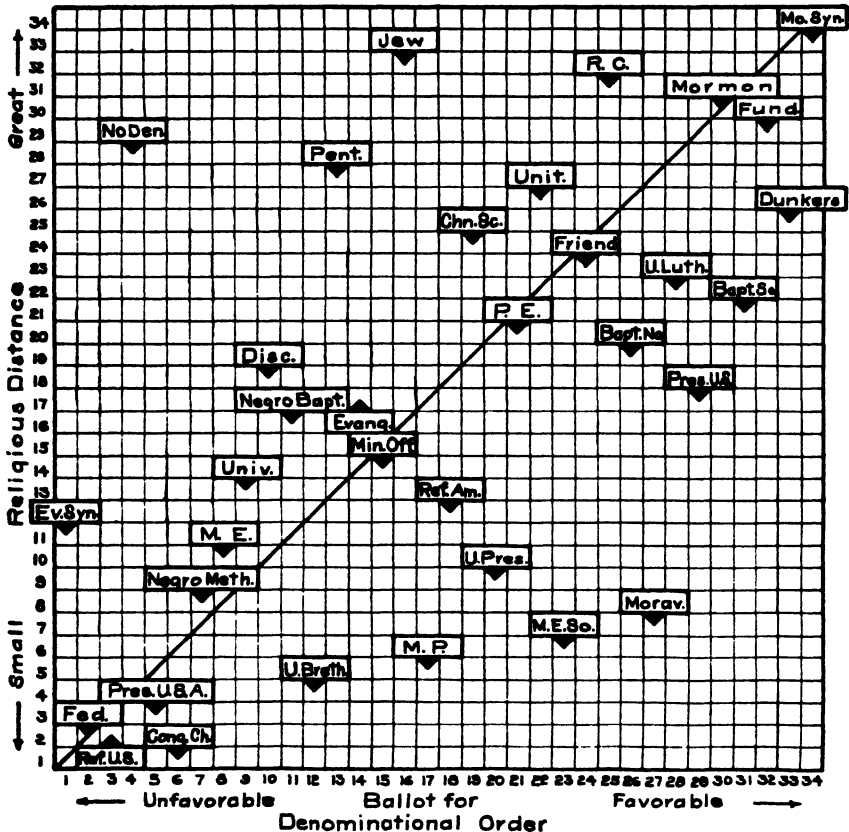


CHART IX—CORRELATION BETWEEN BALLOT FOR THE PRESENT DENOMINATIONAL ORDER AND DEGREE OF RELIGIOUS DISTANCE FEELING, BY DENOMINATION

Apparently, in the cases of Disciples and Protestant Episcopalians, a theoretical commitment to unity has outrun the actual state of feeling.

REGIONAL RETURNS

Fourteen thousand five hundred and twenty-nine ballots were classified regionally, with results as shown in Table XX.

Comparing the regions, one notes that the denominational system finds its stronghold in the South and is most strongly challenged in the West.

TABLE XX—BALLOT ON CHURCH UNION ACCORDING TO REGIONAL CLASSIFICATION

Region	Total Ballots	Per Cent. Affirmative		
		Present Denominational Order	Federal Union	General Union
New England and Middle Atlantic	4,870	29.0	33.5	30.7
North Central.....	4,985	28.7	29.5	31.0
South Atlantic and South Central.	3,657	40.0	24.3	30.8
Mountain and Pacific.....	1,017	22.3	32.5	33.6
Total.	14,529	33.5	30.3	31.7

The South is nearly twice as favorable to the *status quo* as the West is. The East, in turn, is strongest for federal union, closely followed by the West, and the South weakest. The smallest variation between the sections

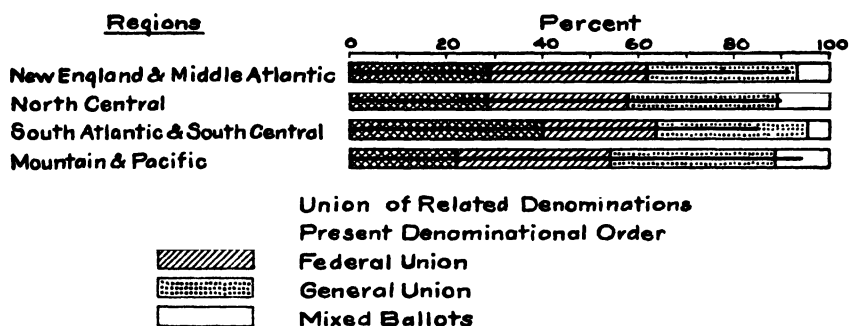


CHART X—DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH UNION BALLOTS BY REGION

is on the point of general union which is approved by approximately one-third everywhere.

Undoubtedly these differences are largely determined by the regionality of the denominations, though some tendency is shown by representatives of all denominations to follow the regional tradition of the part of the country in which they live.

BALLOT ON CHURCH UNION ACCORDING TO STATUS IN THE CHURCH

Is it the ministers, who find their livelihoods in the church, that constitute the peculiar bulwarks of the denominational order? Are the laity preponderantly in favor of union in opposition to the ministry? Exactly the reverse is true. Here is the evidence: 13,782 ballots show the status in the church of the persons voting. About one-fourth of these persons were clergymen, one-fifth local church officers, most of the rest of them ordinary members, with a few non-member adherents for full measure. A comparison of the ballots of these classes is shown in Table XXI.

Of the four groups, the ministers are in greatest disagreement with the average of the total group, chiefly in their relatively small vote for the continuance of the present denominational system and in their large vote for federal union as compared with general union. Three-fourths of the ministers favor some type of union.

Are local church officers, then, the backward element in the church with respect to union? Again, the answer is "no." Next to the ministers they are least in favor of continuance of the present denominational order, and

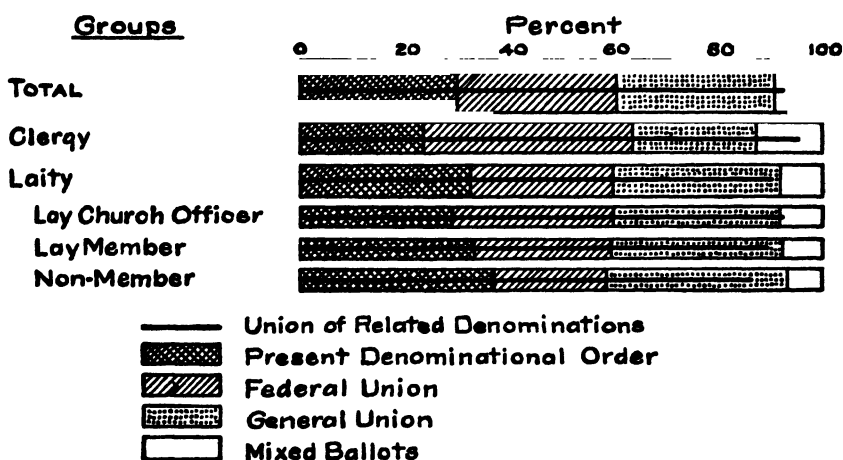


CHART XI—DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH UNION BALLOTS BY STATUS IN THE CHURCH OF PERSONS BALLOTING

most on the side of federal union. Their positions lie next to the average of the total.

The lay member is far more in favor of the denominational order than the average, less favorable to federal union, and slightly more favorable to general union. All told, however, more than two-thirds of the non-official lay members are for union of one or the other types.

It remains for non-members to show themselves the greatest denomination-
alists. They also show more than average favor to the most extreme alternative—general union.

The above order of the groups is also to be observed with respect to the union of related denominations. It is strongly favored by all, but most strongly by ministers and least strongly by non-church-members.

How shall these variations be explained? The returns afford certain clues for speculation. Which group is the most immediately concerned, the most directly responsible, probably the best informed? Certainly the ministers,

and after them the local church officers. Which is least responsible and informed? Undoubtedly the non-church-members. Are people turning away from the present denominational system in proportion as they are concerned, responsible and informed with respect to the church? Is it a particular type of information and responsibility found in the leaders that inclines them especially to federal union, while the rank and file assume that an indiscriminate general union is the only alternative to the present system? Such questions are suggested by the data but require reference to further data before one can venture upon a judgment.¹⁷

THE BALLOT ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX

Who are conservative and who are progressive with respect to church union? The old or the young? Men or women? The answer is brief: Age is progressive; youth, conservative. Women are more conservative than men. These interesting results are derived from 14,207 ballots which indicated the age and sex of the persons voting. They are shown in Table XXII.

The surprising feature of these data is that persons under twenty are more than one-fourth more favorable to the continuance of the present denominational order than the average of the group. Approval of denominationalism decreases with age, while federal union is increasingly favored. General union is also decreasingly favored, but by a relatively narrow percentage.

Comparing the votes of males with those of females, it will be noted that the female vote in favor of the denominational order is greater than the male vote in every age-group, and the female vote in favor of federal union is correspondingly less in every age-group. More women than men, however, favor general union. On the union of related denominations, there is slight difference between the sexes.

Although these facts ought to speak for themselves, what they are saying is not exactly clear. In view of the evidence of the last section that the more responsible the position of the member in the church, the greater his concern for some form of union, it may be questioned whether the conservatism of youth is not that of inexperience.

The tendencies of the women's ballots may also have something to do with their lack of opportunity in the professional leadership of the church. Perhaps the rank and file simply take the denominational order for granted. At any rate, so far as youth is concerned, its supposed radicalism does not appear at this point. In a matter about which youth has probably thought little and felt little responsibility, its representatives take refuge behind the *status quo*.¹⁸

¹⁷ See pp. 430-435 for further discussion.

¹⁸ For fuller discussion of age and sex tendencies with respect to union, see pp. 422-428.

TABLE XXII—BALLOT ON CHURCH UNION ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX

Affirmative Ballots										Union of Related Denominations	
Total Ballots		Present Denominational Order		Federal Union		General Union		Mixed Ballots	Total Ballots	Affirmative	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Age-Groups											
Under 20											
5,201	36.6	Sub-total.....		1,997	38.4	1,237	23.8	1,679	32.3	288	5.5
1,792	24.1	Male.....		618	34.5	442	24.7	600	33.5	132	7.3
3,409	50.3	Female.....		1,379	40.5	795	23.3	1,079	31.7	156	4.6
20-30											
3,304	23.3	Sub-total.....		971	29.4	958	29.0	1,051	31.8	314	9.8
1,661	22.3	Male.....		447	26.9	546	32.9	473	28.5	195	11.7
1,643	24.3	Female.....		524	31.9	412	25.1	578	35.2	129	7.8
30-60											
4,208	29.6	Sub-total.....		1,019	24.2	1,533	36.4	1,221	29.1	435	10.3
2,950	39.7	Male.....		691	23.4	1,125	38.1	817	27.7	317	10.8
1,258	18.6	Female.....		328	26.1	408	32.4	404	32.1	118	9.4
Over 60											
1,494	10.5	Sub-total.....		384	25.7	495	33.1	408	27.3	207	13.9
1,030	13.9	Male.....		257	25.0	361	35.0	271	26.3	141	13.7
464	6.8	Female.....		127	27.4	134	28.9	137	29.5	66	14.2
All Groups											
14,207	100.0	Total.....		4,371	30.8	4,223	29.7	4,359	30.7	1,354	8.8
7,433	100.0	Male.....		2,013	27.1	2,474	33.3	2,161	29.1	785	10.5
6,774	100.0	Female.....		2,358	34.8	1,749	25.8	2,198	32.5	469	6.9
										13,360	90.0
										6,988	91.0
										6,372	88.9

85.9
85.2
86.3
89.1
88.0
90.3
94.3
94.9
93.0
93.3
93.8
92.1
90.0
91.0
88.9

4,856
1,649
3,207
3,003
1,493
1,510
3,999
2,820
1,179
1,502
1,026
476
13,360
6,988
6,372

4,173
1,405
2,768
2,677
1,314
1,363
3,773
2,676
1,097
1,401
962
439
12,024
6,357
5,667

85.9
85.2
86.3
89.1
88.0
90.3
94.3
94.9
93.0
93.3
93.8
92.1
90.0
91.0
88.9

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BALLOT

What, after all, do the results of the ballot prove? They prove whatever returns from such an instrument can prove. The ballot was obviously not a straw vote preceding and forecasting the results of an actual vote; for no actual vote was in prospect. The returns, therefore, are not direct or conclusive evidence showing how any section of the religious public would vote in a concrete situation. Each concrete situation is unique. It is a complex of passion and practical interest, peculiar to the occasion, which largely begets general issues and makes the results incalculable.

Nevertheless, the results of the ballot are most important evidence of attitudes and tendencies as they operate between crises, continuously reasserting themselves after the smoke of any particular battle is blown away. These attitudes and tendencies affect results: one may not say that they certainly control results. They help to explain behavior before and after events rather than to foretell the events. They are valuable for diagnosis more than for prognosis. This is true of any reaction to issues presented in generalized terms and abstracted from the particular combination of forces which determine specific outcomes.

Summarizing all the evidence that the chapter has produced about the attitudes of the rank and file toward church unity, the verdict must apparently be that, while the religious public has a certain rough and ready equipment for thinking about the subject, its thinking is obviously superficial judged from the standpoint of scientific or technical quality. Characteristic attitudes, most of them displaying deep-seated traits of the American people, have nevertheless quite definitely been formed. Furthermore, the religious public will respond to a suitably expressed demand that it crystallize its thinking on direct issues of union. Its crystallized judgments are compatible with its attitudes, and the two together indicate strong approval by the rank and file of unity in some form, achieved through a series of steps toward a goal not completely defined.

CHAPTER V

Limits to Further Unity

Will unity go farther? In the light of previous evidence, the answer appears to be an unequivocal "yes."

The popular mood is to carry it farther. It is borne forward on the wings of widespread expectancy. Integration is proceeding. There are more and more unions of churches, actual though partial. These are generally accepted as steps toward a larger goal. The movement will go on.

The splendor of this brave showing is considerably dimmed by the fact that nearly all of those who approve unity do so within assumed limits. They purpose to carry it forward to some given point, not farther. Almost never is it conceived as all-inclusive. This compels the question: "How much farther?" Where are the limits? How large is the circle within which unity movements are assumed to be confined? And are there places where the effort for unity falters and lags even before coming to a full stop?

Of course different people will draw the line at different places, and more than one stopping-point will actually be chosen. An example will, nevertheless, serve to give the issue further point.

Thus, a dean of a Southern Methodist theological school knows exactly where he stands. He rationalizes his feelings neatly and walks sure-footedly and in all good conscience among his numerous discriminations. He would unite churches of the same denominational families. Personally, he would not refuse to enter into a union of Methodist and Presbyterian bodies if practical adjustments could be made. He would not unite with "non-Evangelicals" like the Unitarians, or "non-Christians" like the Mormons. He finds difficulty with churches "practising restrictions" as he says the Baptist and Episcopal churches do.

"In matters of ordination," he writes, "modes of baptism, the ceremonial of the eucharist, I should recognize great freedom of practice; but no proscriptive doctrine excluding any branch of Christians who hold to the essential deity of Christ and the gospel of redemption in His name."

The above is a personal version of church unity and its limits. Some churches are included, others excluded, still others are questionable. How typical is it, and where are the lines generally drawn by the rank and file?

The present chapter will try to answer these questions; first, on the evidence of the supplementary communications attached to questionnaires on

which the last chapter so largely drew, and secondly, on that of responses to certain questionnaires having particular bearing upon limits to unity.

In considering this evidence, one is safe in building tentatively upon what previous chapters have established. The most pertinent of these findings is that of the religious distance test.¹ This identified a group of churches very close to one another in the sense of religious nearness and unembarrassed fellowship. It is almost certain that further unity will include these. It also identified a group of churches only a little more distant. If unity goes forward at the present rate it is most likely to include these. But the religious distance test also discovers a very remote group of churches, widely sundered from the former in mutual feelings. Could unity include these? Not easily, or unless the force of its movement were greatly augmented. This still leaves a questionable group between the two extremes. Some enlargement of the scope and power of unity might include them. Would it actually do so?

Such are the alternatives upon which light is now sought in an exploration of the attitudes of the rank and file, as expressed in the terms and flavored by the characteristics of their own thinking. No final decision must be expected on this point. That must wait upon a similar examination of the ecclesiastical viewpoint and its technical considerations later to be presented in Part II.

LIMITS TO UNITY IN POPULAR THINKING

A good many communications from individuals lump large quantities of churches together for rather indiscriminate exclusion or inclusion. The narrower version of the ecclesiastical heaven shuts them out, the broader takes them in wholesale. Exclusion sentiment of this catch-all sort is first to be sampled.

EXAMPLES OF EXCLUSION SENTIMENT

The following expressions, largely from laymen, supplement evidences of sectarian exclusiveness cited in the last chapter. The more extreme exclude the questionable churches as well as the very distant ones as revealed by the religious distance test. Here is flat-footed discrimination on the part of some of their brethren against bodies which call themselves Protestant Christians. Inclusion and exclusion may be indicated in the same breath, as in the first illustration:

"I don't believe it would do much good to try to get the Christian Scientists, Jews, Mormons, Pentecostal sects, Roman Catholics, Spiritualists and Unitarians to unite in one church, at this time, as they don't seem to believe much in the Christian religion or Christ's doctrine. They might in time want to unite in

¹Pp. 10ff.

one body, but not now. But I think it a wise plan to get all the other Protestant churches to unite in one church. Their worship is practically the same, use the same hymns, Bible and Sunday-school lessons, and for the want of a better name, I would like to name it the United Church of Christ." (Male, lay member, over 60, Ohio.)

"To me, 'Christian Scientists' are neither Christian nor scientific—Unitarians are non-Christians—they deny the divinity of Christ, the one vital belief in the Christian religion on which all Christian denominations agree—our only hope of salvation.

"Why not include Theosophists if Mormons? Your questionnaire is very disconcerting to me." (Female, Presbyterian, lay member, over 60, Oklahoma.)

"Christian Scientists, Jews, Roman Catholics, Mormons, Spiritualists, Unitarians are not Christian, and should not be in a Federation of Christian Churches." (Female, Southern Methodist, lay member, over 60, California.)

"Fraternization with non-Christian groups is, in my opinion, a smoke screen and should be discouraged. Not because Christianity is not inclusive, but because the non-Christian religious groups, especially Reformed Judaism, are not appreciating the Christ position sufficiently to make such fraternization of any value; if anything then, Reformed Judaism is convinced that Protestant liberals have no convictions." (Male, Evangelical Synod of North America, minister, 30-60, Missouri.)

"This United Church should be, in my mind, a Christian Church; so I have crossed out Christian Science as not accepting Jesus as the *Savior*; so with the Jews; so with the Mormon conception of Jesus and salvation; so with Unitarians, for since only God can save we must find God in Jesus Christ. Roman Catholics I have crossed out, not because I regard them as non-Christian, but because so long as the great difference between them and Protestantism exists, it would not be possible to have an organic union." (Male, Presbyterian, minister, 30-60, Minnesota.)

The great bulk of Protestant discrimination runs like the above, basing itself primarily on alleged theological differences. Occasionally, however, someone finds a justification for exclusion beyond that of theology. "Pentecostals, Christian Scientists, and Spiritualists," thinks a Presbyterian minister, "lack 'ethical apprehension.' Therefore they could be left out for some generations until they overhauled the idea." Jews, others say, are racially different as well as religiously. Still others assert that the basis of their discrimination is not primarily religious: "Would exclude Jews, Mormons, Roman Catholics because it seems not practicable to include them, but not for other reasons." (Female, Congregational, lay member, 30-60, Virginia.)

Whatever, then, the ostensible reason, the evidence is decisive of a frequent and deliberate purpose to draw a line somewhere and at least against the most "distant" types of religion.

As has been demonstrated, these most distant types are at the same time excluded and self-excluded.² Accordingly, in comments attached to ballots, the charge of self-exclusion—amply justified by the statistics—was somewhat widely used to justify discrimination. One writer thinks, "Christian Scientists, Jews, Mormons and Spiritualists would be self-excluded." (The first might not be so excluded according to the limited sampling afforded by the tests, but the rest undoubtedly would be, in view of their discriminating attitudes against others.)³ "This is not arbitrary exclusion," another commentator ventures, "but theological beliefs put them in another group. . . . I'd exclude no one. They might exclude themselves." In these terms several correspondents imply their own superiority to prejudice.

SENTIMENT CHALLENGING EXCLUSION

There are, it should be noted, striking exceptions to these excluding sentiments, which the next group of quotations suggest. A Congregational pastor would include "all who would come." "Is there no way," writes a Massachusetts woman, "in which we can have a Christian church which includes everyone who believes in and trusts the 'Great Spirit,' a church which will in time include Catholics also?"

"I am most heartily in favor of church federation, a universal religion, a combination of the different denominations in the Protestant Church, Jew and Catholic, if this is possible; and I think the tendency is towards this eventually, but it will take time." This from a Methodist Episcopal lay church officer.

Such inclusive views are rationalized in various ways. The principle of ethical unity is sometimes appealed to. By the test of "keeping Jesus' commandments," writes one, Jews might not be excluded. Another commentator asserts that many Jews are "unconscious Christians."

This claim of spiritual unity was sometimes made even when the fact of theological differences was strongly magnified. The denominations, thinks one correspondent, may still be allowed to stand for their "distinctive truths" . . . "the warmest Christian fellowship may be had with Christians in other churches whose views are partly erroneous." Moreover, reliance upon spiritual unity sometimes took one farther than most evangelical theologies are prepared to go. A minority exhibits a religious catholicity which includes Jews, Catholics and Protestants in one church. This mood sometimes appealed to the "unity of spiritual consciousness," said to reveal a "basic faith common to all." Unity between groups widely sundered in conviction might be achieved through an "inner approach," materialized in

² P. 16.

³ See Table VII.

the form of "conferences" or "chapters" throughout the United States. These "outer unions" would permit their members to remain severally attached to their historically separated religious systems, while, at the same time, continuing one in spirit and expressing their unity in loose organization. A very similar idea with respect to a larger fellowship of Christians and non-Christians in the Orient, not requiring either to surrender his historic faith, was made basic in the chapter on the church in the report of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry.⁴

Still other exceptions are based on personal observation. "I believe," a Methodist minister ventures to say, "the Mormon church should be included as an evangelical church. I am not a Mormon, was brought up to feel that they were without the pale; but I have lived among the Mormons and I feel that they have earned the right to be called an evangelical church."

A few claim direct experience of the possibility of maintaining very inclusive religious organization locally. On this point a Methodist Episcopal minister's testimony runs thus:

"I am at present pastor of the Wesley Foundation, a Methodist organization for students in tax-supported universities, at X University. Inasmuch as only five denominations have churches in X, I have a good bit of interdenominational work to do. In my student group are Roman Catholics, orthodox Jews, reformed Jews, Episcopalians, Lutherans, and representatives of about fifteen other denominations. I have been unable to find that denominational creeds and principles mean a thing to these students, and am encouraging them in that attitude. In my professional work, I have served three Congregational, two Methodist and one Quaker church."

Broadly tolerant and inclusive attitudes come easily to those who appear to hold a very generalized version of religion as evidenced in the following utterance:

"My experience with people of different races and of classes and creeds within those races deepens my belief that we are all evolving toward the same goal, but by different paths, some of us more slowly than others. . . . Our minds and hearts will become broader, more tolerant, more kind. We will grow more willing to recognize and respect other points of view; more ready to forgive, to overlook weakness and error, to hold out a hand to any member of any color and creed who may need it. The one law, Love, the most dynamic force in the universe, is the only creed, rule, or guide in judging, giving, receiving, viewing, reviewing, sensing, understanding, and comprehending everyone and everything that exists."

The contributor of this sentiment signs herself a "non-sectarian."

⁴ *Re-Thinking Missions* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933), pp. 110 ff.

VARYING PROTESTANT ATTITUDES TOWARD ROMAN CATHOLICS

No attempt was made to isolate evidences of attitudes as between Protestants and Roman Catholics from the more blanket versions of exclusive sentiment. Certain trends on this point may nevertheless be indicated. Anglo-Catholic appreciation of the Roman position was not much in evidence in data drawn from popular communications. Wishful thinking in the Catholic direction was, however, occasionally evidenced. "Roman Catholics," thinks an Episcopal minister, "would have to come part way." An Episcopal layman would vote for a united church only if it were a "Catholic Church, either Episcopal or Roman." On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church, in not a few cases, is bitterly condemned on the ground of alleged ethical and political sins.

"Unless we take some such action [as Protestant union] immediately, Rome will overwhelm us. They have already done so to a considerable extent, since, for instance, what they have done to our prohibition law; and if they can do it in one instance, they will do it in others. They have just recently declared, 'We acknowledge that up to the present Protestantism has ruled by its ideals, but the time has come when we must make our ideal the rule of the land.' They have long since boasted that if they can keep Protestants asleep a little while longer they will take the country." (Methodist layman, over 60, Ohio.)

So extreme a statement should be read in connection with more generalized fears for religious liberty evoked in chapter iv.

Union involving the Roman Catholic Church was also occasionally contemplated conditionally by others. Here is a Baptist layman who would include the Catholics "if they would eliminate the Pope." Here is a Congregational woman who thinks, "It would be a great cause for rejoicing if Roman Catholics would join. They never would, I am sure."

As elsewhere indicated, the problem of possible Catholic-Protestant unity is inseparable from the ideal of a church universal, in the historical or objective sense, and hence remains potentially second to none in importance. Both popular Protestant and Catholic attitudes for the present make it impossible to pursue this issue actively. And there is no current movement for the union of these major branches of the church, if a movement is defined either as a progressive body of favorable thought and attitudes occupying well-defined limits, or as an organized effort in which influential persons in both groups are actively engaged.

In spite, then, of significant exceptions, the preponderant evidence is strong that large numbers of Protestants do not think of churches of the remoter groups, according to the religious distance test (i.e. non-Christians and Roman Catholics, together with other more variant groups of Protestant

antecedents), as coming within the field of unity in any realistic sense. Particularly, there is no organized movement for religious unification with these remoter types.

DISCRIMINATION WITHIN THE INCLUDED GROUP

If some Christians had their way, the boundaries of unity would be contracted indeed. They begin to draw lines even within the generally included group, and to banish certain churches which most other churches welcome. Thus, a Chicago minister thinks that "it is humanly impossible for such different church groups as the Episcopal and Baptist groups to consider any significant union, but the Disciples and Baptists have no basic differences which should keep them apart"; while a female lay church officer of the Reformed Church in the United States declares: "Let those who are insistent upon some pet doctrine—like immersion—form their own family of churches. I mean, let churches that are essentially alike in practice first get together, Baptist and Christians, Presbyterian, Reformed and Evangelical, all Lutherans, etc."

Still others point out supposed dangers in the characteristics ascribed to some of the denominations which they think have a bearing on possibilities of union. "The individual church and minister would mean a great deal," writes a Baptist minister of Cleveland, "but my inclination would be to fear that the Unitarian might not lead to full development of a child's artistic and emotional life, while the Protestant Episcopal and Lutheran would give him thought forms that were too rigid."

These quotations serve to remind one that even within the generally included group, the "distance" statistically measured is real distance. Members of these friendliest of bodies are not quite as willing to associate in church life with people of other denominations as with their own. The others have "pet doctrines" or are peculiar in other ways. These opinions are generally mutual.

This drawing of the line by a minority even against their closer brethren indicates the obscurity of the division between the certainly or probably included churches and the more debatable group. It is pointed out by a few communications that the drawing of the line depends upon whether one is judging by the general position of a church or by its minor peculiarities. These peculiarities or special viewpoints chiefly concern doctrine or else the meaning and method of observance of the Christian ordinances.

THE DEBATABLE GROUP

Rank and file sentiment thus leaves a group of churches about whose inclusion or exclusion it is uncertain. Among them the statistical evidence locates such bodies as the Pentecostal-Holiness and Unitarian. The explana-

tion most often given by members of the included group for drawing the line against them, is that the former are queer, and the latter non-evangelical. These distinctions appear in the next group of quotations.

To a Congregational woman, "the Pentecostal sects and the Mormons seem more like the fungus on the tree than part of the actual plant." Similar distinctions may even appear within denominational families. "Some of the smaller groups of a denominational family," writes a Methodist layman, "are sometimes *so peculiar* that it is doubtful if their union with the general denomination would be a happy one."

The main evidence, however, is that there is no clear-cut and reputable principle of exclusion generally alleged in the case of the peculiar groups. Some of these groups are small, young, strongly localized and hence unfamiliar to the majority of Christians. To others they seem marked off by excessive emotionalism, cruder aesthetic standards and association with lower social levels. Such probably are the actual grounds of their inclusion or exclusion from prospective union; but these grounds are hinted at rather than confessed.⁵

THE EVANGELICAL TEST

Much more clear-cut is the purpose of many Christians to draw the line of possible union between evangelicals and non-evangelicals. "Cut out any that are not strictly evangelical," sounds like a definite proscription. Yet this term does not define itself in any exact sense, and comparatively few commentators go on to give the formula specific content. When its content is doctrinally defined, as in several previous citations, it often attempts to draw the line at belief in the "divinity of Christ." The majority, however, express their ideas more equivocally. Some indefinite version of a scriptural test is naïvely set up, based on the assumption of a common interpretation of the Bible. "Accept all, if united on the Bible." . . . "Unite all churches who take the New Testament standard of Christian living." . . . "I would favor church union if union be based on Scripture. Modern pagans, the religious liberals, such as the 'Fosdicks' have done irreparable damage to the cause of church union."

Only very occasionally do the comments of the rank and file employ the shibboleths of recent theological discussion. Here, however, is a Methodist laywoman drawing the line at those who "believe and accept the fundamentals." What these fundamentals are remains to be explained. A New York Seventh Day Baptist, however, is very certain about one of them: "Christian Scientists do not believe in Satan. I believe—and Christ teaches

⁵ For an explanation of denominational division on these lines, see Niebuhr, R. H., *Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929).

plainly—that Satan exists. Therefore I cut out the Christian Scientists—though they have much of faith and faithfulness in Bible study to give us.”

A different version of the same type of thinking expresses itself in somewhat vague terms of ethical or personal allegiance. A Methodist Protestant woman favors general church union, meaning union of all people “who are striving to follow the teachings of our Lord Jesus Christ.” An elderly Methodist layman “would exclude none who would acknowledge the Lordship of Jesus Christ and the obligation of the Golden Rule. Any exclusion would be voluntary.”

A few answers show appreciation of certain qualities in bodies of whose evangelical status they are in doubt. Thus, a Chicago Presbyterian minister writes guardedly: “It might be good for us all if the evangelical groups and the Unitarians could unite in worship and work. Their intellectual honesty commands our respect and compels us to rethink through on our position. We might give them some of our warmth by showing that life is not logic.”

A certain edginess and reaction in kind on the part of those whose Christian status is under the majority’s suspicion is only to be expected. It is, therefore, strictly a reflection of the mutual distance confessed to by the debatable group itself when a Unitarian church secretary comments: “I am not at all satisfied with the answers I have given, for they might indicate that I consider all the statements set forth in the questionnaire as important. I do not. I think that some of them are utterly ridiculous, and have not answered them, because there just isn’t anything to say from my point of view. . . . The truth of the matter is I think the Hindus may be just as right as the Christians. When you start talking about missions and communion and divine ordination you put a Unitarian in a very embarrassing position.”

The above quotations amply demonstrate the questionable position that popular thinking assigns to a group of denominations which stand statistically between the remote and the near on the religious distance test, and which register more than an average amount of mutual antipathy. Their status is a debatable one.

Behind these varying layers of equivocal language and interpretations it is evident that several vague lines are being drawn against the debatable churches when church unity is being contemplated. Whether any one of them is a line which will ultimately be maintained in actual union movements is not yet determined by any decisive evidence. Since, however, it is hard enough to get even the nearest denominations to do more than talk about union, questionable status in the eyes of the majority has hitherto constituted an effective barrier against such remoter denominations. If the debatable denominations are to be included, there is more than average dis-

tance to overcome—more on both sides to be overlooked or forgiven. About this neither preliminary statistics nor the evidence of present attitudes and conduct furnish a final verdict. Those bodies are not definitely outside of the scope of union; neither are they definitely inside.

POSSIBLE UNITY ON LOWER LEVELS

Not only the status of the debatable group but that even of the generally excluded group may appear in a somewhat modified light when agreement is reached as to exactly what is meant by church union. This definition is deliberately postponed to a subsequent chapter; but it is obvious from previous evidence that there are numerous levels of integration. Interdenominational coöperation in highly organized and permanent ways and the union of related denominations are well established and generally favored tendencies. Local practice excludes certain denominations from church federations in one city while they are included in another—or one department of a given federation may be broader than another. Naturally then it occurs to some commentators to suggest that inclusive union may be possible on one level and on one basis of organization but not on another. Thus, a Methodist layman discriminatingly approves a "union of denominational families; close coöperation of other religious bodies, including Jews, Catholics, etc."

Other utterances of like tenor favor a federal form of union when a closer one is not regarded as possible:

"Some central union of denominations, not excluding any, might be possible, to which delegates might be sent; but it also would have to be non-sectarian or it would never agree on any subject. Looks like a piece of the millennium almost."

"The eight groups mentioned on the ballot could be readily incorporated into such a federal union and thus could share in the united action for the country's religious welfare that the needs of our people require. At the same time their continued existence as separate groups would tend to prevent the discord that their special differences would cause in a single united church."

These viewpoints forecast issues which will be fully explored in later connections. In general they identify a realm of practical agreement in which unity is possible, in contrast with temperamental and doctrinal agreement in which unity is thought to be difficult if not impossible.

CRYSTALLIZATION OF JUDGMENTS

Yet more significant than the evidence of individual opinion, whether commonplace or passionate, are the established practices as to the limits of unity and especially the deliberate long-time policies of the churches in their treatment of one another. The degree to which equality is assumed,

rights recognized, and comity practised defines the limits of unity in a realistic sense. Of practices which limit, and policies which deny unity, official proselytism is the most obviously conspicuous.

The study accordingly sought to crystallize the judgments of the rank and file on the crucial issue of proselytism. Its means were a series of four tests submitted through questionnaires. The first explored the distinction between proselytism and what might be called normal religious propaganda as it existed in popular thinking. The next two dealt directly with Protestant proselytizing of foreign-born Americans of other faiths and of Christians abroad belonging to churches regarded as formal and unprogressive. The fourth registered judgments upon an instance of interfaith cooperation in the specifically religious realm.

All four tests dealt with highly concrete situations. The solid evidence of popular reaction to these situations helps to orientate more nebulous, though generally familiar, distinctions of the "free" communications as previously presented.

NORMAL PROPAGANDA VERSUS PROSELYTIZING

The issue explored in the first of these tests was essentially as follows: What degree of aggressiveness in the promotion of distinctive views on the part of a religious group is regarded by the rank and file as falling within the range of normal propaganda in contrast with unjustifiable proselytizing?

This problem was put before a representative cross-section of the religious public in the following concrete form: "A liberal church in a suburban community has begun an aggressive campaign to get high-school students to attend a series of discussions on such topics as 'science and religion,' 'modern social problems,' and 'recent changes in moral ideas.' Some of the views expressed are contrary to those held by the parents of many of the students and by the churches to which some of them belong."

Thirteen thousand, two hundred and seventy-eight persons replied to a request that they should indicate which of six judgments on the issue as above stated most nearly coincided with their own views. The phrasing of the six judgments and distribution of returns appear in Table XXIII.

The replies as a whole tend strongly to approve the judgment that such exposure to the distinctive ideas of a liberal group as the incident sets forth is merely part of a genuine education for modern youth. Eighteen per cent. of replies, however, conditioned their approval of such promotion upon the assumption that other churches were actually suppressing or condemning ideas which are commonly talked about. The opinion that such propaganda as the incident described was contrary to the claims of fraternity failed to make a strong appeal, as did also the assumption that the subject of alien ideas should be left for parental wisdom to decide. Only

TABLE XXIII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—LEGITIMACY OF PROPAGANDA AMONG STUDENTS

(General Church Constituency)

"A liberal church in a suburban community has begun an aggressive campaign to get high-school students to attend a series of discussions on such topics as 'Science and Religion,' 'Modern Social Problems' and 'Recent Changes in Moral Ideas.' Some of the views expressed are contrary to those held by the parents of many of the students and by the churches to which some of them belong."

Judgments	Per Cent. Choosing As 1st or 2d Best
It is part of a real education to know what changes in religious thought are going on in the world, and to learn to judge both sides of a question. (6) . . .	44
If the other churches are really suppressing or condemning ideas which thoughtful Americans in religious circles are thinking and talking about, the liberal church is right in its policy, whether the other churches like it or not. (4) . . .	18
If the church believes these things it ought to bring them to the attention of anyone it can reach. (2) . . .	14
Parents and the churches to which they belong know best what should be brought before the minds of their youth. (5) . . .	12
The present generation is bound to hear things of this sort sooner or later, so why worry? (1) . . .	8
This is a very unfriendly act and amounts to an attempt to draw adherents away from other churches. (3) . . .	4

Total (25,628 choices, 13,278 persons answering).

a few replies depreciated the issue, while very few indeed condemned the type of propaganda illustrated as an unfriendly invasion of the field of other churches.

While the majority declines to view the incident as going beyond legitimate propaganda, extreme variations appear in certain denominational returns.⁶ Denominations taking the most favorable attitude toward the incident were the Christian Scientist, Jewish, Unitarian and Universalist, supported by the "no denomination" returns. It is noteworthy that these are all commonly regarded by the religious majority as ultra-liberal or as otherwise out of line; so that their position on this issue appears somewhat as a defense of their own right of propaganda.

It is, however, also to be noted that the extreme defense of propaganda even by this group is conditioned on the assumption that other churches are suppressing current ideas; and that only one denomination of the group—Universalist—is strong for a church's duty to propagate whatever it believes. In brief, the group appears to take an educational rather than a dogmatic attitude in behalf of liberal propaganda.

The chief critics of liberal propaganda as expressed in this incident are Dunkers, Missouri Synod Lutherans and United Presbyterians. They deny

⁶ Shown in Appendix Table 15.

that it is part of normal education to hear both sides of a religious question and do not find justification for "tampering" with another's constituency, even on the assumption that it is suppressing currently respectable ideas. This group also stresses the unfriendliness of such a course as the incident presents and thinks that parents ought to know best what ideas should be brought before their young people.

The most violently controverted of the six judgments was the flat proposition that the course of the liberal church in the situation under consideration amounted to unfriendly proselytization. On this point Evangelical, Evangelical Synod, Moravian, Presbyterian, U. S., Reformed in America and United Brethren replies reinforced those habitually against liberal propaganda, while a long list of denominations, including the two Negro denominations, Methodist and Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, South, Presbyterian, U. S. A., Congregational-Christian, Friends, and Reformed in U. S., took up the defense of the liberal church.

Another sharply controverted topic, namely, whether or not "parents know best," drew still other denominations into an extreme position. Evangelical, Evangelical Synod, Moravian, Pentecostal and Presbyterian, U. S., say "yes" on this issue; Congregational-Christian, Friends and Protestant Episcopal say "no."

As in the case of many other incidents, some of the large denominations, such as the Baptist North, Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian, U. S. A., are closely represented by the average. They do not object to normal propaganda by churches whose views diverge somewhat at least from their own.

All told, then, it appears that effort on the part of differing religious bodies to get a hearing for their views is accepted as a reasonable phase of present civilization. It is taken for granted that youth will be subjected to such propaganda in decent ways. The limits of reasonable intellectual competition are not exceeded when young people are given a chance to hear both sides of religious issues.

PROSELYTING FOREIGN-BORN AMERICANS OF OTHER FAITHS

A more direct test of the thinking of the religious public with respect to the scope and limits of unity was found in its response to a concrete issue specifically raising the question of Protestant missions to populations of non-Protestant antecedents in the United States. How far does a representative Protestant constituency justify such missions and on what grounds? This issue was explored by means of a questionnaire which generalized the situation in the following terms: "In the eastern cities of the United States a great many young people of foreign parentage have become Americanized in the public schools and in business or industrial

life, and have ceased to be active adherents of the churches of their birth. Protestant city missions find their greatest opportunity with this group." Eleven thousand and six persons replied to this questionnaire, with results as shown in Table XXIV.

TABLE XXIV—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—LEGITIMACY OF PROSELYTING NON-PROTESTANTS OF FOREIGN BIRTH

(General Church Constituency)

"In the eastern cities of the United States a great many people of foreign parentage have become Americanized in the public schools and in business or industrial life, and have ceased to be active adherents of the churches of their birth. Protestant city missions find their greatest opportunity with this group."

Judgments	Per Cent. Choosing As 1st or 2nd Best
If the alternative really is that these young people will otherwise have no active religion, Protestantism should step in to give them one. (2).....	35
The proclamation of a living gospel should be made to every creature upon every opportunity, regardless of their earlier religious ties. (3).....	29
Protestants should encourage and sympathize with the native churches of such people and help them to improve, rather than to seek to win their young people away from them. (5).....	18
Protestantism is the prevailing religion of our country, is in fullest harmony with its history and institutions; and our foreign-born inhabitants will be better Americans if they turn Protestant. (6).....	11
These young people still rightfully belong to the church of their birth, and others should not try to proselyte them. (1).....	4
Probably there is actually very slight transfer of adherents from one faith to another. The number is not worth contending about. (4).....	3
Total (21,025 choices, 11,006 persons answering).....	100

The result of this questionnaire is to show that, on the whole, the Protestant constituency justifies missions to non-Protestant foreign-born, at least hypothetically, on the assumption that the alternative is that they will often have no active religion (Judgment 2). The general principle that it is the duty of a church to proclaim to all persons, in spite of their earlier religious antecedents, what it believes is religion of a superior quality, is also strongly approved (Judgment 3). Nearly one-fifth of the replies, however, reflect that it would be possible to try to improve the churches of the foreign-born rather than to divert converts from them. The assumed identification of Protestantism and Americanism is alleged by a considerable minority, but very few concede that anyone "rightfully belongs" to the church of his birth or that the issue is of little consequence.

Denominational comparisons shown in Chart XII reveal extreme differences on this issue.⁷ The Latter Day Saints and Pentecostals, denominations usually regarded as erratic, take most pronounced ground in favor of proselyting the foreign-born on the score of the proclamation of a living

⁷ For full data, see Appendix Table 16.

gospel to every creature. A group of regular denominations, mainly the smaller ones, including the Evangelical Synod, United Presbyterian, Reformed in America and Universalist, also give proselyting more than average favor. On the other hand, certain other minority groups, like the Dunkers, which may perhaps dread the proselyting activities of their stronger brethren, show the least enthusiasm for the policies which the majority favor.

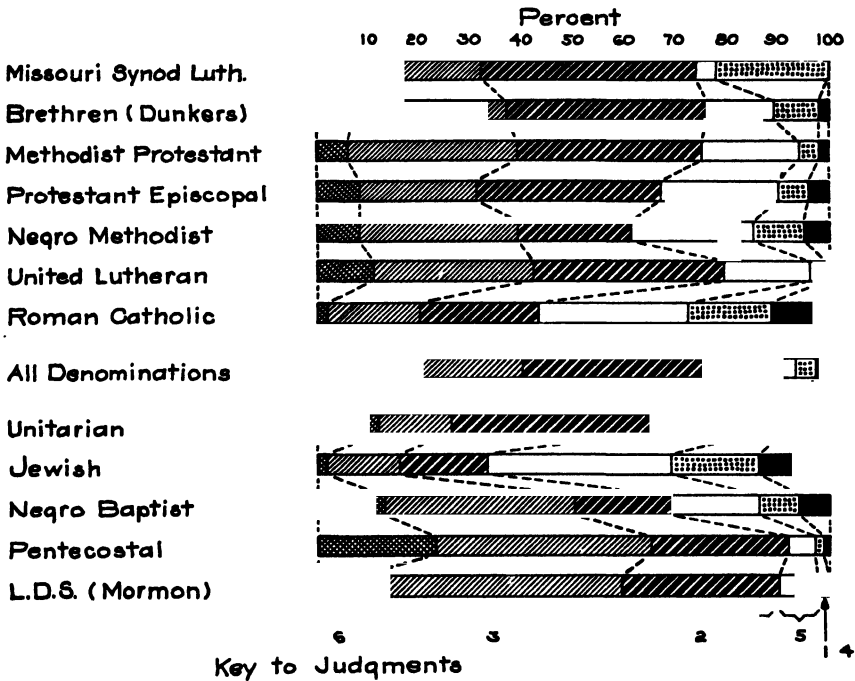


CHART XII—DISTRIBUTION OF JUDGMENTS WITH RESPECT TO PROTESTANT PROSELYTING OF FOREIGN-BORN AMERICANS

For total rank and file constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for judgments numbered to correspond with key, see Table XXIV)

Particular interest, of course, attaches to scattering returns from Roman Catholics and Jews whose constituencies are the particular objects of such proselyting in the United States. As would be expected, they generally take a strongly antagonistic position toward it. Jewish, Roman Catholic, Missouri Synod Lutheran, and Negro Baptist and Methodist replies unite in stressing the proposition that "one rightfully belongs to the church of his birth."

Each of the answers presented in Table XXIV is worthy of separate attention. Thus, considerable minorities, except from the Roman Catholic

and Jewish replies, identify Protestantism and sound Americanism (Answer 6). Pentecostal and Negro Baptist returns are especially impressed by this argument.

Again, the duty of proclaiming a "living gospel" under all circumstances is an outstanding argument for all denominations except Roman Catholics, Jews and Unitarians.

On the other hand, considerable numbers even of Roman Catholics and Jews concede that Protestantism ought to step in if the native churches of the foreign-born are not able really to give their adherents an active religion. But Negro Baptists and Methodists are not so favorable to this stepping-in idea in the case of an ineffective church as the white Protestant denominations are.

Helping the churches of the foreign-born to improve especially appeals to Jews and Catholics and to the two Negro Protestant denominations.

Finally, Jews and Catholics are especially anxious to believe that there is little transfer between the faiths and that the matter is scarcely worth while contending about.

The rank and file replies as a whole, however, deny that it is the right of a person's mere religious heritage to govern his later religious adjustments and affiliations. They justify the present aggressive missionary policy of large numbers of Protestant churches toward the foreign-born. Behind these policies lies the attitude which assigns inferior values to religious bodies with which the foreign-born are historically connected. They are excluded from the practice of unity, and any sort of integration in which they were included would have to be adjusted to this fact.

FOREIGN MISSIONS TO CONSTITUENCIES OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES REGARDED AS FORMAL AND UNPROGRESSIVE

Further evidence as to the limits to unity implied in the attitudes of churches one toward another, is found in the existence of Protestant missions to various non-Protestant groups in the Near East and elsewhere. A situation generalizing this fact was formulated as follows, and submitted to the judgment of a representative cross-section of American religious public: "The Eastern Orthodox Church in the Near East complains because American missionaries are trying to get native young people of orthodox faith into the mission churches. The missionaries justify themselves on the ground that the Orthodox Church in the Orient is formal, unprogressive and lacking in true spiritual intelligence and life." Eleven thousand, nine hundred and ten members of twenty-five denominations recorded their judgments on the issue as thus set forth, with results as shown in Table XXV.

Proselyting of other Christians after the fashion depicted is justified con-

ditionally by a strong plurality of judgments, on the assumption that the Eastern Orthodox Church in the Near East is an unprogressive body and lacks freedom of thought in the modern sense (Judgment 2). The general principle that those who possess the gospel in the purer form are bound to bring it to others (Judgment 3) ranks second in degree of favor. It occurs, however, to 17 per cent. of those replying that it might be more Christian to help to build up the Eastern church from the inside rather than to try to undermine its influence with young people. Secondary approval is given in almost equal degree to the contradictory judgments that one branch of the church should not proselyte another, and that religious competition is a good thing. But very few regard the issue as of little importance.

The general reaction of the religious public to this situation is unusual in that there is no strong concentration of opinion on one or two judgments, with sharply defined secondary approval on one or two others. In other words, with respect to the attitudes which they wish to defend toward proselyting of other Christians whose churches are regarded as formal or unprogressive, American Protestants are not so clear in their thinking as they are on most issues. While the majority would justify proselyting conditionally, it takes a rather large number of different rationalizations to satisfy the Protestant mind on this point.

Appendix Table 17 shows extreme opposition to such proselyting in the Missouri Synod Lutheran, Dunkers, and Methodist Protestant replies, supported by Protestant Episcopal and Negro Methodist; while Latter Day Saints, Pentecostals, Universalists and Unitarians, supported by Minor Officials, Jewish and Federated replies, are most favorable to it. The positions of some of these contrasting groups are shown in the upper and lower sections of Chart XIII.

The group that most emphatically defends proselyting relies chiefly on the assumed lack of freedom of thought (Judgment 2); but some of its members stress secondarily the duty of those possessing a superior gospel to spread it to those deprived of it (Judgment 3). These were the two major arguments in behalf of missions to foreign-born in the United States. The denominations most in opposition to proselyting in the Near East are nevertheless ready to justify it if and when there is demonstrable lack of freedom of thought in the native church.⁸

Only a few replies in any denomination dismiss the matter as of no great consequence.

Table XXV also makes possible a comparison of clerical and lay opinion on this issue. In the main the differences registered are so slight as to be scarcely interpretable. Ministers are, however, less sure than laymen that

⁸ The more moderate differences of other denominations are recorded in Appendix Table 17.

TABLE XXV—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—LEGITIMACY OF PROSELYTING FROM EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES

(General Church Constituency)

"The Eastern Orthodox Church in the Near East complains because American missionaries are trying to get native young people of orthodox faith into the mission churches. The missionaries justify themselves on the ground that the Orthodox Church in the Orient is formal, unprogressive and lacking in true spiritual intelligence and life."

Judgments	Per Cent. Choosing as 1st or 2nd Best, By Status in the Church				
	Total	Min- isters	Lay Church Officers	Mem- bers	Non- Mem- bers
If there is demonstrable lack of freedom of modern thought within the native church and a demand from young people for western education and ideas, it is right for the missionaries to let them know the side of the case which they cannot get from their own church, so they may be able to decide for themselves. (2)	29	31	30	29	28
Those who possess the gospel in the most spiritual and progressive form ought to bring it to those who are more backward. (3).....	20	21	21	20	20
It would be more Christian to help build up the Eastern church than to undermine its influence with its youth. (5).....	17	16	17	18	16
One branch of the Christian church should not try to get members from another. (1).....	16	13	15	16	18
A little American religious competition might compel the Eastern church to modernize its thinking and revive a more vital faith. (6) .	15	17	14	14	14
Probably the number of people affected by these missions is so small that the matter is not of much importance. (4).....	3	2	3	3	4
Total (22,747 choices, 11,910 persons answering).....	100	100	100	100	100

different branches of the church should not proselyte from one another, and more inclined to defend religious competition.

All these deviations, whether extreme or moderate, should be weighed in the light of the judgment of the group as a whole, which conditionally justifies proselyting in the Near East on the grounds that the Eastern Orthodox Church lacks religious progressiveness; and that it is the duty of one possessing a superior version of religion to proclaim it to others. This dominant view is, however, considerably tempered by the consideration that it might be better to help the Eastern churches to improve from within.

MUTUAL TOLERATION OF RELIGIOUS FAITHS AND POSSIBLE CONTACTS IN THE FIELDS OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

A symptom of current attitudes with respect to the possible inclusion of different religious faiths in a united church is to be found in the judg-

ment of 13,600 persons in response to a questionnaire presenting what may be called their experimental rapprochement in the field of religious practices. The incident was stated as follows: "In an eastern university a group of students, including Roman Catholics, Protestants and Jews, organized and conducted Sunday religious services held under their own

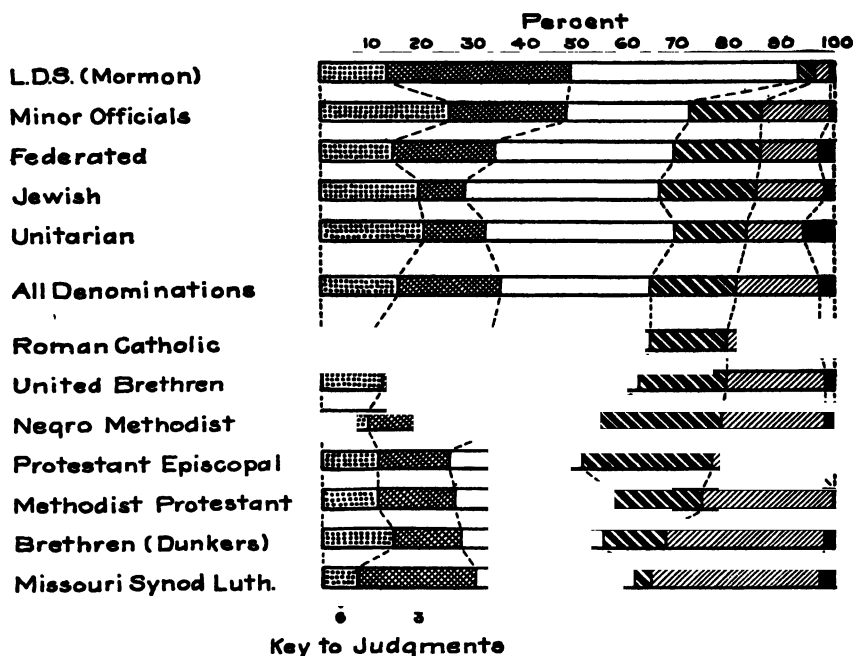


CHART XIII—DISTRIBUTION OF JUDGMENTS WITH RESPECT TO PROTESTANT PROSELYTIZING OF EASTERN-ORTHODOX ADHERENTS IN THE NEAR EAST

For total rank and file constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for judgments numbered to correspond with key, see Table XXV)

auspices, into which were introduced ideas and forms of worship drawn from all three faiths."⁹ Responses to six judgments on this incident, as presented by the questionnaire, were distributed as shown in Table XXVI.

Much the strongest weight of favor falls upon Judgment 6, which justifies the joint worship service of the student groups indicated above on the ground of their common religious spirit taken as an evidence of divine leadership in their lives. Next greatest favor is given to somewhat emotional ground of approval, the dawning of a new day of religious tolerance and fraternity; or to the general principle that it is the right of each new generation to think and experiment for itself. These three judgments get 83 per cent. of the total response. In contrast, the cautious judgment (Number

⁹ For distribution of replies, see Appendix Table 18.

TABLE XXVI—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—UNITED SERVICES OF CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS AND JEWS

(General Church Constituency)

"In an eastern university a group of students, including Roman Catholics, Protestants and Jews, organized and conducted Sunday religious services held under their own auspices, into which were introduced ideas and forms of worship drawn from all three faiths."

Judgments	Per cent. of Choices As 1st or 2nd Best
If these students, moved by a common religious spirit, felt really drawn to worship together, this feeling should be taken as evidence of a divine leadership in their lives; and no one should interfere with them. (6).....	32
Such an occurrence is a token of a new day of religious tolerance and fraternity. (4).....	26
It is the right of each new generation to reconsider the question whether the different religious faiths which it has inherited from the past are irreconcilable or not; and to settle the matter by thinking and experimenting for itself. (5).....	24
If such a thing were to have been tried, it should have been very cautiously done under the guidance of officials of the churches concerned. (3).....	7
Such an experiment would have little influence and would probably be short-lived. (1).....	7
These students were not really loyal to their respective faiths, or they would not have attempted to mix them with other faiths. (2).....	4

Total (26,545 choices, 13,600 persons answering).

3) that such an experiment should have been tried only after the authorization of ecclesiastical superiors, the depreciating judgment (Number 1) that the experiment was inconsequential, and the flat disapproval of the experiment on the ground that it was disloyal to the respective faiths (Number 2), find very scant favor with the group as a whole.

Comparing denominational attitudes on individual items, certain extraordinary extremes appear. The disapproving verdict that students who mix their faiths are disloyal is given twice as often by Moravian, Pentecostal and Reformed in America returns, together with Roman Catholic, as by the group as a whole; while Missouri Synod Lutheran replies choose this ten times as often as the average. Similarly, the Missouri Synod Lutheran replies choose the depreciatory judgment that the students' experiment will be short-lived five times as often as the average. Missouri Synod, Pentecostal, Mormon and Unitarian returns, also Roman Catholic, are much less favorable than the average to the argument for divine leadership, which gets the largest backing by the group as a whole. At this point, ecclesiastical extremes meet and the reasons for taking the same position are doubtless varied.

The worst, however, that denominational comparison reveals on this incident is a more favorable and less favorable group. The sentiment even of the less favorable group is, after all, mostly *for* the experiment. To

find the really opposing denomination, one must follow the extreme case of the Missouri Synod Lutheran in Appendix Table 18. With the rest the difference is simply between a very small opposing minority within a given denomination and a considerable opposing minority.

All told, then, the result of this questionnaire is to reveal a broad tendency to approve unofficial interfaith experiments in religious understanding in the field of common worship, and there is very little outright tendency to forbid them.

LARGER RELIGIOUS INTEGRATION

The foregoing series of evidences affords a realistic account of the fluctuating limitations within which thinking, feeling and acting with respect to church unity are going on. But they suggest only very general conclusions as to the limits of unity.

Negatively considered, they seem to show that unity movements within the Christian churches are not a piece of a general syncretic movement in religion. This does not mean that they are never so interpreted. Efforts to unite the Christian churches are occasionally regarded as a phase of a larger religious integration which, it is believed, should include all faiths. This opinion, as voiced by one correspondent, runs as follows:

"I can see no material difference in Christianity and Judaism out of which it grew, and were I better informed concerning other religious beliefs, perhaps they too are built on great fundamental truths. So instead of saying I favor a union of Christian faiths, perhaps I should say I favor a 'World Religion'." (Lay member, African Methodist Episcopal Church, New York City.)

On the strength of the evidence, this is clearly an exceptional opinion. It does not represent those officially advocating church union in the United States.

Now it must be confessed that the data of the present research are by no means as broad as the issue thus raised. The data were secured in the main from religious people already related to the church. May it be, then, that a similar canvass of the attitudes of non-church people would show a version of the unity movement inevitably projecting itself to the ultimate length of the merger of all faiths, and as of one piece with advocacy of a synthetic world religion? A summary of attitudes revealed by the small number of "no denomination" questionnaires scarcely suggests such a conclusion.¹⁰ On the religious distance test the non-churchman showed more prejudice than most churchmen.

With respect to churchmen, however, the answer as to syncretism in religion is definitely "No." The rank and file of Christians are not fol-

¹⁰ See p. 438.

lowing logic but feeling. They do not feel toward non-Christians as they do toward their religious fellows, but are aware of their very much greater remoteness from them. The thought of the unity of Christians does not suggest nor seem to imply any merging of all faiths. Protestants do not feel as close to Roman Catholics as they do to other Christians, and do not even admit that an effective union of Christians necessarily implies the inclusion of Roman Catholics.

This discriminating version of union, which feels the justice of going part way without going the whole way, is illustrated by the well-established attitude of the National Conference of Jews and Christians. This most important interfaith movement is dedicated to the promotion of a good understanding between these religious groups. Under the motto, "For Justice, Amity and Understanding between the Many Groups that Comprise America," it works for toleration, for the removal of religious disabilities, and for the establishment of equal civil and social status between members of various communions. It recognizes the actual issues involved as a complex of racial, economic, social and religious conflicts which cannot be resolved into a set of purely religious issues or be thought of as solved by religious mergers. Little direct religious coöperation has been advocated within this organization and no proposal has emerged from it for any syncretizing of the faiths. In brief, even in connection with the most active of modern experiments in the coöperation of religious groups, no one actually dreams of putting them all together into one religion.

So far, then, as data go, whether in the area of opinion or of behavior, the movement of church unity is like the gulfstream within the ocean. It is composed of the same elements that a movement for world religion might contain; but is insulated by clear differences of temperature and of direction, so that it takes its own course.

Suspicious minds may still fear that interest in the unity of churches commits one in some subtle fashion to the possibility of general religious integration. A philosopher doubtless cannot avoid raising the question. Those actually involved in the experience do not raise it; on the contrary, they draw decisive lines within Christianity itself, and this, in spite of a very definite and active set of assimilated forces which are bringing Christians together, but which they do not share in any such measure with the world in general, with adherents of the heathen faiths, or with their Jewish fellow-religionists in most communities.

Entirely apart, then, from theoretical issues of the truth or error of any tenet of religion or the inferiority or superiority of any church, religious people do hold determinative attitudes toward one another. The simple fact is that these feelings put some of them—either as discriminators or

as discriminated against, but generally as both—beyond possible inclusion in any present actual unity movement, while others are included, equally because of the warmth of their mutual feelings. Some are included inevitably, others in spite of certain minor difficulties. Between the two lies a debatable area. There is, therefore, real prospect of further unity, but when unity is talked about it is always within limits.

CHAPTER VI

The Integration of the Church as a Social Process

The integration of the church, as described in previous chapters, whatever else it may be, is a social process; and the thinking and feeling of the religious constituency, which these chapters have explored, reveal the growth of integrative social attitudes. From the religious viewpoint these things are very much more than social processes. They concern the healing of the broken body of Christ. This higher aspect of the matter deserves and will have fullest consideration. So far, however, as the phenomena in question are social processes, it should be possible, after the accumulation of so much specific data, to reach certain provisional conclusions concerning them.

To what source will one naturally turn for a competent understanding of such processes and their preliminary appraisal as represented in the church? Certainly to the science which makes their investigation its special business—the one which has given to them the most exhaustive study and the most penetrating analysis and formulation: in brief, to the science of sociology.

Sociology is competent to throw light upon problems of church unity because it has reached a degree of knowledge about the nature of social division and integration and the conditions under which human groups separate or hang together. Sociologists have described and attempted to interpret the factors which make for the one tendency or the other. Social analysis is particularly expert in explaining the conflict between old and new forces in society; showing how the necessity of change originates, how resistance to change causes the more progressive elements to split off, the nature of the lag which retards the more conservative elements, the struggle between the two for control of the major movement of society, and the adjustment whereby the slower elements are measurably brought into step and the more hasty ones slowed down, so that it is possible for the two to integrate again.

Since the church, whatever else it is, is a social group, the church's integration ultimately rests back upon the union or division of particular bodies of religious people.

The controlling factors of such processes sociology is particularly able to understand and discuss.

THE ISSUE WITH THEOLOGY

Now, every appeal to sociology for the formulation of a church problem, to say nothing of a tentative verdict, is almost sure to precipitate an issue with theology. Theologically-minded readers will find something radically wrong with a book which pursues a full third of its course without reference to the church's own version of her unity and order. The writer's defense has already been stated. The right of the religious viewpoint to prevail in any ultimate interpretation of the church is fully recognized. Theology is entitled not merely to its day in court, but to render the final verdict upon the evidence. This is amply allowed for in the second and third parts of this volume.

What is not allowed is theology's monopoly or theology's priority in the matter. From the sociological viewpoint, theological explanations of social phenomena are particularly dangerous when they come first. The historical sketch of denominational origins in chapter ii has already shown reasons for suspecting that theological explanations are sometimes superficial and beside the point.

When, for example, a popular writer against church union expresses himself as follows: "It appears that one just has to believe something in order to be a Christian, but just what that something is, Christians have never yet been able to agree, and, because they have not been able to agree, they have divided themselves into groups, and our so-called 'denominationalism' is the result,"¹ sociology concludes that this explanation is entirely too simple. Thus, Giddings writes: "A mere faith unsupported by objective evidence may be emotionally antagonistic to another mere faith, as truly as a judgment may be logically irreconcilable with another judgment. . . . In reality they (antagonistic faiths) are culture conflicts, in which the opposing forces, so far from being specific ideas only, or pristine beliefs only, are in fact more or less bewildering complexes of ideas, beliefs, prejudices, sympathies, antipathies, and personal interests."²

To the sociologist, then, conflicting beliefs are not the main factors in ecclesiastical division.

This should not be taken to mean that doctrinal differences play no part in ecclesiastical division or that their part is not greater in some divisions than in others. It does mean, however, that sociology recognizes the presence characteristically of a wide variety of non-theological factors in any problem of church integration.

Sociology further suggests that theology is scarcely an impartial judge in

¹ Stowell, Jay S., *The Utopia of Unity* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1930), p. 21.

² Giddings, Franklin, H., *Studies in the Theory of Human Society* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), p. 175.

matters relating to social processes in the church. Theology, as a later chapter will show, habitually seeks to impose assumptions upon the approach to the facts. This is particularly unfair in an issue on which popular and professional thinking are not identical. Sociology, indeed, may be nearer the religious convictions of the layman in some respects than theology is. Theology, consequently, has no right to monopoly.³

Before, therefore, taking the risk of getting bogged down in a welter of theological subtleties, it is proposed to draw upon sociological insight as an aid to understanding the objective trends of integration and the what, why, how and whither of it as expressed in popular thinking.

The present chapter, accordingly, appeals to sociology as in a position to offer competent judgment upon church unity problems from five angles: (1) It can appraise the anti-institutionalist objection, which makes the matter of church unity unimportant because it does not regard the church itself as important as an organ of religion. (2) It can evaluate the notion of fixed psychological types or varieties of human nature which demand separate organized expression and are consequent barriers to the union of churches. (3) More positively, sociology can enlarge and broaden the conception of unity in the church by exhibiting the unifying characteristics in the basic constitution of all society. (4) Again, sociological analysis identifies the possible degrees and kinds of integration and helps to define union in contrast with lesser degrees of integration, as well as to differentiate different degrees of union and show their relation to one another. (5) Sociology, finally, illuminates the processes of social change and throws light on the possibilities and indeed the probabilities of the movement for church union.

On the first two points the service of sociology is to overcome certain current objections to unity movements. The last three supply a constructive framework for a consideration of unity problems. The further function of this chapter is to set forth the contributions of sociology to the problem of church unity in these five directions.

APPRAISAL OF ANTI-INSTITUTIONAL ATTITUDES

In their answers to questionnaires, four sorts of people, representing varying types of individualists, depreciated church unity issues because the

³ Some theologians will find themselves in no position to object to this procedure because they have themselves appealed to sociological arguments to bolster their own views. Examples of this are found in the ranks both of the extreme advocates of unity and of its extreme opponents. See Hall, *Christian Reunion in Ecumenical Light*, p. 4, f.; Jent, quoted in *North American Home Missions Congress Data Book*, 1930, p. 269. Almost no original applications of sociological concepts to the discussion of church unity exist. A noteworthy beginning is to be found in Bumpus, *Five Factors Underlying American Protestant Integration*, a doctorate thesis; abstract in the University of Pittsburgh Bulletin, vol. 28, No. 4, 1931.

whole matter of the institutional organization of religion failed to interest them.

One of them was the temperamental individualist who regards religion as essentially a private matter. An exponent of this attitude wrote testily: "All I ask is that others concede that my particular acceptance is as real as theirs, and leave the genuineness of my beliefs to God and myself." Next came the practical individualist, like the missionary whose board withdrew from a certain field. She nevertheless returned without means of support, "depending wholly upon God." She found and took with her a like-minded person "trusting in God for everything and a wonderful woman, though a Methodist." Such reckless saints, taking their orders from deity alone, can get along without a church.

The third type was the theoretical individualist, like the theological professor whose reaction to the issue of church union follows: "I am still an advocate of the dissidence of dissent. An outdated Victorian with a John Stuart Mill's complex for liberty and an unchristian feeling that the whole thing is most a movement for bigger and better elephants. In all of which God grant that I am wrong."

No exclusively mystical position found expression in the data. It was evident, however, that a good many replies, from ecclesiastics and ordinary Christians alike, reflected personal religious experiences believed to evidence immediate contact with God. In such moments men easily feel themselves above and beyond the church and its forms. However profoundly one may regard the sacraments as ordinary channels of grace and as essential to the group-life of the church, he may nevertheless find it possible to assert that "in the gifts of His grace, God is not limited by His own Sacraments."⁴ When such a mood gets drawn out into a permanent attitude, one tends to ignore the institutional mode of religious expression.

When, therefore, they are confronted with the question of church union, all four types of individualists show natural irritation or opposition because, while they are often interested in the integration of religious people, they do not regard the church as a proper instrument of this integration.

ANTI-ECCLESIASTICAL ATTITUDES

The attitudes of this group as a whole appear to be rather anti-ecclesiastical than strictly anti-institutional. Mostly they do not ignore the church; but they do subordinate it in order to magnify the Gospel. This, as has already been pointed out, is a widespread popular tendency.

Another type of anti-ecclesiastic wants to express religion's unity in terms of relations between persons: "I believe in the union of persons for bettering

⁴ World Conference on Faith and Order Proceedings, *Faith and Order*, 1927, p. 472.

individual and social ideas, with freedom of thought concerning metaphysical beliefs and theories." Or again, "What I am concerned about is promoting a better spirit of Christian fellowship, goodwill and understanding among all religious people regardless of their affiliations, and I am unconcerned about the channels and forms in which such a movement will find expression, at least, to the extent of favoring one form of association above another."

The positive emphasis of this type of thinking is upon simplicity, brotherhood and a free fellowship, in contrast with the rigidity and restraint which it associates with the idea of the church.

"What I really favor is a scrapping of all the existing systems of religion and a return to the simple teachings of Jesus. I have no special reverence for any of the so-called sacraments, believing they have long since outgrown their usefulness. I would favor a creed based on tolerance, justice and truth."

"As I know America, it seems to me that the sooner we get away from mystical ideas of ecclesiastical authority, and sanctions, and form, and substitute ideas of Christian brotherhood and understanding and action, the better off we shall be."

"My ideal is the free man giving intelligent and whole-hearted allegiance to Christ alone. This will involve fellowship, coöperation, and such organization as may be required; but it also involves such a respect for others' personalities that no attempt can be made to determine for them their beliefs or actions."

Still other communications insist that form is non-essential and that organization is a rival of vital religion.

"My conviction is that all of the present-day discussion of the question of *organic* union of churches is a waste of time, and a handicap to the union presented by Christ and His apostles.

"My experience and observation teaches me that organism is losing its force and importance in the progress of the Christian religion. We are coming upon a time when it matters little what sort of organization we have, and the organization must get out of the way. We must stop thinking about organic union, or union of organisms, into one big dominant organization which will become more conspicuous in its size and power than the religion which we are supposed to promote. Union of church organisms would hinder the spiritual union."

Liberal religious circles were particularly violent in their distaste for ecclesiastical issues.

"I have read the questionnaire over several times and for the life of me I cannot answer the thing intelligently. The ideology expressed in it is so *remote from my own ways of thinking* that it would be intellectual violence for me to try to answer them intelligently. It occurs to me that probably when such statements have to be made and such questions raised the church is worthy of extinction."

"Your questionnaire is based upon certain presuppositions which I do not accept. My replies to the questions would, therefore, shoot wild at so many points that it would be impossible accurately to classify me.

"I am not interested in the movement for church union. If I were pressed for a reply I suppose I should have to say that I hope it will fail. If the denominations were all consolidated into one or two or five, it might increase the ecclesiastical power and prestige so that the system would do even more mischief than I think it now to be doing. My expectation is that the whole ecclesiastical program will more and more disintegrate and other media will emerge for the expression of religion in the community which will be far superior."

Still another communication gathers "church", "priestcraft" and the "traditional ecclesiastical approach" into one verbal bundle and consigns them to the outer darkness of "social psycho-pathology." An even more extreme position "abhors" the church as an unmitigated evil, a pagan institution (including the writer's own denomination); still worse, a "mammon-loving paganism"; clearly a system which cannot be reformed.

So passionate an attitude obviously stands outside of the realm of theory. It does not tell whether the writer would be in favor of the union of good churches if any such existed; but it is anti-ecclesiastical in effect. It demands that, in any immediate cycle of religious emphasis, church union shall have little place.

A SOCIOLOGICAL CRITIQUE OF ANTI-INSTITUTIONALISM

Now sociology can take no side as to the merits of any particular union of churches; but it does have a decided word for those who hold that the church is not important for religion. Indeed anti-institutionalism in religion, as in other social realms, is sharply challenged by sociological analysis.

Sociology points out, first of all, that any satisfying way in which men act together tends to get fixed by social habit. Those ways which thus persist constitute a natural organization of society. As customs and customary methods of social existence they appear, of all things, the most natural and inevitable. When such customs represent areas of deep and abiding human interest, when they have been reflected upon and are established and sanctioned by the conscious authority of the community mind—these consciously maintained ways of behaving together are called institutions.⁵ Institutions in this sense are prior to written constitutions or regular agreements. The home, for example, commonly gets along without such devices. "An institution," says Cooley, "is simply a definite and established phase of the public mind which often seems, on account of its permanence and the

⁵ Ellwood, Charles A., *Psychology of Human Society* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1926), p. 120 f.

visible customs and symbols in which it is clothed, to have a somewhat distinct and somewhat independent existence."⁶ Basically, however, an institution is merely an expression of some well-established phase of human co-operation, more or less continuing to satisfy the original intention or purpose which led to it.

Now it is manifestly impossible to keep aggressive religion to the pre-institutional level. If the person-to-person religious relation, between man and his brother or man and his God, is accompanied by a missionary impulse, as it characteristically is in Christianity, and if that impulse is successful, a religious group results, with person-to-group, group-to-person, and ultimately group-to-group relations inevitably following. With equal inevitability these relations will establish more or less customary ways of expression. These ways may come in time to obscure the original purpose, or may fail to respond to its subsequent development. In this case institutional maladjustment results. Churchly customs show plenty of evidence of this probability. In this case they merit the opprobrious brand, "institutionalism."

At the same time, sociology is perfectly clear that institutionalization defines the only term on which social purpose can effectualize itself in the actual world. This is most definitely proven where the contrary is most intended.

Thus, compared with the established state churches, the dissenting free-church or conventicle type of religious fellowship represents the anti-ecclesiastical tradition in religious history. This distinction is supposed to divide the churches into contrasting types.

It has, however, been acutely pointed out that the distinction between the church and the sect very quickly breaks down. Sectarianism of a pure type cannot outlast its first generation; because, as soon as it attempts to perpetuate itself with its own children and adherents, it must use education and discipline as means. These are impossible except as institutionalized functions. The history of all American sects shows how ethics, doctrine and administration continuously become more traditional. Particularly is this true in a day when the social isolation of a sect is no longer possible.

Furthermore, even while remaining decentralized and non-ritualistic, from the standpoint of social control of its members the sect is ever mightier than the established church. The church reduces discipline to a routine. It deals impersonally with large numbers, introduces casuistry, is tempted to recognize exceptions. "Heathen" Gods are forever compromising with sinners, and minor divinities are expected to color up their reports on the worshipers' conduct in exchange for bribes. The sects, on the contrary, are organized in

⁶ *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pp 313 & 319, f.

local face-to-face groups, which directly discipline their members, dealing personally with them without the cushioning influence of a generalized code.

A well-known modern "movement", for example, is marked by an unofficial censorship not only of the conduct but of the inner states of the members. The suspicions of the group are kept avid by its peculiarly low views of human nature. The "hunch" of the most irresponsible individual about another may thus result in a virtual spiritual lynching of reputation. No ecclesiastical Inquisition could be more tyrannous than this.

In ritual also the sect is quite as institutionalized as the church. Even in the "free" churches, prayer becomes terribly stereotyped. Testimony repeats old patterns. Religious originalities of the first generation slip down into the conventional custom of succeeding ones. The ecclesiasticism of the sect is a different sort from that of the established church, but it is not a whit less present in Holy Roller orgies than in the Roman Catholic mass.

The ideal of a church as a free spiritual fellowship escaped from ecclesiasticism makes a large appeal to the present generation. An attractive version of this ideal, on a cosmopolitan-liberal background, has recently had influential expression in the report entitled *Re-thinking Missions*.⁷ It conceives of Christianity as operating internationally, primarily through the ordinary secular channels of communication, supplemented by some deliberate personal contacts, and of its informal organization in the Orient, omitting most of the institutional baggage of the church as western civilization has developed it. As a criticism of misapplied institutionalism in missions, these viewpoints have great cogency, but it is not so clear that they allow for what sociology must regard as normal and inevitable institutionalization.

It is true also that urban people, who have broken away from the face-to-face groups of family and village neighborhood or have come anonymously into a new world as aliens from other shores, are, to a great extent, moralized by reading the same papers, attending the same movies, and following the same fashions. But by common consent social integration by virtue of a common environment lacks something of complete success in these cases. It is a fundamental question, indeed, whether the hoped-for reintegration of society in the West (and still more in the Orient where customary family morality and the cultural standards have even more completely collapsed) can take place except by the reorganization of men into relatively simple and primary social groups, which shall exclude and include their own members, discipline or restore them, according to intimate standards of the group's own making and acceptance. Still more doubtful is it whether religious reintegration in an age which has abandoned old sanctions can take place without the institutionalization of newly recognized values in a church.

⁷ Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932), pp. 83 f. and 109, f.

CONCLUSION

On this issue, history and sociology alike appear to be against the social infantilism which imagines that religious impulse can be kept from finding natural mature expression in a religious institution, generically like the church. Putting the matter positively, the importance and virtual inevitability of the integration of religious groups on the institutional level are not affected by the qualms of the anti-institutionalists. Integration is actually going on on this level. To sociology this fact is significant, and the further values of this integration are to be judged by the kind of church which it ultimately produces.

FIXED PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPES AS BARRIERS TO UNION

Sociology also renders very conspicuous aid in the orientation of discussions of church unity because it offers a critical evaluation of the notion of fixed psychological types.

The supposed existence of such types is often urged as a barrier to union. How, asks the plain man, can people as different as Quakers and Episcopalians worship together in the same church? The plain man is naturally not a social psychologist and most official discussions are somewhat less crude than this. Many authoritative voices, however, appear to think that the difference, say, between individualists and ritualists in worship, is deeply rooted in human nature. Thus, arguing against union, Stowell asserts that "denominationalism has roots very close to the nature of things" and "grows out of basic differences in human nature." The data book of the Christian Herald Institute of Religion, 1929, recognized as a typical popular argument against union, that "denominations provide for a proper distinction between psychological and racial types." These reduce, in the thinking of one contributor to this book, to six basal types "making room for differences of temperament."

Still more formal appeal to temperamental differences is made by Professor William Adams Brown, who writes:

"Quite apart from this [historical differences], there are subjective reasons [for denominational divisions] in the nature of the religious experience itself. There are different types of religious life which recur from age to age—in part the results, in part the cause of the differences we have described. These permanent differences in the type of religious experience make the mode of approach to God which one man finds natural and congenial, impossible or repellent to another.

"That mysterious factor which we call temperament, of which we know so little although we experience its effects so intimately, has been a great factor in the history of religion. The mystic, the authoritarian, the sacramentarian, the radical individualist, these—to mention only a few of the more outstanding

types—must be reckoned with in any comprehensive program for Christian unity.”⁸

Now, it is doubtless true that such types may be discovered by abstraction and may prove highly useful in classification. The present chapter has just recognized several types of individualists. From the standpoint of social psychology, however, the major truth is that type-characteristics are mixed in most normal individuals and that many men pass over from one type to another as the result of shifts in experience and environment during their individual lives.

SOCIOLOGICAL SKEPTICISM

The theory of fixed temperamental types, then, is on a par with the assumption

“That every little boy and gal,
That’s born into this world alive,
Is either a little Liberal,
Or else a little Con-ser-va-tive.”

Sociology at least is utterly skeptical about this when not wholly unbelieving. Authorities who may diverge radically on other points unite in holding that institutional attitudes, of which attitudes relating to the church are typical, are far more the product of tradition and custom than of anything in original nature. One sees men acting differently, as though they were pre-determined by nature to disagree. Accordingly, it is easy to make the mistake of attributing these differences to nature, though really they are the results of cultural experience. Inherited culture acts, in the individual, like original nature.

What appear to one as fixed temperamental types are actually a highly complicated compound of instinct, habit, feeling and intelligence, partly hereditary, but mostly acquired, and in the main derivative from a long course of historical evolution in the social group to which the individual belongs.

Furthermore the supposed natural temperament which is assumed as underlying the behavior is very completely modifiable. “Human behavior,” says Ellwood, “is one of the most modifiable things we know.” What we have to do with, then, in the case of the supposed predilection for one form of worship or other religious custom over another, is not heredity and instinct, but merely habit—habit passed along for generations and hallowed by the group. In the long perspective it is easily shown that tradition is continually changing. This does not mean that it is easy to make sudden and deliberate

⁸ The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, *Christian Unity: Its Principles and Possibilities* (New York: Association Press, 1921), pp. 175-6.

change in ancient custom in a single generation or within a given mind. Tradition itself does move just the same. Moreover, its effect may be good as well as bad. It may conserve values in an unintelligent way. Traditionalism means the unprofitable holding over of ancient ways of thinking and acting uncritically accepted, so that—as so often happens—worshiping God according to the dictates of one's own conscience really means that one's own conscience has never been exercised at all.

Now, according to the analyses of sociology, religious custom expressed in dogmas, traditions of worship, ecclesiastical orders and organization, is precisely the sort of thing most remote from original instinct, least stable, most artificial and arbitrary, most modifiable. When differences at these points appear to be irreducible, it is merely that they are somewhere preserved by isolation and lack of interconnection, either physical or moral. Everywhere, when not artificially protected by accidental barriers or by authority, they are in process of change. The typical American attitude, as will be shown by later evidence, is that a united church could make room for the present range of differences ascribed to temperament. But even if this should not prove to be the case, sociology would expect the contact of different types to make individuals more versatile, more capable of expressing their true personalities through a variety of religious forms. Cruder versions of the theory of fixed religious temperament it simply laughs out of court.⁹

CHARACTERISTIC FORM OF SOCIAL UNITY

Sociology has undertaken to understand the basis of social unity and the principles under which it is secured. It asks the church to consider whether ecclesiastical unity is to be sought on other principles and in other fundamental modes than those whereby other societies are united. Unique though the church may be in purpose and peculiar in method—a Christian church and a holy church—is its division or its integration essentially different from that of other societies? Is the experience of other societies, for example, in the attempt to harmonize unity with diversity, applicable to the church? Sociology would think so and would expect to be able to contribute something to the church by giving a generic account of social unity.

A GENERIC ACCOUNT OF UNITY OF SOCIETY

The fundamental problem of the social order, with respect to its different elements, is how to harmonize unity and diversity, how to adjust conflicting, though not absolutely contradictory, tendencies and functions. The ultimate aim of society is to procure enough unity to hold itself together—with

⁹ For standard expressions of the sociological viewpoint expressed above, see Ellwood, *op. cit.* and Ogburn, W. F., *Social Change* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1922).

enough room for freedom of action by its diverse members, but, at the same time, enough control to keep them united rather than divided.

In society, as a rule, one does not find the kind of unity that completely suppresses the identity of its diverse parts, nor the kind of separation that prevents the unified action of its different members; but rather such a unity as allows free activity to all the members within the common good. In other words, the secret of unity in diversity appears to be that of federating rather than obliterating parts within a whole. This principle inheres and finds expression in the function and structure of the whole social order. Its significance for the churches as parts of that order deserves to be considered.

GENERAL APPLICATIONS OF THE FEDERAL PRINCIPLE OF UNITY

Even if one does not go so far as to make federation the central principle of social organization,¹⁰ the federative principle is deeply rooted in the constitution of society. Its most general application to the church relates to relations between whole and parts. MacIver denies that the term "federal" is limited in reference to political relations, such as those between states and nation.¹¹ He explicitly applies the term federal to relations between local communities and the national community and to parts and whole with respect to voluntary associations. In this sense the local congregations of any denomination are federated within the unity of the denomination. This is true in the sociological sense irrespective of differences in ecclesiastical polity—quite as true of Catholic as of Congregational congregations.

PARTICULAR APPLICATIONS: THE ANALOGY OF POLITICAL FEDERALISM

The most familiar application of the federative principle in popular thinking is the political one. It is illuminating, therefore, to consider whether the analogy of political federalism is applicable to the churches. An inadequacy from the standpoint of direct application is found at one point; namely, that, while the component parts of the state are distinct territorial units, the several churches in a modern state are not confined each to a specific territory, but have adherents and local organizations scattered over the same territory.

It is, therefore, especially noteworthy that the most recent experiments in political federalism have been made along the lines of integrating social units based on *function and interest* rather than on occupation of common territory. In this new trend, as worked out, for example, in Russia and Italy, political units consist, in part, of population in its various economic and vocational groupings, not according to the geographical areas in which it may happen to live. Such occupational groups are in many respects

¹⁰ See Boehm, *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. VI, p. 169, article, "Federalism".

¹¹ *Community* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928), p. 262.

analogous to the churches in the United States. Both are organized on the basis of and perform functions in behalf of common interests. Neither is controlled as to constituency or action by the accident of occupancy of common territory.

CONCLUSION

The unity of most societies, then, is a unity in diversity, expressed along federal lines. In spite of the non-territorial basis of its free churches, the church of the United States could have unity, as the nation has it, through federation. The essential concept of unity might be satisfied if some at least of the present parts of the church, the existing denominations, continued in some fashion as units within the church union, on the ground of their actual social utility as organs of religion.

Chapter viii will show that a great many of the most far-reaching of current proposals for union actually contemplate the federal form. Without at all taking sides as between different forms of unity or assuming to judge the theological reasons advanced in their behalf, sociology would supply a basic interpretation for this fact. It does make the federative idea of church union intelligible and establishes the possibility that it will prove tenable and applicable to the American churches.

DIFFERENTIATION OF STAGES OF INTEGRATION AND UNION

It has been inherent in the concrete and popular approach to the matter of unity that the issue itself has not been accurately defined. This inquiry started with division, and passed on to the consideration of varying forms and degrees of integrative tendencies and partial unions as observed phenomena. Taken all together, these have been roughly designated as unity movements. Unity has been content to mean whatever anyone intended to mean by the term. Some notion of its total scope has thus been arrived at inductively. Its fluctuating limits were further defined by popular attitudes. One found it somewhere beyond the great mass of non-ecclesiastical integration, and beyond the numerous partial unions of denominations to which nearly all religious people already agree. But how much beyond? And within this larger unity as roughly defined, where does union begin? What specifically is church union as opposed to church unity?

Sociological analysis helps to answer these questions. It enables one to break up the total situation involved in the association of organized religious groups, and to chart all the positions which any group can possibly occupy with respect to another, and the various degrees and kinds of integration which can exist. One can then see where the process of unity begins and can pick out the relationships to which he wishes to apply the term "union."

POSSIBLE TERMS OF ASSOCIATION OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS

In schematizing the sum-total of the processes and relationships which can be involved in the association of religious groups like churches and denominations, the first possibility to be noted is, of course, that they may not be associated at all, but may farther exist in complete isolation. Such isolation may be physical. Even in modern times, sects are likely to originate and perpetuate themselves in the fastnesses of mountainous regions.

Or isolation may be cultural, not involving any association, say, between religious bodies of "heathen" standing wholly outside the Christian tradition and those within it. Relative isolation actually exists between bodies within the Christian tradition whose cultural standards are very high and those whose cultural standards are very low. Again, isolation may be attitudinal and deliberate, as it is when some "one and only true church" lives on in complete oblivion of all others, whom it regards as mere sectarians and schismatics. The schismatics, on their part, may equally regard themselves as the sole "saving remnant" and may utterly ignore all organized churches as abandoned by God and consigned to the devil.

Such complete absence of mutual contact as denies all association would result in a state neither of adjustment nor of mis-adjustment, but of un-adjustment. But isolation, to any such degree as those illustrated, is impossible in this modern world of physical and cultural intercommunion. In reality all the religious bodies of a nation are associated in some degree; they have enough mental contact to set up powerful modifying processes within one another.

OPPOSITION VERSUS ACCOMMODATION

The associating and modifying processes, to which contact subjects religious bodies, may take the form either of opposition or of accommodation. The different forms of opposition differ in sharpness. They sometimes reach to the point of active conflict; again they sink to the level of mere competition. Active conflict aims at the elimination of the opposing group; it is out to exterminate the Canaanites. Less violent conflict seeks only their subjugation. Competition may be satisfied with superiority rather than subjugation, or when a little cooled off, with compromise.

Religious history furnishes all too many and apt illustrations of all these stages of conflict. Conflict which actually achieves the elimination of the opposing group obviously sets up a new state of dissociation. The lion and the lamb have lain down together with the lamb inside; as in the case of scores of heresies so thoroughly suppressed by the church that scarcely their names survive.

The present official Roman Catholic position appears to compromise be-

tween an attempt at complete dissociation from other religious bodies and an opposition directed to their subjugation, based on a theory of inequality. So far as possible the papacy ignores all other churches. It admits, to be sure, the existence of various "Christian communities" or societies of Christians. These, however, are in no sense churches; and with them as groups, the "true church" can have no dealings, however earnestly she desires to recall her erring children individually to her bosom.¹² Practically, however, the Roman Catholic Church has to take account of other organized Christian groups in many ways. The mutual attitude, as measured by extreme sense of distance between Roman Catholics and representative Protestants, can hardly be classified as other than that of conflict, with the purpose on the part of the Roman church of eliminating the others as organized groups claiming church status, and frequently an equally militant Protestant purpose to down the Catholic church.

Subjugation obviously implies a relation of inequality between the competing bodies. Compromise, on the contrary, sets up a presumption of equality and may end in its full recognition. The crux of the problem of relationships between strongly sacerdotal or doctrinally united churches and more liberal ones falls at this point. The sacerdotal churches believe that their ministries are superior, if not the only valid ones; the fundamentalist churches hold that they alone have the truth. Nevertheless, sacerdotalists and non-sacerdotalists, fundamentalists and liberals manage actually to co-exist in the same churches. Such internal latitude and comprehension logically leads to numerous official compromises between churches, some of which will be traced in chapter viii.

Compromise, even when proclaiming inequality, permits of a minimum of co-action between competing groups. They make common cause at some points while remaining in conflict at others. Thus the threat to all religion of a totalitarian, secular state tends to bring antagonistic faiths together for emergency action. For the moment they behave as equals. This is the entering wedge of unity.

With the permanent recognition of essential equality, such co-action between religious bodies becomes more and more possible and takes on the familiar forms of organized coöperation described in chapter ii.

UNITY MOVEMENTS

At the point where compromise permits co-action and the interacting bodies pass over from opposition to accommodation, unity movements begin. Such is the case with all the "included" denominations identified in the last chapter. They are willing to get on together and are trying to get

¹² Papal Encyclical, 1928, on "Fostering True Religious Unity," in Marchant, Sir James, *The Reunion of Christendom* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929).

together on the working hypothesis of equality. This get-together process may take the form of combination, resulting in church alliances, or of mergers, resulting in the fusion of denominations. In the first instance, illustrated by the federations of churches, there are still several bodies, but all now functioning as one; in the second, there is now but one body where formerly there were several. Mergers and fusions illustrate church union in the strict sense.

But mergers need not imply the complete obliteration of the former denominations which now constitute parts of the new whole. When these continue still distinguishable (in certain aspects) within the new whole, the relationship is one of union. This is illustrated by Unitarians and Universalists in the new Free Church of America. When they have entirely disappeared in the new whole, the resulting state is one of identity. This is the case with the former denominations now constituting the United Church of Canada.

When it comes to the impact upon a common world, the result of union is the corporate action by integrated bodies in contrast with the mere co-action of separate bodies. Occasional co-action, systematic coöperation and corporate action, all imply the pursuit of common values. The first two express unity; the last realizes union. To some extent the common achievement of such values is possible by means of compromises even within a competitive process. But the effect of competition is to deny and largely to defeat them; and the scope and genuineness of the achievement of common values obviously rises greatly as equality is recognized and as the unity or identity of religious bodies is reached.

The chart on the next page summarizes the preceding analysis.¹³

SUMMARY

According to the above analysis, the recent unity movements that have taken place in the United States are to be described in general as the transition from competition to combination of churches, and from compromise to alliance, this implying equality and increasing coöperation. The many limited mergers of two or more churches or denominations represent the integration by fusion of former equal and allied bodies, resulting sometimes in unity (in which case the integration is permanent and binding as between former parts, but without their obliteration within the whole), or in identity (in which the former parts, in all their distinctive former aspects, are lost in the new whole). The result in either case is collective corporate action in behalf of common values; and this specifically is church union in the ultimate sense.

¹³ Adapted from Eubank, "Social Processes and Their Relationships," Publications of the American Sociological Society, 1932, pp. 44 f.

PROCESSES AND RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVED IN THE ASSOCIATION OF ORGANIZED RELIGIOUS GROUPS

A. Complete Group Isolation—State of Unadjustment

B. Group Contact and Association

Interaction (Adjustment)		Results in Collective Action	
Processes	Intra-Group Results		
I. Opposition	Elimination	(Dissociation)	(None)
1. Conflict	{ Subjugation	{ Inequality	Coercion
2. Competition	Compromise	{	Co-action
II. Accommodation		{ Equality	
1. Combination	Alliance	{	Coöperation
2. Merger	Fusion	{ Unity	
		{ Identity	Corporate Action

The foregoing analysis has been made in terms of logical stages from opposition to accommodation and from less complete to more complete unity. One must be on his guard lest the assumption slips in that there is consequently an inherent tendency in the church to follow these stages. What has been proved in previous chapters is an actual movement toward unity. How far it will go and how far it ought to go is the problem of our inquiry, on which mere analysis throws no light at all. But if it goes farther, and so far as it goes, it will presumably follow the lines which analysis has discovered, and which all historical studies of institutions indicate as likely. Such a classification of all the more distinctive positions is attempted in chapter viii.

The crucial issue of the relationship of any two or more churches is whether it has passed over from opposition to accommodation, and to what degree. The concrete problem for a particular church at a given moment is that of deciding upon and taking the next step, forward or backward, from whatever position it now occupies in the series. The possibility of taking any step perhaps hinges most largely upon the secondary issue of equality. If equality is assumed, granted or not practically denied, the momentum of present tendencies probably assures the superseding of mere co-

action and a considerable advance toward corporate action in pursuit of common values.

The issue of church union in the exact sense arises when churches have passed on, possibly through intermediate stages, from combination to merger, from alliance to fusion, from equality either to unity or to identity. Both unity and identity achieve union and assure integral or corporate action. The choice between the two hinges upon the desirability of that degree of internal consolidation which either achieves. As previously indicated, social integration generally satisfies itself with union of a federal sort.

Without anticipating evidence still to be produced, it is pertinent to state at this point that integration to the extent of loss of identity by the several parts is nowhere actually before the American religious public in any authoritative scheme of general union, except as implied in the terms set by the Roman Catholic Church. A complete merger of all denominations in one, with no reminiscence of former parts remaining, is logically possible, but is nowhere actually contemplated, and should not be assumed in advance by any reader.

THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Finally, in its consideration of church unity, sociology would ask the church to consider what is known in general about the process of social change.

It calls especial attention to the fact that such cultures as those of which religious institutions are a part, tend to persist by reason of social inertia. Old ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, embodied in personal manners, public customs, political contrivances and the organization of education, art and religion, show a strong inclination to carry on. While the social process as such is not more in favor of the old than of the new, every impulse to change is countered by the enormous drag of habit. This is conspicuously true of the church.

The persistence of the old is aided by isolation, ignorance, poverty, the immediate costs of replacing it with the new, and also by the resistance of vested interests which profit by the perpetuation of the *status quo*. All manner of social pressure is exerted in favor of the continuance of the old, the most familiar being the effort to brand the new as destructive, disloyal to the past, and generally evil.

SURVIVALS

Yet the old does not persist unchanged. What social analysis points out as most significant is that the social scene is cluttered up in all directions with surviving habits and institutions whose actual present value is little or nothing. That they do not actually disappear from the scene is due to

social inertia, and to the fact that, in poor and attenuated ways, they still render some service to mankind. Such a survival is the village blacksmith in a horseless age, such are the fortune tellers and spiritualist mediums in a world of science. Our most unreasonable and indefensible prejudices are partly right, and sentimental value still attaches to much which, from the utilitarian standpoint, is mere rubbish. As someone has wittily put it: furniture which is no longer good enough for the parlor is moved into the kitchen and survives there in a menial capacity.

Now the church, by virtue of the religious sanctions claimed for many of its particular—and often conflicting—forms, is more resistant to change and more inclined to formal survival in spite of diminished values, than are most social institutions.¹⁴ It would not be surprising, therefore, if social analysis revealed that time has largely worn away the vitality of many denominational distinctions which once seemed significant, leaving the imposing façade of tradition, irreverently called the stuffed-shirt effect. They no longer have the social necessity which originally justified their existence, and their significance for their adherents has shrunk from high-powered inner authority to pale custom.¹⁵

Just so far, however, as any real significance, even of the attenuated sort, is left to any religious custom, place would be made for it under the conception of unity in variety expounded from the sociological viewpoint earlier in this chapter. On the other hand, vastly impressive survivals which have been eaten away from within, might be expected to crumble suddenly before any serious challenge of their continued utility. Sociology would ask the church to consider whether a good many denominational divisions may not expect the fate of the walls of Jericho.

TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

From the standpoint of the present study, sociology alone is not competent to make any final appraisal of church unity movements. Considered, however, as objective social movements based upon, and in turn reinforcing popular social attitudes, their provisional evaluation is nevertheless legitimate as the result of sociological insight. What, then, is the general verdict of sociology upon the church's prospects of unity?

From its standpoint the integrating movement in the church undoubtedly appears to be well-established, authentic and strong. Sociology would say the same of any social movement showing the same evidences. Moreover, the movement is increasing and bids fair to be indefinitely stronger.

¹⁴ Ogburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 ff., 157, 194 ff; Ross, E. A., *Social Psychology* (New York: The Macmillan Co.), p. 254; Young, K., *Social Psychology* (New York: S. F. Crofts and Co.), p. 24.

¹⁵ See Niebuhr, H. R., *Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929), pp. 229 ff.

In Bumpus' phraseology, the social compulsions, the church's own concessions, and its cumulations of integrative energy, and the conditions of the American environment, all are on its side.¹⁶ It is opposed partly by religious differences which have proved themselves to possess at least secondary warrant for survival, but very largely by inertia and the mere formal persistence of differences which have become increasingly meaningless. Nevertheless, the power of inertia is essentially incalculable and, by all analogies, social forms whose values are depreciated and diminishing may be expected, for a long time, to survive competitively along with other forms whose values are contemporary and increasing.

The most, then, that sociology is probably warranted in predicting is the likelihood of important forward steps in the unity of the Christian church in the United States in keeping with the essential constitution of society and the popular thinking of the American religious public. What this means concretely and in detail can only be comprehended in the light of ecclesiastical formulations of the issue. To this consideration of the church's unity in terms of its own official thinking the study is now to turn.

¹⁶ *Five Factors Underlying Protestant Integration* (University of Pittsburgh Bulletin, vol. 28, No. 4).

■

PART TWO

ECCLESIASTICAL THINKING AND PROPOSALS

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CHAPTER VII

Issues Underlying Church Unity

With this chapter, opening the second part of the present inquiry, a new aspect of church unity movements becomes central. The first part directed attention somewhat narrowly to two kinds of facts: namely, objective evidences of integration as they appeared in the order of time and under an indiscriminate variety of forms; and popular thinking and attitudes as reflecting general characteristics of the American mind. It is primarily the layman who has been on the witness stand, and when the accumulated bulk of these facts was submitted for preliminary appraisal it was at the non-ecclesiastical hands of sociology. Everybody had been heard about the church except churchmen in their distinctive characters.

This was to play Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out—a very unreal performance. It was to omit some of the profoundest aspects of the facts. For the church as an institution is primarily the creation of religious people and belongs to them in a more intimate sense than it belongs to the civilization of our age in general. Since it is preëminently their affair, they do well to speak of it in the terms in which they actually apprehend and feel it. Moreover, these ways of apprehending and feeling are as truly primary data as those drawn from more objective and popular sources.

But the fundamental right of the religious person to set terms for thinking about the church carries one still farther. It implies the secondary right to have the situation formulated by leaders and experts of the church's own choosing. This introduces the official and professional element in the situation—the ecclesiastic.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL VIEWPOINT

This, then, the second part of the present book, takes as its point of departure the systematic thinking and officially determined positions of the church's professional leaders with respect to church unity. Rank and file attitudes, hitherto presented independently, are now organized upon a pattern ecclesiastically supplied. For the definition of the situation by ecclesiastics has changed the situation, and ecclesiastical proposals to do something about it are the only ones concretely before the rank and file for action. In brief, the new phase of the study has to do specifically with reactions of

representatives of the total American religious constituency to ecclesiastical formulations and proposed solutions in the field of unity.

The ecclesiastical person whose viewpoint now becomes controlling has three determining characteristics.

First, in contrast with the promiscuous elements entering into popular thinking, he asserts a distinctively religious viewpoint; and this he maintains continuously. The particular mark of this viewpoint is that it keeps referring the phenomenal happenings of human history to the mind and purpose of God. How this viewpoint expresses itself characteristically appears, for example, in the discussions and reports of the World Conference on Faith and Order held at Lausanne in 1927. The habitual terms, phraseology and emotional coloring by means of which it registers itself are illustrated in the following quotations:

"We are here at the urgent behest of Jesus Christ. . . .

"God wills unity. Our presence in this Conference bears testimony to our desire to bend our wills to His. . . .

"The Church of the Living God is constituted by His own will, not by the will or consent or beliefs of men, whether as individuals or as societies, though He uses the will of men as His instrument. . . .

"Finally, we commend the Christian Churches, whether represented in the Conference or not, to our Heavenly Father's guidance and safe keeping, looking earnestly toward the day when the full mind of God will control all the affairs of mankind."¹

Now the rank and file of church-members are also religious people, and capable of similar expressions in some of their moods. Most of the time, as shown in chapter iv, they revert to the characteristic American common-sense point of view.

Ecclesiastical language in the vein just illustrated often irritates them. To minds of the more intellectualistic caste it is particularly a flick on the raw. Thus, a communication from a college senior undertakes to speak for collegians and for the "younger generation in general." What he says in effect is: "How do our ecclesiastical elders get that way—on such intimate terms with God? How can they talk that way with straight faces?" It is well for ecclesiastics to know that this revulsion and this protest exist. But it is equally important for the world in general to recognize it as a fact that the church is incurably religious. It cannot get out of character and must insist that what pertains to its life shall ultimately be discussed and evaluated in view of the religious meanings which it knows and cherishes beyond the phenomenal expression.

A second characteristic of the ecclesiastical mind, as exhibited in church

¹ From *Reports of the World Conference on Faith and Order*, Lausanne, Switzerland, 1927 (published by the Secretariat, P. O. Box 226, Boston, Mass., 1928), pp. 3, 460, 463, 475.

leaders, is less defensible. They almost always employ deductive thinking as their technical method. In order to reach conclusions they set up postulates. Conclusions reached in this way are formulated in declarations and platforms employing a great variety of theological terms and distinctions. Chapter iii has already shown the characteristic use of such standards in negotiations for partial unions of churches. Union is assumed to hinge upon the painstaking comparison of creeds and forms of government and the demonstration of their compatibility. This contrasts strikingly with the free expressions of popular thinking, which merely stress agreement on some one thing loosely conceived of as "essential," such as the divinity of Christ. Part II, however, cannot escape having to do with theology, because ecclesiastics largely discuss church union in theological terms.

The final characteristic of ecclesiastical thinking is that it rarely results in agreement. This approach expects to uncover large elements of conflict. The initiatory action which culminated in the World Conference on Faith and Order registered this anticipation as follows: ". . . The beginnings of unity are to be found in the clear statement and full consideration of those things in which we differ, as well as of those things in which we are one. . . ."²

The first part of the book has already presented differences between denominations statistically, but without referring them to theological position. Part II will have to take full account of the clash of thinking and proposal which characterizes the ecclesiastical approach to this field.

NEW SOURCES OF DATA

The transition from the more general viewpoint to that of the world of technical ecclesiastical thinking introduces the use of new sources of data. First to be considered, naturally, are the documents that contain the contemporaneous discussions of the larger issues of unity as these have been formulated by churchmen. Second, come the results of an important questionnaire couched in theological language and referred directly to church leaders. This supplies evidence of opinion in the terms in which such persons are accustomed to think. Finally, it remains to pour into this framework of theological formulation, the opinion of a more limited and competent constituency and of the rank and file, both secured by means of questionnaires. Though largely taking the form of judgments on concrete situations and issues, the more general issues to which they relate originated in ecclesiastical thinking. As explained elsewhere, every position presented in the popular questionnaires had first stood as an authoritative formulation by a responsible church body or leader of one or another denomination or

² *Ibid.*

school, and was only later translated into terms easier for popular thinking to comprehend. Sources already used in Part I, of course, continue to be drawn upon, along with the new sources just enumerated.

DEMAND FOR A CONSIDERATION OF UNDERLYING ISSUES

Any attempted discussion of church unity depending upon such sources is immediately confronted by certain assumptions brought from elsewhere within the total religious field. The demand for the prior consideration of some of these underlying issues was very widely made.

This demand was very unlike the verbal challenges to meet this point or that which religious disputants like to hurl at each other from behind the fortifications of the printed page. Here were some tens of thousands of people widely representative of the American religious public who had been directly addressed, often individually by name. Their replies were personal communications and registered personal attitudes. Some refused to answer any question about church union because questions which they regarded as underlying and prior ones had not been asked. Others advised that the whole inquiry be discontinued till those making it had satisfactorily exposed their own positions on such issues. Still others answered the questionnaire, but not until they had amply delivered their souls with regard to what they thought to be weightier and deeper matters.

On a random sampling, one-third of the replies to the questionnaire were found to make some sort of demand for the consideration of underlying issues. Problems of unity, they felt, could not be tackled directly. Prior questions must come first. This position was held by representatives of many different attitudes and positions, but with special tenacity by certain opponents of ecclesiastical union who thus sought, on theological grounds, to force a negative decision in advance. But the demand came from no single quarter and carried a certain justification on its own face.

For obviously it is legitimate to insist that logically interrelated issues shall be considered in their interrelation. The problem of relative weight, of superiority and inferiority, is inherent, whether one deals with facts or with ideals. Theologians have the same right that other people have to make use of provisional assumptions. Critical attention to these assumptions does properly come in connection with the consideration of any issue to which they are made prerequisite. Consequently, with every disposition not to depart from its specific topic, the present study is compelled to give place briefly to certain underlying religious and ethical issues.

UNDERLYING POINTS AT ISSUE

Insistence upon the prior consideration of underlying issues focuses very largely upon four points. The first is the distinction between spiritual and

external or formal unity, which bulks so largely in popular thinking.³ The second relates to the priority of certain other issues over those relating to the church, as this is determined by a general doctrinal position. Fundamentalists, for example, insist upon one order of significance, modernists upon another; but doctrinaires of all sorts want to impose their own schemes of organization upon the facts and to compel all issues to fall into an assigned place.

The third point of insistence upon the prior consideration of underlying issues is concerned, not with the method of approach to the problem of unity, but to the means of settling the problem. One is willing to make a direct approach, but wants to determine the outcome in advance by appeal to revelation and authority.

Finally, a general ethical issue often intrudes itself and demands that one come to terms with it before proceeding; namely, that of conscientious fidelity to principle. A good many replies to questionnaires wanted guarantees in advance that the legitimacy and finality of this idea was acknowledged before entering upon further consideration of the problem.

Around these four points most of the demands for the consideration of underlying issues actually gathered. It is the further function of this chapter to present these demands as nearly as possible in the terms of their own expression, to indicate their most direct significance for church unity and to show the results of certain tests of popular attitudes to which the demands were submitted.

SPIRITUAL VERSUS EXTERNAL UNION

The most massive demand for the prior consideration of an issue thought to underly that of church union originates not in any particular party or group but in the widely diffused instinct of the rank and file of the church. One of the most widespread tendencies of popular thinking is to distinguish between vital and formal issues, which expresses itself in a differentiation of spiritual unity from organic union.⁴

The present chapter has to present this widespread notion as translated into a militant demand; the demand, in effect, that before beginning to talk about the church one shall assert the subordination of the church to the gospel.

How the distinction is popularly drawn appears in the following naïve communication from one who signs herself "not a church-member":

"I have been a member in the following denominations: Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist, and now have come out of denominations the last three

³ Pp. 98-100.

⁴ P. 87.

years. It was not denominationalism that saved me or putting my name on a church book, but Christ who is the author and finisher of my faith."

If personal union with Christ is the only thing that counts, settle that matter and church union will take care of itself. This, in substance, is the view of an otherwise very tolerant person who writes:

"I would suggest that you write a new ballot and put in a new division asking all who are in favor of forming a new church whose only creed is the Living Christ and loyalty to Him to say so. It is impossible for any Christian to be happy in the formal union of a lot of denominations if their peculiar viewpoints are allowed any recognition and place of importance. But if we come out into the new position where we allow every man to have his own creed (as he will anyhow) and ask only loyalty to the Living Christ we have the true and permanent basis for church union; and there is no other."

From such a viewpoint any appeal to secular analogies in favor of union seems most vicious. Thus a Minneapolis Baptist minister writes:

"All of this drive toward church union is in the name of the great god of Efficiency; and at the behest of the same god of Efficiency the time will come when united Protestantism will be compelled to join in again with the Roman Catholic church; and the few evangelicals who stand out for the faith of the New Testament will be persecuted, many of them unto death.

"This is the great age of mechanics rather than of the Holy Spirit, and I am urging every church that has a witness for the New Testament to go on with its witness, no matter what anybody else does, or no matter what the ravings are of this great god called Efficiency."

The issue of the subordination of external unity to spiritual is discussed on its merits in a later connection.⁵ It takes on importance for the present study when it is made the ground of a demand for the actual postponement of church unity effort until spiritual unity is achieved.

Numerous voices expressed this demand in varying phrase: "It seems necessary to reach spiritual unity before a material one can have much success." . . . "We should become one in Spirit before any effort to become one in body should be agitated." The argument for delay sometimes arises in a social version of religion: "A deep social regeneration within each of the separate bodies must precede or at least accompany any mechanical advance toward formal constitutional union. I do not forget that the United Church was a corrupt church. Church unity is no end in itself; it is the result of spiritual passion. Let Christianity be reborn within the churches, and unity will follow."

Thus, on various grounds, the delay of deliberate integrative movements

⁵ Pp. 262-267.

is implied if not insisted upon, until some new but nebulous inner bond between churches had been created.

But the inference that efforts for external unity should be delayed was not the only one drawn from the alleged superiority and priority of spiritual unity. Admitting both, it is still possible to point out evidence that the spiritual unity of the church is already realized to a considerable degree. It is frequently urged that the organizational separation of the church into denominations does not contradict such inner unity. A favored apology of denominationalists, as will appear later, is that substantial unity exists already. From these premises a conclusion directly opposed to delay was sometimes reached, namely, that "we already have more inner unity than we are practising," and consequently that the way is already open for immediate advance into the field of external unification.

The conflict of opinion over the issue of spiritual versus external unity thus results in a virtual draw. If the demand that the latter be delayed until the former is realized is an honest demand, and not a device for indefinitely side-tracking the issue, it is possible to counter with the argument that the conditions of spiritual unity are sufficiently met to permit the effort for visible church union to go forward at once.

OPINION TESTED

In view of the frequency with which the issue under discussion was raised and the division of opinion expressed concerning it, the direct question, "Must a greater degree of spiritual unity between the churches precede their corporate union?" was referred directly to representatives of the more competent religious public. Seven considerations bearing upon the issue were presented and responded to by 2,606 persons, with the results shown in Table XXVII.

Column 1 of Table XXVII states the seven arguments; column 2 shows the distribution of replies rating each argument as strong; column 3, the similar distribution of replies rating each argument as weak; while the last column gives the distribution of a weighted score arrived at by a statistical process taking account of the internal consistency of each set of results and subtracting the weak from the strong replies, so as to show negative as well as positive values.⁶

In the arrangement of the table, the first argument, which only 4 per cent. of the replies rated as strong, and the seventh, which only 1 per cent. rated as strong, represent opposing extremes. Both are highly unacceptable. The largest approval goes to mediating considerations appearing at the middle of the list.

⁶ See Appendix Table 19.

TABLE XXVII—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS ON ISSUES—SPIRITUAL UNITY PRECEDING EXTERNAL UNION

(Select Church Constituency)

"Must a greater degree of spiritual unity between the churches precede their corporate union?"

Argument	Per Cent. of Replies Rating as		Per Cent. Distribution of Weighted Score*
	Strong	Weak	
It isn't a matter of our feelings, but of obligation to unite because Christ intended the church to be one. The sense of unity will come after the necessary action to secure corporate union has taken place. (6).....		28	— 4
We already have more spiritual union than we are practicing. Churches once separated have grown together in heart and are only kept apart by their ecclesiastical habits. (4).....	17		+ 13
The way to get a feeling of union is not to wait for it, but to work together in practical matters. (2).....	[32]		+ 22
While not directly tending toward organic union, church federation movements may contribute to the sense of solidarity among Christian bodies and to a spiritual preparation for direct union effort in the future. (7).....	[21]		+ 17
Experience proves that denominations need time to get acquainted and come to appreciate one another at least before actively considering a merger. (1).....			+ 4
Corporate union without waiting for a greater degree of spiritual union would be an external form only and not a reality. (3).....			— 15
When Christ wants the denominations to merge, His Will will manifest itself in a heightened feeling of fraternity among Christians and a consequent desire for union which does not now exist. (5).....		56	— 25
Total.....			
Number of Choices.....	5,283	2,265	...

Bracketed figures indicate arguments most frequently paired as strong.

* Arrived at by weighting for variability and subtracting "weak" from "strong" replies.

Analyzing the considerations more particularly, the first is based on an appeal to the purpose of Christ and is thus an authoritarian demand for corporate union, while the last holds that union must wait upon the emergence of a new spiritual impulse.

The second argument, on the contrary, asserts that the conditions of spiritual unity are already fulfilled and implies that corporate union need not delay. The sixth definitely contradicts it by asserting that there must be longer delay because the conditions are not yet fulfilled. The highest degree of approval goes to the third argument, which neither demands immediate external union on the one hand, nor asks for delay on the other, but which would start the church to working coöperatively forthwith. The fourth argument commends the current federation movement as an example

of such practical coöperation. It is most frequently paired with the third as "strong" and gets the second largest vote for itself. Fourth in order of approval comes the counsel of experience that denominations should take time to get acquainted before attempting to unite.

The arrangement of arguments followed in Table XXVII, placing the opposing ones at the ends and the mediating ones between, is carried out in Chart XIV. The middle bar shows the distribution of "strong" opinion as expressed by the total constituency among the respective arguments.

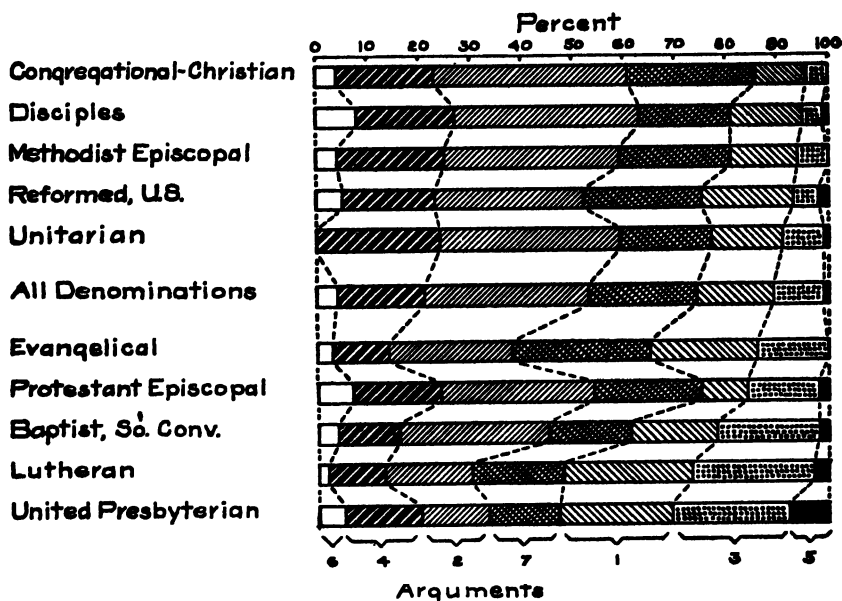


CHART XIV—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE ISSUE: MUST A GREATER DEGREE OF SPIRITUAL UNITY BETWEEN THE CHURCHES PRECEDE THEIR CORPORATE UNION?

For select constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table XXVII)

Chart XIV further shows the distribution of replies of certain denominations which deviate more or less sharply from the average position. Those not charted stand relatively close to the average. Denominations most insistent upon waiting for increased spiritual unity (Argument 3)—United Presbyterian, Lutheran, Baptist (Southern Convention), Protestant Episcopal and Evangelical—are shown in the lower part of the chart; those most ready for practical union without delay—Congregational-Christian, Disciples, Methodist Episcopal, Reformed in the United States and Unitarian—in the upper part.

Of the five denominations which want to wait for increased spiritual unity, four (all but the Protestant Episcopal) give considerably less than average credence to the proposition that spiritual unity is already here (Argument 4), while three of them lend little approval to the idea that the denominations should forthwith begin to work together (Argument 2). The first four propositions taken together get less than average approval from these denominations, except the Protestant Episcopal. But they go much beyond the average in asking time to get acquainted and in asserting that corporate union in advance of greater spiritual unity would be unreal.

Of the four, the Lutheran and United Presbyterian take the most extreme positions, the Evangelical the least. Southern Baptist replies approximate the average in favor of working together at once, but are appreciably below the average as to the value of church federations.

Of the denominations which are for unity movements without further delay, the Congregational-Christian is the most pronounced. The Methodist Episcopal and Disciples rank next, and stand nearest together. These three, with the Unitarian, take strongest positions in behalf of immediate co-operation. The Reformed in the U. S. thinks that spiritual unity is already here, but at the same time emphasizes the time necessary for denominations to get acquainted. These two emphases are possibly not inconsistent in actual experience. Unitarian replies lead in approving the argument that we already have more spiritual unity than we are using.

It is very noteworthy that neither group shows much favor for the most extreme positions in either direction; and particularly that there is almost no support for the idea of waiting for the divine initiative to bestow a special fraternal impulse—although a good many communications record wishful thinking along that line.⁷

Other denominations than those mentioned show distinct deviations from the average on one or more items. Friends, for example, are very little moved by the assertion that corporate union is Christ's intention for the church, while Protestant Episcopal and Disciples replies are considerably impressed by this argument. Protestant Episcopal thinking is least of all inclined to wait for more acquaintance between denominations. For obvious reasons it cannot make union hinge upon delays originating in sectarian psychology.

The two Reformed churches show curiously opposite tendencies. Reformed in America replies emphasize the unreality of premature corporate union, a danger which does not impress the Reformed in the U. S. Reformed in the U. S. replies, on the contrary, are more than usually certain that union

⁷ See Hall, Francis J., *Christian Reunion in Ecumenical Light* (New York: The Macmillan Co.), p. 2.

is not a matter of our feelings but of obligation to unite, which Reformed in America replies incline to deny.

Presbyterian, U. S. A., replies occasionally verge to somewhat extreme positions; as, for example, in recognition of existing unity, against delay in union, and in behalf of the federation movement. Presbyterian, U. S., replies also put high value on existing spiritual unity but are lukewarm toward immediate coöperation.

These rather minor variations are to be read in the light of the fairly strong consensus of opinion (70 per cent.) on the three major judgments: namely, that a significant degree of spiritual unity already exists, that the churches are likely to get more unity by working together, and that federation movements help in this direction. Few of these representatives of the American churches think that to go ahead with efforts for corporate union on the basis of such unity as exists would be a formal and unreal procedure. Few, on the other hand, argue for an advance which takes no account of actual states of feeling between the religious bodies. All told, a cautious advance is justified. The study is thus confirmed in its original intention, and asks the reader to move forward with it until the relations of the spiritual and the external can be more fully explored.⁸

DEMAND FOR A PRIOR STATEMENT OF GENERAL THEOLOGICAL POSITION

The second point on which the prior consideration of other issues was demanded concerned the general theological position assumed to underlie and predetermine issues of church unity.

The necessity of having such a basis was sometimes explicitly claimed, as in the dictum that "all manner of life and action is based ultimately on doctrine."

The major significance of the demand for a prior statement of general theological position is, however, this: that it is presumed to determine in advance the superiority of one set of religious values over others. Thus a Presbyterian minister of Pittsburgh is sure that "there is no use trying to unite until we relegate the question of church orders and the sacraments to a subordinate place and raise another question, that of the true view of the Gospel, to a supreme place."

Now from the bare fact of emphasis on the priority of doctrine, one cannot logically tell what attitude on church union will be taken; but since doctrine has so frequently promoted division or defended division after it had taken place, doctrinalists are found tending rather strongly to defend division in the church.

The demand for a prior statement of general theological position, accordingly, is often a veiled demand that one shall declare in advance that unity

⁸ See Chapter ix.

is impossible except upon the particular doctrinal grounds held by the person making the demand.

FUNDAMENTALIST DEMANDS

In the volunteered evidence of the present study, the most vociferous insistence upon the acceptance of a particular doctrinal emphasis as underlying the consideration of unity came from those who call themselves fundamentalists. Some demanded the acceptance of strict definitions of the proper sources of doctrine: either the New Testament alone regarded as completely consistent and self-explanatory, and in strong opposition to "human" creeds; or in creedal interpretations authoritatively derived from the Bible, or in the church as a coördinate source with the Scriptures.

Other fundamentalists hinged their demands upon obedience to what they conceived to be the "Lord's command" or identified them with some one supreme issue, such as that of the divinity of Christ.

Assertive fundamentalists sometimes took direct issue with the plea that mystical experience goes deeper than doctrine and that the devout person in direct communion with God should not be called upon to define himself too exactly. The unwilling mystic is thus dragged from his cell and made to fight it out in the fierce light of dogmatic day.

The positive fundamentalist attitude is characteristically expressed in the following quotation from a Southern Presbyterian minister in Texas:

"I am ultra-conservative and would rather fellowship with a Roman Catholic priest who believes in the Virgin Birth, perfect Deity, Miracles, substitutionary atonement and Bodily Resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, than with a Presbyterian minister who denied these truths. Your emphasis on denominationalism is a thing of the past. There is as much difference of viewpoint within the average denomination as between any two branches of the church. And the differences are fundamental, while often the differences between denominations are merely incidental."

More conciliatory fundamentalists find fellowship with existing Christian bodies possible, "in many things that are true even while their views are partly erroneous." Nevertheless, "no true unity can be brought about by minimizing error and pretending a unity which does not exist, but only by testifying to the truth in love, recognizing and pointing out and shunning everything that is contrary to scriptures. . . ."

"The disunity in Christendom is founded upon teachings in conflict with the New Testament and upon the erection of human interpretations as tests of fellowship. The unity that we desire is not an organization, but a doctrine and practice in harmony with the New Testament. The way to secure that unity is to teach and preach that New Testament doctrine and practice."

More aggressive fundamentalists, therefore, call for a still further division of the church on doctrinal lines:

"I would welcome a separation between the fundamentalists and the modernists, and I would also welcome a union of the fundamentalists according to the doctrines of the Lutheran Church of America."

"I would favor first a split between the modernists and Evangelicals in the Protestant churches and then a union of the Evangelicals. The modernists could do as they please, but I think that they would join the Unitarian church where they belong."

MODERNISTS

Now it is possible for so-called modernists to be just as doctrinaire in opposition to doctrine as the doctrinist is in defense of it. This is less often true because the modernist generally is committed to the progress of human knowledge. He may very likely, however, demand a subordination of problems of church union to those of the pursuit of truth along scientific lines. The following quotations present this position in varying phrases:

"Instead of concentrating upon these fundamental problems of human existence, of the further pursuit of truth, and of the whole human duty to God, most Protestant leaders have given their attention to the question of sectarian rivalry or unity, and to such secondary things as social work, prohibition, and birth control."

"Among the varying forms of religious faith and practice of the day, there is one distinct and deep line of cleavage, which it is useless to try to remove. This is the line between so-called 'Fundamentalism' and 'Modernism'—between the old belief in supernatural revelation and the new acceptance of modern science.

"I should be glad to have my church unite with other churches on a broad platform rejecting supernaturalism, accepting science, and taking for its aim the good of humanity here and now. . . .

"I do not know how free Fosdick actually is in his present affiliations, but I do feel that, whatever degree of freedom a man of his strength may be able to obtain under a supernaturalistic creed, it were not safe for the modernist movement as a whole to allow itself to become absorbed by religious bodies which, if not actively opposed to the essentials for which it stands, at the best have not sufficient independence to come out for those vital things."

The extreme anti-doctrinal position is one which looks for no agreement in content of belief, but only in the processes of learning:

"Personally the only basis for union which I find acceptable is that of agreement as to method and general purpose rather than acceptance of even a minimum doctrine. The progressive discovery of truth and the use of all available resources for the enrichment of human life is to my mind the only sound foundation."

SOCIAL PROGRESSIVES

The positive aspect of the modernist's interest frequently pivots upon some interpretation of righteousness in human relations to which he would like everybody else to pay exclusive attention. To his keener consciousness of social issues church unity is apt to appear pedantic and ethically unreal:

"Your questions were largely outside the realm of interest of our young people's group. They are quite ready for fellowship with any individual of any religion, but their interest in church unity is more in developing new attitudes and in getting coöperation on pressing human problems than it is in ritual or ecclesiastical organization."

"All religious differences will sink into the background, when Christians unite in concerted endeavor for social justice. Our Blessed Lord regularly put humanity (and its needs) before ecclesiasticism."

"While the churches remain, as largely now, conventional and somnolent, remote from the class-struggle; coming to heel like obedient dogs at the whistle of the State; while they ignore the fact that they exist to manifest to the world the Cross of Christ, the ideal of sacrificial love in the economic order as in the personal life; so long as they persist in this attitude, I say, any attempt to increase their power by obliterating the formal divisions which separate them, seems to me an evasion of reality."

Thus doctrinaires of all types urge the superior dignity and central importance of some particular emphasis as determined by the system of truth which they have erected; and, in effect, if not explicitly, try to delay one's consideration of church unity until he has come to terms with more general issues.

Now, since this situation involves the age-long effort of the church to develop a rationalized version of the Christian faith and a comprehensive Christian philosophy of life, it is not to be disposed of hastily. Few will wish to treat this effort disrespectfully, however little they agree with some of its methods and results. There is much to be said about the place of doctrine in the movement toward unity.⁹ One is already informed, however, of the willingness of the religious public to bless the union of particular denominations that have gone forward without demonstrating doctrinal agreement first. Later tests of attitude will show its widespread disinclination to hold up unity effort till doctrinal disputes are all settled.

The practical conclusion for the moment is, therefore, not to delay or be diverted from the direct investigation of this phenomenon of growing unity in the church.

REVELATION AND AUTHORITY AS UNDERLYING ISSUES

In contrast with minds which insist upon the priority of some comprehensive theological system in the consideration of the church's unity, are those

⁹ See especially Chapter xi, "Unity in Faith."

which have already located the church near the center of the Christian scheme, as the ordained channel of divine grace. Any questions which they may raise must directly foreshadow the issue of corporate unity because they believe that religion was given in institutional terms. Nevertheless, the institutionalist, too, has his prior questions which he insists upon having answered before he is willing to discuss church union as such. Having no doubt that the church is necessary to religion, his concern is with the true church. This he may find mirrored in revelation. If so, he carefully traces its channels and instruments of authority. He looks for an established norm or pattern of the church to which all alleged churches must conform. He believes in the perpetuation of an ecclesiastical order, established during some assumed epoch of revelation, whose continuity cannot be broken, and with which all ecclesiastical movements must have valid connection in order to have standing as genuine churches. From this viewpoint he explains subsequent Christian history and experience, including the divisions of the churches.

His brother institutionalist may claim exactly the same sanctions for another "only genuine" church reflecting a different current in the stream of religious history. But together they insist that such questions as the authority and revealed pattern of the church be settled before the matter of its present-day unification is raised.

This common attitude, expressed from varying viewpoints, has next to be reckoned with.

REVELATION

The more traditional school of institutionalists tends to regard Christianity as inseparable from its institutional form and most conservative institutionalists start their consideration of church union by assuming a divine revelation which includes the church. A characteristic expression of this position is found in the papal encyclical letter of 1928 on "Fostering True Religious Unity", which declared:

"No religion can be true save that which rests upon the revelation of God. . . . Now, if God has spoken—and it is historically certain that He has in fact spoken—then it is clearly man's duty implicitly to believe His revelation and to obey His commands. . . . Jesus Christ sent His Apostles into the whole world to declare the faith of the Gospel to every nation, and, to save them from error, He willed that the Holy Ghost should first teach them all truth."¹⁰

An exactly parallel appeal to revelation is found in a communication from a laywoman of the Church of the Latter Day Saints who says:

¹⁰ Marchant, Sir James, *The Reunion of Christendom* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), pp. 14, 19.

"The Church of Jesus Christ has received its authority direct from God and its organization is that of the original church of Christ which He established on the earth during His life here. We cannot disregard or give up any part of it for it was given to Joseph Smith by direct revelation. We invite all men to investigate for themselves."

Similar communications propose revelations through Emmanuel Swedenborg or Mary Baker Eddy as supplementary to that of the Christian Scriptures.

Revelation contrasts with religious notions "built up by human reason." If it was not given to the Apostles or to some particular prophet, the Protestant institutionalist is likely to find it in the Bible as a whole. Hence the familiar formula of the earlier Disciples of Christ, "Where the Bible speaks, we speak; where the Bible is silent, we are silent." The Protestant tradition, then—with all its main variants—quite as much as the Catholic, tries to establish a starting-point in revelation.

AUTHORITY

In order that God's revealed way for man may be declared and defended, the authoritarian standpoint has to assume that God has appointed some mouthpiece in His relations with humanity. For the Roman Catholic this transmitter and voice of authority is the church, and especially its head as the successor of the Apostles. To this view, authority in the church is personal, not "representative and constitutional" because it is derived direct from God and not from the will or action of the church.

The contrasting Protestant viewpoint locates authority in the Bible as God's direct word; and this general position falls into three rather distinct varieties of interpretation.

One holds that the language of the Bible is so plain, unequivocal and self-interpreting that it will convey the same sense to all men who accept it obediently, and who do not wickedly substitute the interpretations and opinions of men. This view is voiced in a large number of communications to the present study, particularly from the members of the Disciples of Christ. The following are typical:

"If all were willing to lay aside their opinions and prejudices and take the simple and Scriptural basis of unity of faith in Christ, and lay aside their traditions and commandments of men, it would not be a very difficult matter to unite the various church bodies into one church."

"There is only one foundation on which the Protestant churches can come together and work harmoniously. That is Christ and His Gospel. To do this we must throw away hair-splitting theologies and take His plain Word."

"There is but one church. That is *The Church of Christ*. There is no means

of union except to drop all creeds and opinions of men and take the Bible alone as the true Disciples of Christ do."

"If religious (or rather Christian) leaders would study God's word to determine His will instead of resorting to endless referenda of human opinion, our church would move forward triumphantly."

Similar opinion, communicated as coming from the young people of a Lutheran Church in Kansas City, argued that "the Bible is to interpret itself and hence only one explanation is the true one. . . . If the Bible is the inspired word of God it must be the blue print which we follow in all particulars." Sixteen proof-texts were cited in support of this position to which, it was stated, "the entire group assented."

Noting that the bare text of the Scripture does not in fact convey the same sense to all, the second type of authoritarian is convinced that the Bible rightly understood reveals a true *system* of doctrine which, because of its objective truth, becomes formal authority in the church. This opinion is well voiced in a personal communication from a fundamentalist leader, who writes:

"I believe that the Bible is true, being the infallible Word of God. In the second place, I believe that the Westminster Confession of Faith presents the system of doctrine taught in the Bible. Since I believe that that system of doctrine is not merely useful but true, I cannot be content until all men come to accept it. I do not hold merely that it suits my needs, while some other creed may suit the needs of other Christians, but, in accordance with my ordination pledge, I believe that it is true and is therefore intended for all men everywhere no matter what church they may now be connected with. The only kind of union, therefore, which I could consider for a moment would be a church union in which bodies uniting with my own should be convinced of their present error and should accept the system of doctrine taught in the Word of God."

A third version of the authority of the Scripture recognizes the right of individual interpretation by those who seek to use it as a practical authority. It is often charged that such individualism leaves no actual authority at all. Consequently, those who do not find the Bible self-interpreting to all men in the same sense, nor yet yielding a single and objectively true system of doctrine, have tried generally to justify their viewpoint by locating ultimate authority in the immediate contact of the individual with God in the experiences of the religious life. These, they say, correspond to and confirm the external revelation contained in the Scriptures, which are indeed in the main a record of similar religious experiences. This point of view, while recognizing the inevitability of individual variations in the interpretations of Scripture, nevertheless trusts to the common trend of experience to dominate the church's understanding; and thus to keep variation within sufficiently narrow bounds. Real objective authority, it is believed, is thus gained with-

out absolute uniformity. It arises in the world of interior and personal experience but is confirmed by history and social experience.¹¹

As explicitly revealed in many of the preceding quotations, these various interpretations of authority have a direct bearing upon attitudes toward church union. In the main, it appears, those who raise the question of authority as a prior issue do so in order to be able to say, "We favor union," meaning union under our own interpretation of authority but not otherwise.

THE SINGLE AND PERMANENT PATTERN OF THE CHURCH

Those who hold to the more rigorous version of authority naturally assert that the church was planned and ordained according to a single and permanent pattern, and that the true church must remain exactly as it was instituted. Otherwise, they think, there would be no standard for men to follow.

Revelation shows this permanent pattern; authority, whether residing in church or in the Bible, declares and preserves it.

This is definitely the argument of the Papal Encyclical of 1927:

"Christ founded His Church as a perfect society, of its nature external and perceptible to the senses, which in the future should carry on the work of the salvation of mankind under one head, with a living teaching authority, administering the sacraments which are the sources of heavenly grace. . . . Hence not only must the Church still exist today and continue always to exist, but it must ever be exactly the same as it was in the days of the Apostles."¹²

With this opinion many types of Protestants are in essential agreement. An authoritative interpretation of the position of the Missouri Lutheran Synod by its national secretary asserts that "such matters as church union cannot be decided by ballot but are decided for us by the Lord of the Church Himself." More familiar is the original view of the Disciples of Christ, that the true form of the church was long lost but was restored in its purity and fullness in the Disciples movement. "If I could find out," writes a lay member of the Disciples Church, "what Christ and His immediate followers taught about matters which we would call ritualistic, I would obey that. I'd accept the divinity of Christ or discard the whole Christian body of thought."

Those who hold to the fixed form of the church thus divide into successionists, claiming to maintain an unbroken apostolic system, or restorationists, desiring to renew the pure New Testament model from which the church has departed. Both are in opposition to the viewpoint which would attempt a free adjustment of the present religious situation by the existing

¹¹ See chapter ix.

¹² Marchant, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

denominations on idealistic and practical grounds. This latter position is often justified by an understanding of New Testament history which holds that no single form of ecclesiastical organization was actually dominant in the early church and that consequently a variety of forms may claim scriptural authority. The deeper ground of the position, however, is the feeling that originative divine leadership is now being exercised in the church when through processes of discussion, negotiation and decision the hitherto separated church bodies come together. The authority by which this is done is regarded as the same authority by which the church was set up at the outset. This identification of the will of God with what is sincerely and devoutly done in His name will later be shown to be the actually dominating attitude of the American religious public.¹³

TESTS OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC POSITION

In order to test the prevalence of different attitudes toward authority as bearing upon the discussion of church union, condensed statements of the central issue from the Roman Catholic and Protestant viewpoints, respectively, were submitted by means of a questionnaire to a representative group of church leaders.

The direct bearing upon church unity of the Roman Catholic belief as to the authority conferred by Christ upon Peter as chief Apostle was restated in the Papal Encyclical of 1928, which asserted that "in this one Church of Christ no man can be or remain who does not accept, recognize and obey the authority and supremacy of Peter and his legitimate successors."¹⁴

To the issue as thus formulated answers were received from 624 leaders concerned with interdenominational relations in American churches.¹⁵ Each person replying to the questionnaire indicated whether he believed the proposition asserting Petrine authority to be certainly false, probably false, certainly true, probably true or was undecided as to the truth. The results of this inquiry are shown in Table XXVIII, returns from seventeen denominations whose replies were too few for separate tabulation being combined under the head of miscellaneous.

As would be expected from a non-Roman constituency, nearly all replies were against the Roman Catholic viewpoint on this, the particular issue on which the papacy is founded. No denomination presented any significant exception, though some showed appreciable indecision, amounting to above 10 per cent. in the total group.

¹³ Pp. 237-8.

¹⁴ Marchant, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁵ For fuller identification of this constituency, see Appendix Table 1.

TABLE XXVIII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—
PETRINE AUTHORITY

(624 Church Leaders)

"Christ gave authority to govern the church to Peter as the chief apostle and his legitimate successors."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:						Weighted Score*
	False			True			
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Undecided	Probably	Certainly	
All Denominations...	86.5	75.0	11.5	11.4	0.8	1.3	-1.58
Lutheran.....	97.0	81.8	15.2	0.0	0.0	3.0	.73
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	90.2	80.3	9.9	6.6	1.6	1.6	.66
Meth. Epis., South...	89.7	79.4	10.3	6.9	0.0	3.4	.62
Prot. Epis.	88.5	68.5	20.0	8.6	2.9	0.0	.54
Meth. Epis.	87.8	75.6	12.2	12.2	0.0	0.0	.61
Disciples.....	87.5	82.5	5.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	.70
Reformed.....	87.1	77.4	9.7	12.9	0.0	0.0	.64
Presb., U. S. A.	86.6	73.2	13.4	11.9	0.0	1.5	.57
Cong.-Christian.....	83.3	79.1	4.2	16.7	0.0	0.0	.62
Miscellaneous.....	82.6	67.3	15.3	12.7	2.0	2.7	.43

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

This is the most completely repudiated one of the thirty propositions submitted to church leaders. Its value in the present study is merely to mark out the almost complete unanimity with which non-Catholics dissent from a distinctive Roman Catholic position.

AUTHORITY AND REVELATION

According to the more generalized Catholic view (in contradistinction to the Roman), authority is vested, not in a personal representative of Christ on earth, but in the church as a divine organization. Leaders' attitudes toward this view were tested by means of a proposition in the following form: "Christ founded the church upon the basis of a final and authoritative body of revealed truth, fixed in content, to which nothing essential may be added, although new implications and applications may be declared by competent authority in the church."

The denominational distribution of returns is shown in Table XXIX.

This version of authority is naturally less unacceptable to Protestant church leaders than the extreme papal form; nevertheless six out of ten repudiate it.

Lutherans, however, who are most anti-Roman of all denominations, are nearly nine-tenths for the proposition, which a majority of all other churches disapproves.

TABLE XXIX—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—THE AUTHORITARIAN VIEW OF THE CHURCH

(624 Church Leaders)

"Christ founded the church upon the basis of a final and authoritative body of revealed truth, fixed in content, to which nothing essential may be added, although new implications and applications may be declared by competent authority in the church."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:
False True

Denomination	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Weighted Score*
All Denominations...	60.9	45.7	15.2	10.7	11.2	17.2	-0.61
Cong.-Christian.....	84.4	71.9	12.5	11.4	1.1	3.1	-1.49
Meth. Epis.	75.6	56.1	19.5	8.5	7.4	8.5	-1.07
Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	68.8	42.6	26.2	11.6	9.8	9.8	-0.81
Disciples.....	62.5	47.5	15.0	15.0	12.5	10.0	-0.78
Presb., U. S. A.	58.2	41.8	16.4	13.4	10.5	17.9	-0.53
Prot. Epis.	57.1	40.0	17.1	0.0	11.4	31.5	-0.23
Reformed.....	54.8	41.9	12.9	9.7	22.6	12.9	-0.48
Meth. Epis., South...	51.7	27.6	24.1	0.0	13.8	34.5	+0.03
Miscellaneous.....	51.3	40.0	11.3	14.7	14.0	20.0	-0.37
Lutheran.....	6.0	6.0	0.0	6.1	27.3	60.6	+1.37

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

THE CENTRAL PROTESTANT ISSUE: THE NEW TESTAMENT AND DIRECT RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

The Scriptures are universally accepted by Christians as a revelation and standard of some sort, and as a presumed basis of union; but it is the peculiarity of Protestants to look to them for the authority which Catholics find in the church.

As noted above, the traditional Protestant appeal to the Scriptures appears in several different versions. Many Protestants minimize external authority, and find trouble in definitions of the Scriptures as a standard which seem to make them essentially such an authority. With this group an underlying issue is how to relate the normative authority of the Scriptures to the authenticating power of direct religious experience.

Consequently a question embodying this issue was submitted to American church leaders, formulated in the following terms: "The New Testament harmonizes with and verifies the believer's direct experience of union with Christ, and must be interpreted in the light of such experience. Accepted with this liberty of interpretation, it constitutes the only rule of Christian faith and practice."

The results of the questionnaire, filled out by 624 leaders, showed that four-fifths of them agreed to the probable or certain truth of the proposition in this form, as shown by Table XXX. On the total score only eleven out

of thirty propositions were more fully assented to. There was very little absolute denial and relatively slight uncertainty.

TABLE XXX—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—THE NEW TESTAMENT AND DIRECT RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

(624 Church Leaders)

"The New Testament harmonizes with and verifies the believer's direct experience of union with Christ, and must be interpreted in the light of such experience. Accepted with this liberty of interpretation, it constitutes the only rule of Christian faith and practice."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:						Weighted Score*
	True			False			
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	
All Denominations...	79.8	51.1	28.7	10.7	6.3	3.2	+1.18
Reformed.....	93.5	41.9	51.6	6.5	0.0	0.0	+1.35
Disciples.....	87.5	57.5	30.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	+1.45
Presb., U. S. A.	86.6	62.7	23.9	6.0	3.0	4.4	+1.37
Meth. Epis., South...	86.2	55.2	31.0	13.8	0.0	0.0	+1.41
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	85.2	68.8	16.4	8.2	6.6	0.0	+1.48
Meth. Epis.	83.0	47.6	35.4	8.5	6.1	2.4	+1.20
Lutheran.....	78.8	51.5	27.3	15.1	6.1	0.0	+1.24
Cong.-Christian.....	76.0	38.5	37.5	10.4	11.5	2.1	+0.99
Miscellaneous.....	72.0	51.3	20.7	13.3	7.4	7.3	+1.01
Prot. Epis.	68.6	37.2	31.4	14.3	11.4	5.7	+0.83

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

In their replies on this issue the only notable difference between denominations was that the Protestant Episcopal representatives accepted it considerably less cordially than the average, while five Protestant denominations distinctly exceeded the average in approval. With the vast majority, the notion of a direct spiritual experience authenticating the New Testament and therefore making it an effective rule of faith and life was highly acceptable.

The result of these tests is first to demonstrate what was unnecessary; namely, strong repudiation of the Roman Catholic position by the representative body of Protestant church leaders. But they also positively show the strong desire of these leaders to adopt a version of authority which they think saves it from pure individualism and gives it the validity of direct religious experience.

The special pertinence of this discovery for an inquiry into church unity movements is that it denies the necessity of making exclusive appeal to the authority of the past. The contemporary experience of the church gets its right to be heard as to the desirability and conditions of unity at the same time that the Scriptures are being consulted about it. What experience and

Scriptures will say when thus jointly consulted is beyond this mere formulation to determine and must have later discussion.¹⁸ This version of authority is, however, in effect necessarily on the side of practical considerations as they may appeal to the church of today. Such considerations are given, not merely a hearing, but additional weight from the conception of divine authority as residing in the present as well as in the past.

What answer, then, should be made to demands for prior consideration of questions of revelation, authority and the fixed pattern of the church? Merely that no decision as between these various views is necessary to justify interest in the integrative movements of the American churches today. The equal right of all views to a hearing is recognized. But whatever their warrant or authority, processes of integration are actually going on as objective social movements which the majority believe are a reflection of the spiritual leadership of Christ. Insistence that a prior decision must be reached as to the debatable points just reviewed is not well taken.

FINALITY OF CONSCIENTIOUS CONVICTION

Problems of church unity are embedded in a world of previous ethical habit and judgment quite as definitely as in the world of religious tradition. One must consequently expect prior questions to emerge from the ethical as well as from the religious field. In point of fact, one of the most frequently raised of prior questions is that of the finality of conscientious conviction.

The ethical nobility of loyalty to conviction is vigorously proclaimed: "The greatest strength of Christianity is the fact that men have had definite convictions for which they could give the years of their usefulness or even their life. If church union involves junking these convictions that are as deep as life, then for the individual involved, it has destroyed the whole thing." Anything which seems to question the finality of conscientious conviction rouses not only amazement but horror. "It is certainly a startling proposition to suggest that I can stultify myself by joining a so-called 'church' which includes Jews, and their Gentile counterparts, Unitarians. I do not feel that I am at all narrow. I include many people of all these divergent groups in my circle of friends, and work with them for community betterment and meet them as social and intellectual equals, possibly in some things even superiors; but to unite with them in a 'church'—to compromise my principles, my convictions, my ideals—to admit that 'one religion is as good as another'—that, my dear friends, is simply impossible for me and for multitudes of others." There is thus a strong demand to have it admitted in advance that it is a man's duty to follow his convictions; and consequently to throw grave doubts upon, if not to deny, the possibility of unity.

¹⁸ Pp. 325-329.

RATIONALIZATION OF THE DEMAND

The unexpressed syllogism behind these attitudes seems to be: conscience is supreme; men conscientiously differ, therefore they are not under obligation to reconsider their convictions—which makes unity out of the question.

It is, of course, not assumed that there is nothing behind conscience. It is only when he is on the side of eternal truth and right that man is to refuse to budge. The intractability belongs not to him but to the facts. Thus, the position of the Roman Catholic Church, for example, is explained by Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster:

"The Catholic Church, in accordance with the tradition of Christianity from the beginning, declines to participate in the worship of those who do not accept her teaching and authority, and refuses to admit them to her Sacraments. To act otherwise would, in her judgment, be disloyalty to her Founder and to the truth which He has given into her care. Worship, to be acceptable, must be sincere and based on truth. Convinced that she possesses divinely revealed truth, she would be acting disloyally and insincerely were she, by participation in their worship, to seem to admit that those who think that this divinely revealed truth is uncertain and still awaiting discovery and proof are, perhaps, after all in the right, while she has been deceived. She is fully persuaded that in her worship of God she is dealing with truth, reality and fact. She is essentially unable to regard Divine worship as a matter of opinion, sentiment, or uncertainty. Thus Catholics, while respecting the religious convictions of others and acknowledging their sincerity and good faith, are precluded from any action that would appear to call in question the objective truth of the revelation delivered to her by Jesus Christ our Lord. She must ever be, as she has been from the beginning, an *exclusive* Church both in her teaching and in her worship."¹⁷

Similarly, arguing against what it calls a proposal for a "doctrinal truce" with Jews and Catholics, the Cincinnati *Christian Standard* observes:

"This comes with poor grace from those who pride themselves upon loyalty to scientific truth. There is nothing so intolerant as truth. There is nothing so given to proselyting as truth. When a fact is discovered it has no regard for existing barriers. It demands allegiance everywhere. If there be such a thing as arrival at or even approximation of religious truth, why should these men ask that we put it in a strait-jacket, that we shackle it? Why not rather urge that it be permitted to run and be glorified?"¹⁸

To find out the truth to which conscience must attach itself, one who maintains this standpoint has ordinarily to fall back on some version or other of revealed or otherwise established authority. This granted, the position of conscience becomes impregnable.

The attempt to range a prior ethical decision on one side of the question

¹⁷ Quoted in Marchant, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 & 10.

¹⁸ *Christian Standard*, April 23, 1932.

of church unity and against all others, appears in numerous forms and concerns associations between Christian men on all levels. Occasionally it is employed so as to deny the possibility even of practical coöperation between Christian bodies. To work with those whose theology you disapprove is to be compromised as to your witness to truth.¹⁹

As directly applied to the question of unity, this argument is used in almost identical terms by high-churchmen and extreme sectarians. Thus a semi-official exposition of the Anglo-Catholic position asserts: "If unity can only be achieved at the cost of Christians of any name being false to their convictions, then the price of unity is too great to pay."²⁰

An elderly Baptist minister writes: "The whole movement toward 'Union in a visible universal church' is abortive. You have not helped the spiritual interests and the character of a Christian by persuading him—for union or any other purpose—to be disloyal to what he sincerely believes to be his Lord's command."

Even on the foreign field, where the perpetuating of denominational differences appears most ridiculous to popular thinking, the argument from conscientious conviction forbids any concession. The most extreme position in this direction goes so far as to argue that even to discuss church union is precluded, because "the mere suggestion from time to time, of a possible union of churches, seems to create a feeling among many that it really isn't important what one believes or what religion he accepts, which is regrettable. It deprives many of ambition to search the Scriptures for truth."

ESSENTIALS AND NON-ESSENTIALS

Such interpretations of fidelity to principle forbid concessions in behalf of union and throw obstacles in the path of its consideration, even if it is not precluded in advance.

But all such extremes tend to fall victims to their own severity. Those who hold them do not find it convenient to carry them out quite so peremptorily as they are stated. Thus, as has previously been noted, popular thinking distinguishes between essentials and non-essentials. The former defines an inflexible area in which conscience has to be unyielding, the latter an area of concession within which Christians may get together in the spirit of accommodation. "Unity in essentials, liberty in non-essentials" is one of the historic formulas of Protestantism inherited from the ancient church and held also by the Eastern Orthodox communion. The validity of this distinction was denied by the Papal Encyclical of 1928 in the following explicit terms:

¹⁹ See chapter x, "Unity in Life and Work."

²⁰ Williams, "The Episcopal Church and the Mind of Christ," *Christian Century*, April 16, 1930.

"Furthermore, it is never lawful to employ in connection with articles of faith the distinction invented by some between 'fundamental' and 'non-fundamental' articles, the former to be accepted by all, the latter being left to the free acceptance of the faithful. The supernatural virtue of faith has as its formal motive the authority of God revealing, and this allows of no such distinction. All true followers of Christ, therefore, will believe the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God with the same faith as they believe the mystery of the august Trinity, the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff in the sense defined by the Ecumenical Vatican Council with the same faith as they believe the Incarnation of our Lord. That these truths have been solemnly sanctioned and defined by the Church at various times, some of them even quite recently, makes no difference to their certainty, nor to our obligation of believing them. Has not God revealed them all?"²¹

AN HISTORIC DISTINCTION TESTED

The issue thus raised was put before the leaders of American churches in a questionnaire in the following form: "In matters of faith there can be no distinction between essentials and non-essentials." How far did they agree or disagree with the Pope?

Of 624 replies, 70 per cent. denied the Pope's denial of the historic distinction and only 10 per cent. agreed with him certainly, while 14 per cent. remained uncertain. The results are shown in Table XXXI.

As Table XXXI shows, one-fourth of the Methodist Episcopal, South,

TABLE XXXI—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—DISTINCTION BETWEEN ESSENTIALS AND NON-ESSENTIALS

(624 Church Leaders)

"In matters of faith there can be no distinction between essentials and non-essentials."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:

Denomination	False			True			Weighted Score*
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Undecided	Probably	Certainly	
All Denominations...	70.0	51.6	18.4	13.8	6.4	9.8	-0.95
Reformed.....	83.9	71.0	12.9	6.4	6.5	3.2	-1.42
Cong.-Christian.....	78.1	63.5	14.6	14.6	4.2	3.1	-1.31
Prot. Epis.	74.3	51.4	22.9	14.3	0.0	11.4	-1.03
Meth. Epis.	72.0	54.9	17.1	13.4	6.1	8.5	-1.03
Presb., U. S. A.	71.6	53.7	17.9	14.9	4.5	9.0	-1.03
Miscellaneous.....	69.3	45.3	24.0	14.7	7.3	8.7	-0.90
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	63.9	45.9	18.0	18.1	1.6	16.4	-0.75
Meth. Epis., South...	62.1	44.8	17.3	3.4	10.3	24.2	-0.48
Disciples.....	60.0	50.0	10.0	17.5	10.0	12.5	-0.75
Lutheran.....	54.5	33.3	21.2	9.1	21.2	15.2	-0.39

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

²¹ Marchant, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

replies and over 15 per cent. of the Baptist and Lutheran agree with the Pope in asserting that the distinction between essentials and non-essentials is invalid. The average margin of uncertainty on the subject is also considerable and increases to very significant proportions, especially with Baptists and Disciples. There are also very considerable differences of opinion within four other denominations, so that the total attitudes of the leaders' group are unusually mixed. The average Protestant conscience is shocked by the demand that Christians believe "the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff with the same faith as they believe the incarnation of our Lord." Nevertheless, many Protestants evidently believe that God has gone into considerable detail in matters of faith and practice and that whatever He has spoken about, however small, becomes a major issue. The preponderance of Protestant thinking consequently values the distinction between essentials and non-essentials. It inclines to hold that there are religious fields which require unity, while other fields allow liberty and variety. From this viewpoint conscientious conviction in the essential field would be final, and the chief condition of achieving unity would be to discover what the essentials are in contrast with the non-essentials.

CONCESSION RATIONALIZED

When the distinction between essentials and non-essentials is not resorted to, the inconvenient severity of the principle of finality of conscientious conviction is ecclesiastically eased in still another way: namely, by the erection of other principles which permit exceptions to be made to the first principles. This device takes form in the various doctrines of "economy" or intent which permit certain discretionary compromises on the part of the church when it believes that the purpose of God will be furthered thereby. The 1930 committee of the Lambeth Conference on the unity of the church, for example, found it possible to give quasi-recognition to non-episcopal ministers on the theory that "the earnest desire to restore union makes possible a recognition by the Church, in some respects, of ministries which, in separation, must stand on a different footing."²² On such lines of reasoning accommodation can go forward without infringing the principle of the finality of conviction.

All parties, however, seem to hold that there are limits to concessions and explanations. The time comes when one must say, "Here I stand, I can no other." But what are the limits and when is the time? Thus, the Lambeth Appeal to All Christians, of 1920, was issued on the basis of "mutual deference to one another's conscience." This seems like dangerous laxity to a

²² *The Lambeth Conference, 1930* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), p. 116.

representative Anglo-Catholic.²³ At a notable moment the Eastern Orthodox representatives at the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order, in 1929, formally interposed their conscientious objections and declined to sign the reports of the Conference, with the exception of a single report.²⁴

NECESSITY OF FURTHER TESTING

Concerning such "last stands" of conscience the question accordingly remains whether they are merely "obstinacy backing prejudice" or whether, in the last resort, conscientious conviction does create a sacrosanct status which breaks the force of all other factors and considerations.

It is impossible to deny that this ethical argument has sometimes suffered unethical applications in discussions of church unity. People who have taken a stand on their own conscientious convictions have conspicuously denied the same right to others, whom they have blamed as stupid or disobedient because they could not see that some single position was identical with absolute truth.

Still more frequent has been the inequitable expectation that people who do not fall back upon alleged principles in defense of their positions should be expected to make all the concessions. It has been assumed that the churches fall into two divisions: (1) those that could unite if they would because they are not separated by differences of conviction; and (2) others that somehow would have to straighten differences of principle before they could be expected to unite. Thus, commenting favorably upon the union of five branches of the Methodist Church in Great Britain, the ultra-sectarian *Baptist Standard* wrote²⁵: "This is as it should be. The prayer of Jesus that His people might be one can never be answered as long as the divisive spirit rules in the hearts of those who could lead towards unity. We have too many religious denominations. Nothing but convictions concerning vital truths should be allowed to divide Christian people." This principle would enable one to blame the Methodists if they did not unite while praising the Baptists for not uniting. It is worthy of regard that the successive sessions of the Lambeth Conference, particularly that of 1920, tried hard (whether successfully or not) to remove the feeling that, as between Free Churchmen and Anglicans, all concessions were being expected from the Free Church side.

CAN THE CHURCHES MAKE CONCESSIONS?

Coming up in such varying connections as the question of fidelity to principle actually does, its significance for problems of church unity is very

²³ Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

²⁴ *Proceedings of the World Conference on Faith and Order* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1927), pp. 382 ff.

²⁵ February 18, 1932.

great. It was, therefore, put directly before a group of the more competent constituents of the churches in the form of the following question: "Can the churches make the concessions necessary to achieve union without sacrificing legitimate fidelity to principle?"

Two thousand four hundred and thirty-nine persons responded to this question, the results showing very little inclination on the part of the select constituency as a whole to admit that such concessions cannot be made. This is shown in Table XXXII.

As shown by the arrangement of Table XXXII, the six arguments by means of which attitudes were ascertained fall into three groups. The first two are extreme statements which, if accepted, would preclude concessions necessary to secure union.

The next two conditionally admit the legitimacy of some degree of concession. The first assumes that as between two churches, one of which claims that its alleged principles are vital where the other does not, the second should make all the concessions. This idea as a practical issue has already been met.²⁶ The other justifies concession by invoking the somewhat technical ecclesiastical doctrine of "intent" also commented on above.²⁷

The two final arguments directly challenge the legitimacy of so-called principles which prevent concessions and deny that they have any proper standing against the claims of brotherliness assumed to be inherent in Christianity. The arrangement of these six arguments in Chart XV follows the order of the above exposition. The distribution of opinion on the part of the select constituency as a whole is measured by the middle bar in the chart.

While the position of the group, as shown by the table and the chart, is fairly decisive (55 per cent. of returns being concentrated upon two arguments definitely justifying concession), the denominations are by no means a complete unit with respect to it. Denominations in striking opposition to the average distribution of opinion are the following: Baptist (South), Fundamentalist, Lutheran, United Presbyterian and High-church Episcopal. These register strong approval for the first three or anti-concessive arguments, and much less than average approval for the last three or more concessive ones.

Comparing the denominational bars on the chart, one notes further that four out of five of these denominations give approximately only one-half the average value to the argument from brotherliness (Argument 1), while the fifth gives it no value at all. Fundamentalists are most extreme in the assertion that union can take place only when there is no conflict of principles (Argument 3). Southern Baptists most nearly agree with Fundamentalists in the distribution of their replies. Since returns from High-church Episco-

²⁶ P. 196.

²⁷ P. 195.

TABLE XXXII—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS ON ISSUES—CONCESSIONS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE UNION

(Select Church Constituency)

"Can the churches make the concessions necessary to achieve union without sacrificing legitimate fidelity to principle?"

Arguments	Per Cent. of Replies Rating as		Per Cent. Distribution of Weighted Score*
	Strong	Weak	
The true church exists by appointment of Christ himself and no one has authority to depart from the ways which He has ordained. (6).....	7	54	- 13
Church union is possible only between bodies whose differences are incidental and do not involve conflicting principles. (3).....	13	21	- 20
In the consideration of union between two churches in which one holds that the issues involved are matters of principle, while the other only claims that they concern preferable historic forms and practices, the second church should make concessions which will meet the conscientious scruples of the former. (2).....	7	9	- 9
In cases of churches considering uniting, the presence of the spirit of unity and the desire and intent to achieve actual union may justify special mutual concession even in matters where differences are held to be vital, such as would not be allowable so long as the spirit of separation were maintained. (4).....	18	5	+ 10
Religious people incline to erect into so-called principles, ideas really originating in old conflicts for prerogative and power. The theoretical and antiquarian character of argument used by many denominations to defend their positions suggests another case of this sort. If all denominations will sacrifice pride and stubbornness, they can get together without denial of any essential Christian position. (5).....	[23]	8	+ 24
No theory of the church can rightfully stand out against the impulse of brotherliness which flows from the common life of Christians whenever they have been freed from the limitations of sectarian traditions. (1).....	[32]	3	+ 24
Total.....	100	100	100
Number of Choices.....	5,097	2,132	...

Bracketed figures indicate arguments most frequently paired as strong.

* Arrived at by weighting for variability and subtracting "weak" from "strong" replies.

pal sources are separately tabulated on only a few issues, it is significant to note that they particularly stress the unalterable pattern of the church, while the four other denominations opposing concession do so chiefly on the more general ground of "principle." Again, High-church Episcopal replies absolutely repudiate the doctrine of "intent" (Argument 4) to which the Protestant Episcopal Church as a whole gives more than average favor and which has been made a ground of concessions by its own bishops.

Comparing these five denominations that differ from the majority in

being much less concessive, one notes that, in the large, they choose rather dissimilar arguments. Anglo-Catholics and Scotch Covenanters are both unwilling to make concessions, but for different reasons. Lutherans and Fundamentalists both appeal to conscientious scruples but use different supporting considerations.

Denominations that vary from the average in being distinctly more favorable to concession, include the Congregational-Christian, Federated

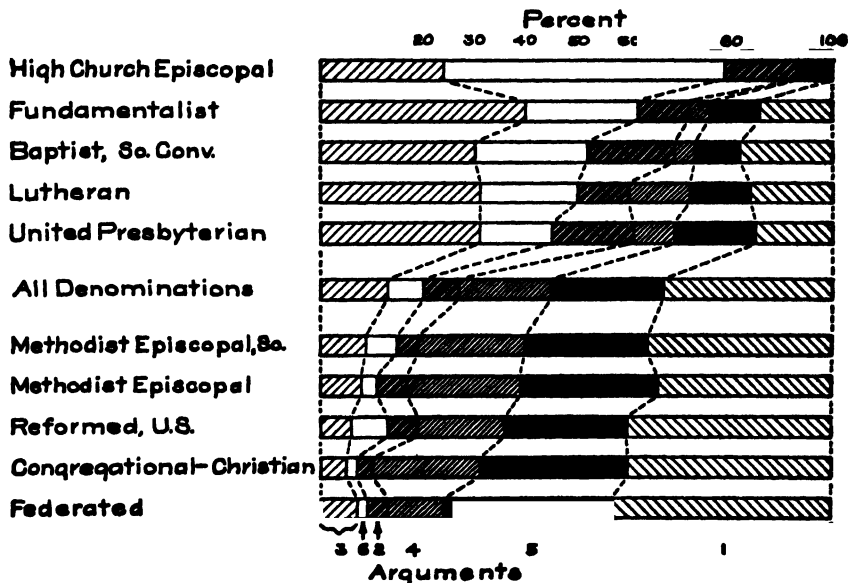


CHART XV—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE ISSUE: CAN THE CHURCHES MAKE THE CONCESSIONS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE UNION WITHOUT SACRIFICING LEGITIMATE FIDELITY TO PRINCIPLE?

For select constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table XXXII)

Churches, Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, South, and Reformed in U. S. The distribution of their opinions is shown in the lower half of the chart.

The extreme closeness of the two Methodist positions is interesting. Federated Church replies find less value than the rest of the group in the doctrine of "intent," while they are most sensitive of all to the claims of brotherliness.

The main discovery of this questionnaire is, however, that the group as a whole thinks that concessions necessary for union can be made legitimately. The majority of denominations stand so close to the average that graphing

of separate positions yields no new picture. Of the larger bodies, the Presbyterian, U. S. A., and Baptist (North) stand nearest to the average.

Contrasting with denominations which show a generally deviant tendency, certain others registering extreme variation on single items are worthy of mention. These may be traced by means of Table XXXIII, which ranks all denominations on four arguments.

Disciples, perhaps because of their traditional stress on simple obedience to divine command, manage to find much less than average patience with the argument that union is possible only when principles do not conflict (Argument 3). On the other hand, they go beyond the average in asserting that many so-called principles are not genuine (Argument 5). Evangelical Synod replies are twice as ready as the average to let churches which do not allege unyielding principles make all the concessions (Argument 2), while, on the contrary, they are only half as ready to admit compromise in matters which Christ has ordained. This shows the Evangelical Synod fluctuating rather violently between two tendencies in thinking.

In contrast with High-church Episcopal returns, it is noteworthy that Protestant Episcopal returns as a whole are generally on the other side of the average position.

It is furthermore to be noted that this issue yields no case, such as develops on certain other issues, in which a denomination breaks with its habitual associations and takes the extreme other side on some one argument. This would seem to indicate that the ethical problem presented by this issue is felt to be clean-cut. It is not entangled with particular historical or doctrinal positions. This makes the significance of the results for union the more certain. The prevalent mood is one of condemnation for the non-concessive attitude and of disallowance of the plea of conscience as an obstacle to union. The distribution of replies is a commentary upon the growing movement for direct frontal attack against the citadel of conscientious scruples.²⁸ Psychology might allow itself to question this procedure, particularly since the non-concessive attitude follows the logic of the authoritarian position and can only be overcome when that position is undermined. But the pronounced impatience of the prevailing view with conscientious obstructionists is clearly a fact to be reckoned with.

The judgment of this constituency, then, is not very comforting to those who would seek refuge in their divisions behind the plea of principle. The group does not think that alleged principles justify limitations upon the impulse of brotherliness and has a rather unflattering opinion of the origins of many so-called principles, which it traces to old and earthly conflicts rather than to anything that is settled in the heavens. The principle of

²⁸ P. 227.

concession as justified by the "intent" to secure unity finds strong secondary acceptance. The notion that union is possible only between denominations whose differences do not involve principle is regarded as strong by only a few persons, and is checked as the weakest of the six arguments by more than one-fifth of the total group. The notion that all concessions should come from churches which do not allege difference in principle, and the slogan that no compromise is possible because Christ Himself has fixed the pattern of the church, find least favor of all.

The total result is to leave any church free to consider the claims of union on their merits, with very large scepticism as to whether alleged deterrent principles are really principles in fact.

As later evidence will show, the plea of fidelity to conviction gets even more cavalier treatment at the hands of popular thinking when it comes to concrete situations and incidents. Thus, the refusal of some ministers, on the ground of conscientious scruples, to share with others in the joint celebration of the Lord's Supper, to recognize other ministers as genuine, or to admit members of other churches to the communion, is approved by less than 10 per cent. of those answering questionnaires covering these points, and is absolutely condemned by from two-thirds to three-fourths in each case.²⁹

Such are the feelings with which the Christian masses regard the scruples of their leaders.

These challenges to the assumed finality of conscientious conviction are cited at length, not in order to deny that the issue is significant, but rather to point out how deeply entrenched it is as a prior consideration. Psychologically speaking, there is a great distinction between those that buttress their ecclesiastical position behind eternal principle, and those that feel in position to adjust it from time to time according to reason and practical advantage. The general sentiment of American Christians, however, proves unwilling to admit the essential validity of the former position. Tolerance, charity, mutual appreciation, the sense of proportion and the sublimation even of so-called principles within profounder experience, make it impossible for so-called conscience to set a limit to effort for the further unification of the church.

CONCLUSION

The demands for the prior consideration of underlying issues which this chapter has reviewed, whether derived from doctrinaire or institutional sources or from the implicit assumptions of the rank and file, represent actual challenges to the present study made by flesh-and-blood men. They

²⁹ Pp. 356 and 368.

were, in effect, efforts to deflect or delay it or to prevent it altogether. They will appear again in later chapters which find their cues in the literature of ecclesiastical discussion. Here they are presented, however, not as logical obstacles to be recognized but as objective ones to be met. These attitudes and bodies of opinion are important conditioning factors met with in any effort for church union. They require to be dealt with as one comes upon them. They set up resistances which have to be reckoned with, and they will count in the ultimate result. But as stop or detour signs they are contradicted and out-shown by the equally objective opinions and attitudes of a representative religious constituency favorable to further integration.

CHAPTER VIII

Movements and Proposals for Church Union

Since Part II of this book is concerned with movements and proposals for church union as ecclesiastically defined, it would have seemed natural to begin the consideration of such movements in its opening chapter. Strong insistence on the necessity of a prior consideration of certain underlying issues (as was set forth in the last chapter) diverted the discussion from this course. As a result one now has the advantage of being made conscious of assumptions and moods whose presence behind movements and proposals might not have been properly apprehended had they remained merely implicit. The consideration of prior issues also will prove of assistance in the understanding of some of the technical aspects of concrete proposals.

It is now high time to turn directly to the consideration of the ways in which religious bodies are undertaking to achieve further union and of the particular versions of unity which they propose for the acceptance of others. For the question of church union does not have just two sides. Nor are there only a few sharply distinguishable positions. On the contrary, there is a considerable series of positions, each represented by a fairly definite movement and set of proposals.

Most of the major denominations have tried to define what they mean by union in contrast with the larger integrative trend, and many of them have elaborated the terms on which they think union possible. The attempt to state these terms as a basis for actual negotiations has served further to interpret them. Finally, the conduct of the negotiations themselves has illuminated the actual meanings of the parties concerned. It becomes, therefore, the function of the present chapter to present together the major movements and proposals which have had recent currency, each as a commentary upon the other.

In carrying out this function the first requisite is a principle of classification. It is not enough to say that some denominations favor union more strongly and definitely than others, and that still others oppose union altogether. One must ask in what sense union is intended and what particular proposal for effecting it is made. Will the assumed result be accepted as union by all concerned; and on what general grounds or sanctions will its approval or disapproval be based?

How, then, shall concrete proposals for church union be classified? One

may safely begin inductively by arranging data already canvassed in a serial order, putting the strongest proposal for union at one end of a scale and the one most completely opposed at the other. The ballot on church union reported in chapter iv furnishes four positions, namely, general union, federal union, partial union of related denominations and the maintenance of the present denominational order. The analysis of popular attitudes enables us to break up the last position into two, namely, one which favors the coöperation of the separate denominations and another which is non-coöperative. Here, then, one already has a sequence of five steps: at one extreme (1) non-coöperative denominationalism, as most completely opposed to union; then (2) coöperative denominationalism, (3) partial union, (4) federal union, and finally, at the other end of the scale, (5) general union.

But ecclesiastical complications compel one considerably to lengthen this series and to interpolate other positions which show still more refined differences in approval of or in opposition to union. These additional positions generally define themselves in terms of particular theories of union which they cherish and special sanctions for it which they allege. Some theories are more insistent than others upon the necessity of external union in the church. Some allege stronger or more pretentious sanctions than the others do. Thus, the Roman Catholic position demands union through one visible head of the church, the Pope, as absolutely essential to the existence of the true church. This is dogmatic union of an extreme sort.

Another approach to the matter may be termed idealistic. It finds compelling sanction for union in the church's history and in the meaning of fellowship in the actual life and relationship of Christian groups. From this standpoint the church, in so far as it is divided, is marred in character and thwarted in purpose; and the continuance of division is an affront to the essential ideal of its unity. Yet even a divided church is a church; division depreciates its character but does not destroy its essence.

Still another view bases the demand for unity primarily on considerations of practical advantage and on an approval of the general fraternal attitude which has been discovered as the prevalent folk-mood of American Christians. These considerations are religiously interpreted and identified with the divine will. This approach defines what may be called pragmatic union.

The writer's attempt to draw out into a series all the more obviously distinctive positions with respect to union held by American religious bodies results in the identification of ten positions, as shown in the tabulation on the next page. The position most insistent upon corporate union is ranked first, and that most opposed last.

Stated in another way, the demand at one end of the scale is for the re-union of the church on a fixed plan. At the other end is found toleration,

Positions	Movements or Churches Representing
A—Union	
I. Dogmatic	
Governmental	1. Roman Catholic
Sacerdotal	2. Eastern Orthodox, Anglo-Catholic
Creedal	3. Lutheran
II. Idealistic	
Ethical	4. (Christian Unity League)
Historical	5. Anglican
III. Pragmatic	
General	6. United Church of Canada
Federal	7. (Philadelphia Plan of Union)
Partial	
Related denominations	8. { Many uniting denominations
Community churches	{ Community churches
B—Non-union	
I. Pragmatic	
Coöperative denominationalism	9. Most Protestant denominations
II. Dogmatic	
Non-coöperative denominationalism	10. Some Protestant denominations

if not of disunity, at least of such variety as does not require any external union. Between these two extremes falls the general movement for union.

This chapter will discuss these ten positions seriatim, and will attempt further justification of their order and preliminary characterizations. A brief preliminary consideration of certain points, however, seems pertinent.

It should be noted first, as perhaps the major discovery of the entire study, that popular sentiment for union within many Protestant denominations is far in advance of the actual positions ecclesiastically taken by them. Formal declarations lag behind, and, in many respects, misrepresent the actual thinking and attitudes of the constituencies which they presume to represent.

It is important also to recognize that not all of the ten positions are mutually exclusive. Indeed the average American Christian will probably not wish to identify himself narrowly with any single point on the ranking scale. Rather he will feel a sort of allegiance to the kind and degree of union represented by some sector of the scale—perhaps one of the extremes or the middle. Thus, for example, ethical and historical idealism as a sanction for church union very naturally go together, though not necessarily so. Pragmatic union in the federal form, as was shown in chapter iv, is widely

regarded as a step toward corporate union. Any of the middle positions on the scale are likely to include approval of the union of the related denominations. The actual alternatives are not, therefore, expressed by an either-or attitude as between one of the ten positions and all the rest, because the positions often represent differences in emphasis rather than strictly compartmentalized ideas.

The more extreme positions, however, appear generally to be antithetical.

Obviously the most hopeful positions from the standpoint of the actual achievement of union are to be found in the middle zone, because from this point they can look in both directions and yet avoid both extremes.

Again, since the positions are arranged on a scale, those that are most alike stand side by side. Therefore, at any point on the scale, adjacent viewpoints represent the greatest natural possibilities for partial union.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC VIEWPOINT

Considering first extreme demands for unity, one naturally starts with the Roman Catholic viewpoint. Simply expressed, this viewpoint is that the Church of Christ is visibly one and requires substantial uniformity in faith and order under an officially infallible pope as the legitimate successor of St. Peter and the apostles.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PROPOSALS FOR UNION

Since the papacy is unwilling to discuss its claims with others, it is impossible to negotiate with the Roman church. Its only participation in the current movement for unity consists, therefore, in a series of summonses which it has issued to the rest of Christendom to return to the Catholic fold. During the present century these summonses have been chiefly voiced in a series of papal Encyclicals. Besides these, in 1921 informal conversations went on between the late Cardinal Mercier of Belgium and British representatives of the Anglo-Catholic party which, though disowned by the papacy, were had with its knowledge and consent. The papacy declined the invitation to participate in the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order but was known to have had representatives present as observers.

Considering Encyclicals issued since 1900 as relating to unity, it is to be noted that some were particular and others general. The Encyclicals of 1917 and 1923 were primarily concerned with the reunion of the Eastern Orthodox churches with the Roman. The general appeal for the reunion of the church by return to Rome was expressed in Encyclicals of 1922, 1928, 1931. That of 1928 was essentially a reply to the Lausanne Conference. It explained the philosophy which underlay the Roman Catholic refusal to participate and forbade Catholics to share in any such conference.

The essence of the Roman Catholic proposal as expressed in all these

formulations is that Christians separated from Rome are in the wrong and must return as penitent individuals or groups. "Let them come," reads the 1928 Encyclical, "to submit themselves to the church's teaching and government." This is obviously the "unity of unconditional surrender"—in sociological terms the adjustment of subjugation.

REACTION TO ROMAN CATHOLIC PROPOSALS

While certain fragmentary churches on the borders of East and West have been directly affected by these Roman Catholic proposals, they have left the total situation in Christendom virtually unmoved. American popular attitudes, as has been seen, virtually preclude any live consideration of the possibility of union including the Roman Catholic Church. The actual distance feeling of Protestants toward Catholics is beyond that which the most diverse Protestant bodies have toward one another. Consequently, though representative leaders, including the presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church and the president of the United Lutheran Church, took it upon themselves to issue rejoinders, assuming to be representative, no American church has taken official note of any of the current Roman Catholic proposals. Much of the unofficial comment in the religious press has been courteous and appreciative, though some of the more sectarian organs were impudent. The frequency of these repeated appeals has sometimes been interpreted as implying a confession of weakness. Do they not reflect, it is asked, a consciousness on the part of the Roman church that it is losing ground?

Catholics generally seem to accept the conclusion that no actual progress toward union is being or can now be made in strictly ecclesiastical fields. Some of them, however, have been greatly concerned to salvage such coöperation in practical matters as has been developing between the faiths. Thus, a liberal Catholic organ, *The Commonweal*, has repeatedly called for an end of the "splendid isolation" of its church and keeps urging the continued pursuit of practical ends in common with others.

CONSEQUENCES FOR CHURCH UNION

Such negative response to the Roman Catholic position is obviously significant for church union in that it puts an enormous practical limitation upon the movement. Union without the Roman Catholic Church does not satisfy any ideal conception of the church's unity. It would omit one of the most influential and continuous streams in religious history; an omission the permanence of which from any strictly objective viewpoint, is inconceivable. The willingness of many Protestants to make no account of this fact is partially explained by their literal ignorance. An analogy may perhaps be

found in the attitude of many educated men toward the classical civilizations. Acknowledging that they are the inheritors of important values from ancient Greece and Rome, they still do not think it necessary to cherish any high regard for the modern nations that have descended from them. A corresponding Protestant attitude toward the Roman church has very live reality: Roman Catholicism, it holds, represents apostasy from New Testament Christianity, which Protestantism alone has recovered. Protestantism alone, therefore, holds true succession from the apostles.

Even so, it has to be recognized that union without Rome is literally a minority affair. All the rest of Christendom, including the total body of the Eastern Orthodox churches, comes far short of constituting a majority.

Nevertheless there is no appreciable American inclination to accept Roman Catholic conditions and certainly none on the Roman Catholic side to concede anything. For the present and for an indefinite future that way is blocked.

ANGLO-CATHOLIC AND EASTERN ORTHODOX VIEWPOINTS

Ranking next to the Roman Catholic position in their insistence upon external unity and uniformity, stand the viewpoints of two major types of non-Roman Catholics, namely, Anglo-Catholic and Eastern Orthodox.

Both assume that the essentials of the church's order, in a fixed form, were ordained by Christ, and each believes itself to be the inheritor of the authentic Christian position from which the Roman church has departed in certain particulars, notably the illegitimate claims of the papacy. In view of these assumptions, Anglo-Catholics and Eastern Orthodox churches are obliged to think of the church's unity as something to be accomplished by reunion on terms already settled by authority rather than on the basis of mutual concessions. This position reflects a state which sociological analysis would define as competitive with other positions, resistant toward compromise and narrowly limiting coöperation.¹

Church union on a basis of accommodation, writes a Wisconsin Episcopal minister, "doesn't meet the situation at all; doesn't seem to take into account the fact that the Lord established (or created) a church, and that men can no more establish a 'union of denominations' (which would be no more a church than a union of clubs) which would be a 'church' than they can create a universe. This view," he adds, "is that of nine-tenths of Christians." Bishop William T. Manning expresses the same conception when he writes: "Our part in the work for Reunion, Catholics and Protestants alike, is not to create a new Church but the humbler one of ceasing to obstruct the unity and of helping to bring to its fuller realization in this

¹ See p. 158 f.

world the Church founded and commissioned by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself."²

ORGANIZED EXPRESSION: ANGLO-CATHOLIC

Though rooted in a common viewpoint, the Anglo-Catholic and Eastern Orthodox expositions of the problem of unity are somewhat differently expressed. They necessarily involve an account of the relations of these two bodies with each other. The working out of these relations greatly illuminates the common position.

Anglo-Catholics exist in many countries as a party within the Anglican communion. Accordingly, considerable difficulty is experienced at this point in keeping the discussion within its self-imposed limits, namely, the study of integrative movements within the church in the United States. This is particularly true since British Anglo-Catholics have exhibited the group's most definite activity in behalf of their position, and that in connection with British negotiations. Anglo-Catholic Congresses are periodically held both in England and in the United States, and group action in both countries has steadily opposed every step of Anglican concession to the non-conformist churches, particularly from the 1908 Lambeth Conference on. The Anglo-Catholic group has been against the South India Scheme of Union, against the compromise of the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order, against the evangelical tendencies of the Lambeth Conference of 1920.

In the United States the Anglo-Catholic position has been represented by aggressive scholarship, by a weekly publication, *The Living Church*, and by occasional organized group protests, for example, that in opposition to joint celebration of communion by Episcopal and non-Episcopal ministers. When, in 1932, such a joint celebration took place in Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis, it was denounced by the Alumni Association of Nashotah House, a high-church theological seminary in Wisconsin, and in overtures to the House of Bishops by a "Committee of Twenty-Five" centering in New York.

ORGANIZED EXPRESSION: EASTERN ORTHODOX

The Eastern Orthodox communion is composed of a group of autocephalous churches under the traditional jurisdiction of four co-equal Patriarchs. Its formal participation in church union movements in recent times began with the highly significant encyclical letter of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, addressed, in 1921, to "All the Church of Christ Wheresoever they Be", followed by a series of negotiations resulting in a recognition in principle of the Anglican orders in 1922, and culminating, in 1925, in the

² Hall, *Christian Reunion in Ecumenical Light* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), p. vi of Foreword.

grand gesture of a joint celebration of the Holy Communion by Episcopal and Orthodox prelates in Westminster Abbey. The Eastern Orthodox communion was represented by a strong deputation in the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order, but its representatives felt compelled to withhold approval from all the Conference reports except the one on the church's Message. It is also an active participant in the Universal Christian Council on Life and Work. In the United States the chief direct participation by the Eastern Orthodox churches in movements in behalf of union has been in the development of working adjustments and provisions for intercommunion with the Protestant Episcopal Church, beginning with the "Proposed Concordat" of 1920.

In essence the proposal of the Anglo-Catholic and Eastern Orthodox groups for general Christian reunion is identical; namely, the acceptance by all of the Catholic sacramental and sacerdotal system without the alleged Roman Catholic additions. Both are against such concessions as those made by the official leadership of the Anglican communion as represented in the Lambeth Conference of Bishops,³ and against most of the statements of consensus received for general acceptance by the large number of churches represented in the Lausanne Conference.⁴ Both viewpoints insist upon an extreme version of unity in the church's order.⁵

The particular proposals of Anglo-Catholics and Eastern Orthodox churches with respect to each other are that both be recognized as true churches with valid ministries, this involving the possibility of intercommunion. Difficulties, however, are found in the considerable inclination of the Eastern Orthodox churches to regard themselves as the sole original Christian body to which others must return, and in the doctrine of the infallibility of the seven Ecumenical Councils of the undivided church prior to the division between the East and West. With respect to the Roman proposals, the Eastern Orthodox churches are willing to accord the Pope a "primacy of honor", and certain responsible leaders have indicated that they would be willing to participate in a general church council of all Christendom, called by the Pope, which would review all positions taken subsequently to the last Ecumenical Council.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC PROPOSALS

The consequences of the Anglo-Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox proposals must be separately traced. In the case of the Anglo-Catholics in the United States, a consequence of the greatest magnitude is the development of serious party lines within the Protestant Episcopal body. These are so

³ P. 233 f.

⁴ P. 232.

⁵ See chapter xii.

strictly drawn that every significant recent action of the Protestant Episcopal Church with respect to union has had to be a compromise. The Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order, for example, was the child of American Protestant Episcopal initiative. But when the Protestant Episcopal Church appointed a commission of theologians to consider the Lausanne report, the result was a manifest straddle. On the Lausanne findings relating to the sacraments, the Commission recorded itself to the effect that while part of the report was in harmony with the church's formulas, other parts were equivocal, "being devotional and theological expressions that have become generally acceptable and popular among us as consonant with our authorized statements." The Commission goes on to say: "All these propositions are familiar to us in the context of our prescribed ways of belief and worship. They are also acceptable to others in very different context and therefore with very different meaning. . . . The most serious criticism of the [Lausanne] reports is that the general terms in which they are phrased so often conceal important ambiguities and differences. . . . On many of these issues our own communion is neither clear nor unified." The Protestant Episcopal Joint Commission on the World Conference on Faith and Order then proceeded to strengthen this special commission's report by indirection. It placed greater insistence than the Lausanne report had done upon the necessity of a fixed form of the church's order and upon the sacramental system.⁶

The participation of Anglo-Catholics in the Lausanne Conference from which these alleged ambiguities resulted naturally became a sore point after the event. This, for example, is evidenced by the rather strained apology of such a representative American Anglo-Catholic as Dr. Francis J. Hall.⁷

Again, the logic of the Anglo-Catholic position necessarily puts its followers in opposition to official Anglican leadership as represented by the consensus of the bishops.⁸ Official laxity, as represented by the bishops, is denounced as a desertion of principles which endangers the hope of reunion with the Eastern Orthodox Church.

American Anglo-Catholics are taking an active part in the adverse criticism of the successive steps of the development of the South India Plan of Union.⁹ Still further, the Anglo-Catholic position frequently records difficulty in the matter of comity as it is increasingly practised between American denominations. Thus, a correspondent of *The Living Church* argues that "the church is not a voluntary organization of like-minded per-

⁶ Report of the Joint Commission on the World Conference on Faith and Order to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1931, pp. 14, 15.

⁷ *Christian Reunion in Ecumenical Light* (New York: The Macmillan Co.), pp. 23-27, 32 f.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27 f.

⁹ See *The Living Church*, April 2, 1932 and October 17, 1932.

sons at all. It is not an ecclesiastical Rotary club, a pious debating society or a group of heterogeneous elements held together by the least common multiple of comity. It is the body of Christ as our Lord Himself taught and as the Catholic Church has always held." This writer accordingly denounces Episcopal participation in arrangements whereby other denominations would be consulted in advance of the organization of a mission church in any community.

Compared with denominations which are active in practice of comity and coöperation, Anglo-Catholic leaders in the United States appear to have little practical contact with those of other bodies. Hence no personal ties have grown up to ameliorate the theoretical differences which equally exist between churchmen of other bodies.

The difficulty is greatly aggravated by the forcing of the issue of the validity of non-Episcopal ministries through practice of joint communions in recent years under the auspices of church federations and the Christian Unity League. Anglo-Catholic opposition to this practice runs the gamut from serious formal discussions of the canonical status of the issue to charges of "blasphemous sacrilege", "rebellion against the authority of the church" and joining in an "unholy service." In common with other viewpoints which take their stand upon authority, the Anglo-Catholic lays great stress upon scrupulous fidelity to conscience and the duty of regularity with respect to the minutia of the church's law.

The significance of the Anglo-Catholic party in this viewpoint for general church union is fairly obvious on the negative side. Though numerically a small party in the United States, it is undoubtedly "representatively important" because it emphasizes a strongly entrenched historical position, and because it acts as a decided brake upon the action of the Anglican communion in unity measures to which that communion is officially committed. In particular, it must be counted upon for resistance to schemes for ministerial recognition, occasional intercommunion, etc. It definitely bases its position upon sacramentalism and a sacerdotal interpretation of the ministry.¹⁰

The danger that the Anglo-Catholic party will initiate a schism in the Anglican communion is apparently remote, because of the party's constitutional dread of schism. The dribbling away of its members to the Roman Catholic Church is a more or less continuous process which, however, does not appear likely to modify the status of the party greatly.

On the other hand, the Anglo-Catholic element in the Episcopal Church constitutes an important link between it and the Eastern Orthodox communion. For only by looking at the Episcopal Church from that angle can

¹⁰ Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f.

the Eastern Orthodox find any strong affinity or agreement as to its most cherished emphases.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX POSITION

The practical consequences of the Eastern Orthodox position are not immediately apparent as regards church unity in the United States.

In the largest sense their acceptability is conditioned by the cultural association of that church with eastern Europe and the fringes of Asia, where it had its origin. Its Christianity has never been fully assimilated to the western European type, and is still more remote from that of the United States. The distance feeling of the average Protestant toward the Eastern Orthodox churches is great.¹¹

Moreover, considerable confusion attends Eastern Orthodox affairs at present. Its autocephalous national churches often represent contending nations; and the political tensions of Russia and the Balkan area are supplemented by internal dissension in some of the churches. So prevalent is this that a proposed pro-synod, scheduled for 1932, in preparation for a general council of all these churches, was called off. In the United States the Eastern Orthodox element represents one of the later immigrant waves, which is very imperfectly assimilated to the national type. The churches of various nationalities have added greatly to the number of American sectarian divisions and to the sum of active ecclesiastical dissension.

All told, then, the assumed unity of the Eastern Orthodox churches by reason of the possession of a common faith and order is not such as Americans thinking chiefly values, or finds it easy to connect with, still less to tie to.

In appraising the total significance of the Eastern Orthodox contribution to unity, Americans should, however, consider that the New World is not the chief theatre of the final adjustments of Christians relations. The Eastern Orthodox communion represents a great strand in Christian history. Its strangeness to American ways and the concrete difficulties which it has experienced in America, in connection with the willingness of its European authorities to participate in "Life and Work" movements, have given it a certain plasticity permitting of modifications under New World conditions. Here local traditions are still in the making for the Eastern churches; and the older American churches have opportunity at least to reach an appreciative understanding with them before the mould is too firmly set. A few local church federations have made hopeful friendly approaches to Eastern Orthodox churches of their respective communities, and, as already indicated, a most important link has been established between them and the Protestant

¹¹ Douglass, H. Paul, *Protestant Coöperation in American Cities* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930), p. 26.

Episcopal Church. The equality of the two communions is already admitted in principle and many helpful specific contacts have been set up.

AMERICAN LUTHERAN VIEWPOINTS

The characteristics of Lutheranism most influential in determining its position with respect to unity are its division into a very large number of autonomous bodies coupled with its claim to inner unity. These characteristics its American churches share with the Lutheran bodies of all the world.

In asserting this claim of inner unity the president of the Lutheran World Convention offers the historical extenuation of division commonly alleged by Lutheran authorities:

"Poor communications and consequent isolation of nations and churches from each other in the early ages of Protestantism, the differences in race and language, the intense nationalism, diversity in economic interest and national alignment are among the causes which have separated the Evangelical Lutheran Churches throughout the earth during the past four hundred years. But inwardly they have always been united or one in the faith. This inner unity in the faith has been expressed, witnessed and evidenced by their commonly held confessions of faith, especially Luther's Small Catechism and the *Confessio Augustana*."¹²

Perhaps a more penetrating insight lays the original tendency to division to the territorial scheme of organization early adopted in Reformation Germany, which gave to each petty principality a separate church with state-appointed authorities. This was followed by Lutheran state churches for most of the many nations of northern Europe. All these sent immigrants to America to found separate denominations.

The immigrant stocks to which Lutherans belong experienced a rapid assimilation to the national religious type during the early national period. But the influence of later immigration brought violent reaction; so that the liberal tendencies of that day are strongly condemned by representative leaders of the present. Thus, according to the "Question Box" of the Missouri Synod Sunday-school Teachers *Quarterly*:

"A hundred years ago, S. S. Schmucker was trying to develop a brand of 'American Lutheranism' which would unite Lutherans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Episcopalians." In contrast with such laxness, "the confessional principle so strongly emphasized in the Missouri Synod from the beginning has exerted a tremendous influence on the Lutheran churches of America. There are still exceptions when Lutheran pastors of various bodies hold a union service with ministers of another faith, but the criticism which

¹² Communication from Dr. John A. Morehead, September 24, 1931.

they draw thereby shows that such unionistic services are not the rule, nor are they conducted without disturbing some one's conscience."¹³

In similar condemnatory vein a Missouri Synod editor writes:

"In the Lutheran Church of America one of the most widespread and popular of all movements was the revival program in the second quarter of the last century when, joining hands with other Protestant denominations, Lutheran preachers scoured vast sections of the country to preach in accepted revival style and with approved revival methods. Yet, when the course of that strenuous effort was run, great areas of the country were left arid and spiritually parched."¹⁴

The sharpness of the feelings thus expressed toward the past is some measure of the reaction which subsequently occurred. The regressive movement of Lutheranism with respect to general American religious evolution was, however, in the interests of a greater integration within exclusively Lutheran lines. Something of this has been traced in the narrative of recent partial church unions in chapter iii. Leaders of the movement for Lutheran unity naturally make much of it. "The entire history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America," writes Dr. John A. Morehead in the communication already mentioned, "with its many synods or church bodies, formed not because of differences in faith, but because of differences in national origin, the necessity of differing languages, or mere geographical location in a large and new country, is really a story of progress toward conscious unity in the faith and confession and of the process of the increasing realization of church unity within the Lutheran group of churches in this country."

To the non-Lutheran observer, however, it may well appear that both tendencies are still unexhausted. Lutheranism is still being assimilated to the American religious type; but its various branches have responded unequally as yet to the process. The interpretation of the total movement exclusively in terms of Lutheran integration is one-sided. In the largest sense what has been evolved is a three-way division in Lutheranism exactly parallel with that which all the leading denominations earlier experienced.¹⁵ The great Lutheran divisions, comprising 97 per cent. of all Lutherans, are the relatively progressive United Lutheran Church, the ultra-conservative Synodical Conference centering in the Missouri Lutheran Synod (which remains outside of the otherwise inclusive American Lutheran Conference), and the middle-of-the-road American Lutheran Church, with the position of which the two leading Scandinavian branches, the Norwegian and the Swedish respectively, are in general sympathy. The unequal length of time

¹³ Quoted in *The Lutheran*, January 14, 1932, p. 22.

¹⁴ Dr. Walter Maier, "My Idea of a United Lutheran Church in America," *The Lutheran*, August 18, 1932, pp. 6, 7, 8.

¹⁵ P. 33.

spent in the United States by the populations constituting these three divisions, coupled with their unequal urbanization, help to explain their divergent tendencies. The total Lutheran movement consequently appears, from the standpoint of sociological analysis, to be in an equivocal position. Some of its internal differences will be measured later in this study. Its more progressive elements have fully assimilated to the American type, but the total effect of its new cohesiveness is to make Lutheranism as a whole reactionary. The pulling and hauling of two forces create the essential problem of American Lutheranism.

ATTITUDE TOWARD ORGANIZED UNITY MOVEMENTS

The position into which American Lutheranism has thus come by historical evolution explains why, in spite of its very strong and genuine concern about church unity, it is not the center of any organized movement for general unity nor in active participation in most unity movements initiated by others.

Instead, one finds in general a bald Lutheran insistence upon the necessity of doctrinal agreement as the condition of church union. To have such agreement is to have what the Lutherans mean by unity. Where inward unity in faith exists it naturally follows that there should be external agreement and union.

The formal utterances of the major Lutheran churches are variously phrased and perhaps show actual divergences of sense. Thus, the second convention of the United Lutheran Church at Washington, in 1920, declares concerning the organic union of Protestant churches:

"We believe that the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church exists through and under divergent forms of external organization. Union of organization we hold, therefore, to be a matter of expediency; agreement in testimony to be a matter of principle."

The constitution of the American Lutheran Church (1930) asserts: "The external unity of the church is desirable and should be promoted." Declarations furnished by the secretary of the Missouri Lutheran Synod as representative of the sentiment of his body declare: "This inner unity (of the church) according to God's will should spread and become apparent in complete unity in one body as made known in the Holy Scriptures."¹⁶

How strictly this latter body construes the alleged doctrinal basis of inner unity appears in the following statement by its secretary:

"While in the church for the sake of true union much must be overlooked, yet may this under no circumstances be achieved through renunciation of the truth.

¹⁶ *Synodical Conference Report*, Evangelical Synodical Conference of North America, 1930, pp. 8-39.

To the contrary: Every deviation from one word of the clear revealed doctrine includes schismatic possibilities in itself and must by fixed persistence in an erroneous idea on the part of the diverging party lead to a breaking up of the brotherhood."¹⁷

Embarrassed by its own acute divisions, Lutheranism is not in a position to make itself the center of a movement for the unity thus believed in. Moreover, in ceasing to keep step with the main procession of American religious development, Lutheranism finds itself with less influence than its numbers merit. Thus, with considerable reason, Dr. Paul E. Scherer complains:¹⁸ "A tendency is observable in our time among writers of other communions, to leave us out of view when speaking of Protestantism, or to leave us in the dim background of the picture. This can be explained only by the fact that, after all, they do recognize the differences; but they do not think them important. With us they are important, so important and far-reaching indeed, that we are in conscience bound to maintain our separate identity."

In contrast with this sense of being driven back upon itself, the celebration, in 1930, of the fourth centennial of the adoption of the Augsburg Confession, the symbol of the doctrinal unity of all Lutherans, evoked new expressions of the ecumenical spirit and a fresh vision of possible Lutheran leadership in the world integration of Christendom.

THE LOGIC OF LUTHERANISM

The meaning of the Lutheran position is abundantly shown in the course of negotiations looking toward internal integration of the Lutheran bodies. Its first element is the inflexible requirement of doctrinal agreement. Negotiations for union have always ostensibly hinged upon the finely drawn-out and minute reconsiderations of doctrinal status. Lutheran authorities commonly assume the inherent necessity of this process. An approving commentator in the "Question Box" of *Concordia Sunday-school Teachers' Quarterly* of the Missouri Synod writes:

"The many attempts at uniting various Lutheran church bodies in America have not been prompted by the mere craving for big numbers. Most of them have been preceded by serious doctrinal discussions. It is true that we have those who would lay aside the confessional principle, and become enthusiastic about uniting the Lutheran churches in America and who picture an irresistible conquest of America if all the American Lutheran churches were united. Let us thank God that there are but few thus minded."

A more critical view questions whether the method of seeking doctrinal agreement has not been drawn out too finely:

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ In an unpublished manuscript lecture.

"It is possible to raise objections and questions regarding every doctrine in the Bible. It is possible to interpret, speculate, philosophize *usque ad nauseam*, and there is no end to the hair-splitting of which the human mind is capable. . . . Not satisfied with a plain and simple statement, it has been considered necessary to make efforts to guard against every conceivable misunderstanding and enter into such infinitesimal distinctions that it is beyond the comprehension, not only of the laity, but it even becomes a puzzle to an expert in Aristotelian logic."¹⁹

The reverse of the insistence upon actual doctrinal agreement, and the second characteristic of the Lutheran position is the deliberate exclusion of bodies with whom such agreement was not established. Thus, in the organization of the Norwegian Lutheran Church by the merger of three synods, the following was made an article of agreement: "The three church bodies earnestly and mutually promise one another to observe the rule not to have church fellowship with the Reformed churches and others who do not share our faith and confessions."

With similar rigorousness the newly-established American Lutheran Church declares: "The Synod regards unity in doctrine and practice the necessary prerequisite for church fellowship, and therefore adheres to the rule, 'Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran pastors only, and Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only,' and rejects unionism in all its forms."²⁰

However, the very rigorousness as to agreement in faith makes a third characteristic possible. It enables Lutheranism to contemplate unity as capable of realization under different external forms. Thus, in a current symposium, one editor asserts:

"There is no present reasonable excuse for our failure to build up a system of representative church government which begins with the congregation and culminates in a delegate body whose jurisdiction springs from congregations via synods. . . . We have a pattern in the articulations of the several states of the union and the precedents that have been worked out by our own mistakes and by the successful experience of other communions."²¹

This is a plea for full corporate union of Lutheran bodies. Another editor matches it with a definitely federal proposal:

"A truly united church would not imply a united centralized government. . . . It would seem that the form of government that, at least for the beginning, would provoke the least difficulties would be an affiliation of various bodies into a synodical conference rather than a membership of individual congregations in one united

¹⁹ Dr. G. T. Lee (Editor of *Lutheran Herald*), "My Idea of a United Lutheran Church," *The Lutheran*, August 11, 1932.

²⁰ *Constitution and By-Laws for the American Lutheran Church* (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1930), Article II, Section 3, p. 6.

²¹ Nathan R. Melhorn, "My Idea of a United Lutheran Church in America," *The Lutheran*, August 25, 1932.

church. Each of these constituent bodies would preserve its autonomy, elect its own officers, but in an ever increasing degree coöperate with the other groups for the more widespread and efficient prosecution of the greater opportunities that would confront it."²²

IMPLICIT LUTHERAN DEMANDS ON OTHERS

As the matter actually stands, beyond the reiteration of the formula of creedal agreement, Lutheranism does not so much make precise proposals for church unity but rather exhibits the consequences of its version of unity within its own family. In so doing, however, it states its explicit terms of unity with others.

Lutheranism is in the position, first, of asking others to accept the notion that unity is undisturbed by organizational divisions, provided it is maintained in doctrine. Dr. Morehead in his letter of September 24, 1931 (see *supra*) wrote:

"These are all equal, autonomous Evangelical Lutheran churches, having unity in the faith and confession of the Christian religion, accepting the same historic confessions, and exercising fully their freedom in the choice of orders of worship or liturgies, forms of government, and other external matters which according to the Lutheran understanding of the revelation of God in Christ are non-essentials. The same things are true of the long list of Evangelical Lutheran churches or general church bodies throughout the earth, which coöperate in the Lutheran World Convention movement."

Second, there is an implicit demand upon all churches to attempt to compose their doctrinal differences as Lutherans do by minute comparison and formulations of agreement point by point. Conscious that it is not in position to control the terms in which Christendom in the main is actually willing to discuss union, Lutheranism has not had the heart to put this proposal forward very decisively; but as to its theory of how to secure union it stands unquestioned.

Finally, an unacknowledged divergence between the Lutheran spirit and that of the American churches generally comes to the surface in discussions about unity in life and work. Lutheranism feels that much that the other churches desire to do in the name of religion is outside the proper sphere of the church. This attitude appears to others to be, in part, a holdover of characteristics developed by the Lutheran churches while they were still in close affiliation with European states. They have simply rationalized and perpetuated the narrow limitations of their function at that time prescribed by law. In another aspect it is a revolt of pietism against the activist tendency of the people of the United States which sets them "busying" them-

²² Dr. Walter Maier, "My Idea of a United Lutheran Church in America," *The Lutheran*, August 18, 1932, pp. 6, 7, 8.

selves with "worldly issues" that do not really matter much in the "eternal scale."

CONSEQUENCES OF THE LUTHERAN POSITION

The consequences of these implicit demands, coupled with the inability of Lutheranism to get a hearing for the type of unity proposal in which it is primarily interested, are numerous.

The Lutheran desire to treat the issue as one to be settled by authority is in conflict with the pragmatic spirit of most branches of American Protestantism and with the spirit of the more concessive wing in some of the Catholic bodies. Criticising the method of the present study, a Missouri Lutheran pastor wrote: "The questionnaire is asking for opinions, not for Scriptural teaching, and the places where the questionnaire speaks of the Scriptures it is doing the work of the devil." More reactionary Lutherans put exceedingly strong pressure upon their adherents to present a united front. "I do not like the purpose of the questionnaire," writes another correspondent. "One of its inquiries is: 'Do the relatively small number of professional leaders who are discussing this subject accurately represent their followers, or not? Do laymen agree with ministers?' Does this not mean that if quite a number of the laymen in a respective denomination whose leaders testify against unionism, show by its answer unionistic tendencies, the Institute will state it as its findings that the leaders are discredited and do not properly represent their denomination?"

Again, a tendency is apparent to understate the actual degree of variation within Lutheran bodies. The study's data revealed such variation on numerous points. More reactionary Lutherans are constantly complaining about them and often make their existence the basis of refusal to enter upon unions with other Lutherans: "As long as some of our U.L.C.A. ministers are more interested in sects outside of the Lutheran churches, such as joint denominational communion and Thanksgiving Day services, true Lutheran union is far off."²³ Similar attitudes more formidably expressed appear in the following quotation:

"With public utterances and printed statements on record which illustrate that Lutheran pastors and teachers in authoritative position have relieved themselves of utterances that are diametrically opposed to some of the most basic and primary doctrines of the Scriptures, it cannot be hoped that these men, as few and isolated as they fortunately are, can be brought to anything more than a nominal acceptance of the historical Lutheran position and that therefore no true and complete unanimity can be attained. But it is our conviction that the vast majority of Lutheran pastors are concerned about doctrinal soundness and under proper guidance could be convinced of the inherent blessings of a truly

²³ "Lutheran Union," *The Lutheran*, October 6, 1932.

Scriptural and Lutheran unity which would concatenate all kindred spirits in one faith. . . . There could still be differences of opinion in regard to philosophical theorization and theologoumena. There could still be dichotomists and tri-chotomists, creationists and traducianists. Neither would a unified exegetical interpretation of all passages of Scripture be necessary, as long as all explanations would make a reverent, intelligent appeal to the authority of the Scriptures. . . . But it would be obviously incongruous and destructive of even the most elementary conceptions of valid unity, if in an outwardly united church, there were on the one hand those who insist on Lutheran clergymen for Lutheran pulpits, and on the other hand those who are ready to put the privileges of their pulpits at the disposal of men who are essentially hostile to Lutheranism; on the one side the advocates of a male clergy, a closed communion, the repudiation of anti-Christian secret societies, and the worship only with those who are truly united in faith—and on the other side the large company of those who by plain practice and profession support a female clergy, open communion, the American lodge system, and unionism. . . . Placed under the close scrutiny of a carping generation, the effect of the gospel must not be vitiated by the open contradiction of an antithetical 'Yes' and 'No' when only one alternative of practice can be correct and enjoy the sanction of the Scriptures."²⁴

From this viewpoint Lutheran division must still continue because Lutherans themselves are not actually united in things that count.

The consequence of Lutheran scruples over coöperation with other Christian bodies will be set forth in other chapters.²⁵ These scruples have kept them out of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, except that the United Lutheran Church coöperates in a "consultative" capacity in a carefully defined and limited range of interests. The Lutheran attitude also finds difficulty with comity as commonly practised by the majority of Protestant bodies, though Lutheran representatives sometimes sit consultatively on comity committees without having consented to comity agreements.

CONCLUSION

The final significance of the Lutheran position is probably to be found in the fact that it represents a peculiar strain in American civilization. Its imperfect cultural assimilation to the major characteristics of the nation strikes such a foreign observer as André Siegfried as a major phenomenon of American life.²⁶ The nationalistic and racial reactions characteristic of small immigrant groups in the early stages of their American experience have belatedly taken on large-scale proportions in the Lutheran group, reinforced by millions of later-comers. With the increasing consciousness that its tendency is somewhat divergent from that of the main stream, Lutheran-

²⁴ Maier, *op. cit.*

²⁵ See chapter x.

²⁶ *America Comes of Age.*

ism has turned primarily to the achievement of its own internal integration. The result is a very large movement, of growing strength, whose internal integration is sure to go farther. Whether it will take the organic or the federal form, as most of the partial Lutheran unions have done in the past, is still in debate.

In spite, however, of these evidences of internal integration, it is not entirely clear to the present writer whether the ties of Lutheranism to the larger movement are not even stronger. The much greater affinity of the United Lutheran Church for the average Protestant position than for the position of the Missouri Synod is impressively revealed by the direct data of the study.²⁷ It may, therefore, prove that some of the inclusive lines which Lutherans like to draw are contrary to reality and that the more liberal Lutheran wing will find itself assimilated to the Protestant majority even more rapidly than it is integrated with the Lutheran whole. Under the federal version of unity it would seem possible that room might be found for both tendencies without an overt break with either the narrower or the broader group.

All told, then, Lutheranism presents an important sector of American religious life in which, in general, advance toward union must wait on the deep forces of social assimilation. Here are on-going processes which cannot be coerced nor greatly hastened. Meanwhile one will do well to be aware of all that the processes involve, to respect the integrity of all, and to keep the maximum of appreciative contacts on all fronts, leaving it to every man's philosophy to judge whether the issue will ultimately be settled by some compounding of theological differences or by the leavening of the entire American religious mass by energies which work primarily in terms other than those of theology.

VIEWPOINT OF THE CHRISTIAN UNITY LEAGUE

Younger and less clearly differentiated than the viewpoint of denominations and parties which have previously been explored, is an essentially native American movement which bases the visible unity of the church upon an idealistic and ethical imperative growing directly out of the nature of Christianity as brotherliness, with the equality and intercommunion of the existing churches as direct corollaries.

The reason for ranking this viewpoint, as measured by its insistence upon unity, next to those of the high-church groups, is that its prevailing mood is one of authority, directness and strenuousness. Ranked in these terms, its demand is only less absolute than that for the obedient acceptance of a divinely ordained order of the church or a revealed doctrine.

²⁷ See Appendix Table 6.

THE NATURE OF THE IMPERATIVE TO UNION

The nature of the ethical imperative is well put by Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison:

"The essential and primary problem of Christian unity is neither theological nor ecclesiastical. It is a problem in Christian morality. The solution of the problem will not be found in a common creed or a common polity, but in a common ethic—an ethic which reflects the mind of Christ and which will, therefore, cause the reëxamination of our churchly practices to discover whether these practices are unbrotherly and unchristian and, therefore, contrary to the mind of Christ. We shall make progress toward a united Christendom only when we cease to consider our doctrines and our orders in terms of their origin and their 'proofs' and examine the moral quality of the practices which they lead us to adopt. If under cover of our doctrines and orders we find ourselves doing things which are plainly unchristian there will be no course open to us but to revise our practices at whatever cost to our doctrines and orders."²⁸

Approached in this way, the first step toward union is a revision of unchristian practices believed to be inherent in denominationalism. Such a viewpoint finds its historic roots in the idea of unity through a restoration of primitive Christianity identified with the Disciples of Christ. Its idealistic and ethical characteristics, however, are not sectarian. They obviously draw on the common fund of ethical idealism which runs broadly through the integrative movement of the American church in its coöperative and federative forms and which has inspired many of the partial unions of the church. This is particularly true of local churches which, though their motivation has been chiefly practical, have sometimes represented the ethical impulse to reform "without tarrying for any." This emphasis differentiates the present viewpoint from that which proposes union on the basis of faith or of order.

The idealistic and ethical challenge to union is made explicit and determinative by the Christian Unity League. This, the organized expression of the present viewpoint, was organized in Baltimore in 1928. It was projected to carry farther the initiative impulses of the Stockholm and Lausanne movements, and it likes to think of itself as coördinate with these movements.²⁹ The League is an association of individuals. It operates under a "continuation committee." It has an unofficial organ, *The Christian Union Quarterly*. Its personal leadership largely focused in the late Dr. Peter Ainslie, a minister of the Disciples of Christ, but kindred ideas have long been advocated in *The Christian Century*, a Chicago publication.

²⁸ Quoted from *The Christian Century* in Ainslie, Peter, *The Equality of All Christians Before God* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), pp. 14, 15.

²⁹ *The Christian Union Quarterly*, July, 1932.

The League also finds particularly strong backing and approval among certain low-church leaders of the Protestant Episcopal communion.

THE LEAGUE'S PROPOSALS

The essence of the League's proposal is voiced in the slogan, "The equality of all Christians before God." It calls for direct action beginning with the individual Christian and "going to the roots of denominationalism." In further exposition of the movement, Dr. Ainslie wrote: "Without hesitation it goes to the root of our divisions and simply asks for an affirmation of willingness to fellowship with other Christians in public worship. It does not ask any church to abandon any creed or ordinance or order or polity, but it invites Christian individuals to make the adventure of trusting other Christians as Christians by expressing a willingness to receive them into Christ's churches and at His supper; and a like willingness to have all Christian ministers accepted as equals, regardless of differences in forms of ordination. All this seems very simple and commonplace, but it is the hurdle of denominationalism, which Christian unity must find a way of overleaping."⁸⁰

This proposal, that individuals shall deliberately cut across denominational lines, is made explicit in the so-called Pact of Reconciliation which members of the League sign, as follows:

"We, Christians of various churches, believing that only in a coöperative and united Christendom can the world be Christianized, deplore a divided Christendom as being opposed to the Spirit of Christ and the needs of the world. We, therefore, desire to express our sympathetic interest in and prayerful attitude toward all conferences, small and large, that are looking toward reconciliation of the divided Church of Christ.

"We acknowledge the equality of all Christians before God and propose to follow this principle, as far as possible, in all our spiritual fellowships. We will strive to bring the laws and practices of our several communions into conformity with this principle, so that no Christian shall be denied membership in any of our churches, nor the privilege of participation in the observance of the Lord's supper, and that no Christian minister shall be denied the freedom of our pulpits by reason of differences in forms of ordination.

"We pledge, irrespective of denominational barriers, to be brethren one to another in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior, whose we are and whom we serve."⁸¹

This quotation is from the latest version of the Pact. It distinctly softens an earlier version which read in the second paragraph: "And we propose to recognize, in all our spiritual fellowship, the practice of equality of all

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.

Christians before God so that no Christian shall be denied membership," etc. The effect of the revision was to substitute *a resolve to attempt to change church practices for an agreement to break them forthwith* where they were felt to conflict with ethical requirements.

In addition to the conduct to which the pledge commits individuals, the League looks with favor upon the abandonment of traditional denominational practices by local churches; as illustrated by the open-communion congregations of the Baptist and Disciples communions, and by the reception by certain Protestant Episcopal churches of members from other Protestant churches without confirmation. Furthermore the League has voiced sentiments which seem to approve a non-creedal basis of union as follows:

"This committee, under the conviction that Christianity is a spirit and way of life in which men live and work together, before it is a definite form of doctrine to which men give assent, submits as a sufficient basis of Christian unity that men accept in faith the God and Father of us all, share the experience of the redemptive power of Jesus Christ and His Spirit and become co-workers with Him in the realization and extension of His Kingdom, so that the Father's will be done on earth as it is in heaven."³²

CONSEQUENCES OF THE ETHICAL CHALLENGE TO UNION

Consequences from these proposals are thus called for both in personal and in public conduct. The Christian Unity League itself is carrying on propaganda by means of conventions in leading cities of the country. The habitual climax of its method is to dramatize its convictions in a joint celebration of the Lord's supper in which ministers of various denominations take part—some of them in defiance of custom and sentiment within their denominations and with possible infringement of their laws.

One of the most notable of such occasions was the joint communion held in connection with the 1929 conference in New York City. A proposed joint communion in St. George's Protestant Episcopal Church was prevented by Bishop Manning and had to be transferred to another place. This and similar episodes roused extensive discussion; first, as to the legality of the procedures from the standpoint of the Protestant Episcopal law, and second, as to the ethical implications of attitudes behind the occurrence. Dr. Ainslie's estimate of such joint communions is that if they "were duplicated in a dozen centers in the United States it would do more than anything else in opening the way to the Protestant Episcopal Church in its appeal for Christian unity." In view of this deliberately expressed judgment it seems scarcely consistent to write of the later joint communion at St. Louis: "Per-

³² Report of the Committee on Message to the Conference of the Christian Unity League, St. George's Church, New York City, 1929.

haps no person in the great audience in the Cathedral thought of the New York incident. It was quite forgotten. The service in Christ Church Cathedral was so profoundly impressive, so natural, so beautiful, so Christian that it is even difficult to think that it was possible to do otherwise. Coming out, a gentleman said: 'I heard several remarks as though this were an unusual service tonight. I am curious to inquire wherein it was unusual.'"³³

The facts are, of course, that such joint communions are unusual and that the Christian Unity League deliberately stages them in the knowledge that they will give offense. They call for a revolutionary personal conduct on the part of ministers who have to break limiting precedents or obligations. To justify this on superior ethical grounds is the essence of the League's position. They invite, as a natural reaction, the charge of "evasion of the law and order of the church, trampling upon principles she holds most dear, defiance of her constituted authority."

The League challenges, in turn, the whole idea of scrupulousness and the conventional appeal to conscience. In the past "the denominations have been able to get it across to many in their fold by labeling their attitude of exclusiveness as 'conscience', 'sacred', etc.; perhaps a 'God-given trust'. It is high sounding; it is the atmosphere of sectarianism."³⁴

But such tactics are no longer to go unchallenged. A tendency has recently appeared under the League's leadership to abandon the amenities which discussions of unity have generally preserved whenever anyone raises the plea of conscientious conviction in the defense of disunion. Direct ethical assault is now being made upon their positions. A militant counter-attack appears, for example, in the address of the low-church rector of St. George's in New York (Dr. Karl Reiland) at the 1929 meeting of the Christian Unity League:

"There is no excuse for one to take his medieval theories back to the beginnings and impose their specialized fashion in disguising the facts. The things that are keeping the churches apart today have no basis in fact in the New Testament. . . . The Anglican communion . . . is wrong in assuming a validity for its ministry which it denies to the ministry of other Protestant bodies. . . . There is no refuge for disunity in the boast of tradition and the leadership of the Spirit, for God has never guaranteed to sanction the mandates of men, and it requires pathological delusion to hold the 'spirit of truth' responsible for the fictions and the fractures of tradition.

"The Lord Jesus replied to the plea of tradition with a statement of crushing impact when he uttered these challenging words: 'Ye make void the word of God by your traditions!' Within the category of the churches there may easily

³³ *The Christian Union Quarterly*, July, 1932.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

be those 'to whom he hath given a strong delusion so that they come to believe a lie.' "

The wide significance of this emphasis of the ethical imperative to unity is found, first, in its congeniality with the general attitude of the American religious public as revealed in previous chapters and by the long series of explicit tests, many of which remain to be presented. A large section of the public is weary of the long-drawn-out effort for denominational adjustments along conservative lines, especially when slowed down by what it regards as theological hair-splitting. It is not willing to accept the plea of conscientious conviction and stands with the Christian Unity League rather than with the constituted ecclesiastical authorities when incidents involving intercommunion have been submitted to its judgment.³⁵ In short, American public opinion is ready for ecclesiastical short cuts. This statement is subject to qualification. It holds only within the limits which popular opinion assumes, as measured by distance feeling and as rationalized in the general formula of "evangelical" Christianity. Within these limits popular sentiment is ready for direct action.

At the same time the specific practices advocated by the Christian Unity League are in line with the more concessive suggestions of the Anglican communion. These include occasional intercommunion and other temporary departures from precedent. Only the League proceeds to take these positions by violence rather than by waiting for ecclesiastical action.

A TENTATIVE VERDICT

The League's focusing of the sense of ethical imperative which runs throughout the entire integrative process is a contribution of first importance for unity. It has turned a widely diffused sentiment into an effective instrument.

Again, the League's propaganda, through its published organs and conferences, constitutes the most direct and aggressive of educational processes in behalf of church union now going on in the United States. It has made a good start in supplying the serious lack of discussion previously demonstrated.

The League's other methods raise more doubts. Evolution is forcing the gradual and somewhat orderly retreat of sectarianism and hastening the general advance of integration.

It is, therefore, possible to question whether such definite forcings of the issue as the League habitually instigates, actually make the largest possible contribution to unity. On the other hand, there is much to suggest the possibility, somewhere along the line, of a sudden break in the barrier between the churches, through which a mighty flood may flow. Between

³⁵ Pp. 368 and 373.

these two possibilities the continuous seeping through of the spirit of unity and the constant breaking over of obstructions to union at many points must be recognized. Direct individual action on the part of thousands of persons already disregards conventional, and even canonical limitations. The League's method does little more than to link up with the massive movement of adherents' going and coming between churches with little regard to their alleged sanctions or peculiar tenets.³⁶ It accentuates one of the most extensive phenomena of the whole integrative field.

THE OFFICIAL ANGLICAN POSITION

From the standpoint of a study of unity movements in the United States, first place in the determination of the official Anglican position must be given to declarations and actions of the General Conference of the Protestant Episcopal Church and to the reports and actions of some of its commissions, particularly that on Unity.

Authoritative expressions of the Anglican position, however, cannot be limited to strictly American sources.

The utterances of the Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops represent the church in the United States in its copartnership with Anglican bodies throughout the world. The Lambeth declarations are, therefore, to be accepted as those of the wider leadership of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Finally, the Lausanne World Conference on Faith and Order originated in an action of the General Conference of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the early guidance and direction, and much of the final character of the conference represent the Protestant Episcopal method of approach to problems of unity. The results of this conference also aid greatly in defining the Anglican position. These were further sharpened by the formal report of a Commission on the World Conference already discussed in an earlier paragraph of this chapter.

An understanding of these official expressions is rendered difficult by jangling interpretations from within the Protestant Episcopal Church. Various parties and wings have attempted to read their own presuppositions back into the official action or have assumed to draw particular conclusions as the sole possible and valid ones. The following exposition accordingly, though as objective as possible, can hardly hope to satisfy all of those who so signally disagree among themselves.

In the basic analysis of this chapter the official Anglican position is placed fifth in a series of ten ranked according to the degree to which corporate unity is demanded as essential to the church. In the imperiousness of its demand for unity through external authority and uniformity in faith and practice, the Roman Catholic Church stands first.

³⁶ See p. 90.

Next comes the Anglo-Catholic position. Two positions, namely, the Lutheran and that of the Christian Unity League, are then inserted as falling between the positions of the Anglo-Catholic wing and the official Anglican position. A later justification of this order will be offered when the results of certain objective tests are presented. These tests will show that the position of the Protestant Episcopal Church as a whole is not extreme. It has a distinctive emphasis but in its most general position is not in opposition to the majority of American churches. Relative to the total range of positions on union its actual place is somewhat to the left of the center at approximately the point to which the foregoing analysis has assigned it.

Stated in most general terms, the official Anglican position is that the church ought to be a visible unity, and that it is one so far as it has a common faith and order. By a common order is chiefly meant a common ministry ordained by and under the oversight of the Episcopate, whose continuous functioning in the church is the highest symbol of its unity as well as its most effective practical guarantee.

MOVEMENTS DEFINING THE OFFICIAL ANGLICAN POSITION

The working position of the Anglican communion with respect to church union has been developed through a series of movements and processes which found their fresh modern beginning in the declaration on unity of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1886. This declaration, adopted by the Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops in 1888 and put forth as the permanent basis for a consideration of union, is universally recognized as epochal and has given direction to most far-reaching developments of thinking and action. Four points were enumerated "as essential to the restoration of unity among the divided branches of Christendom," namely:

"1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the revealed Word of God.

"2. The Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith.

"3. The two Sacraments—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him.

"4. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church."⁸⁷

These four points have remained the frame of reference for subsequent Lambeth Conferences, and have been reiterated and elaborated as the official platform of the Anglican bodies. They have indeed suffered essential de-

⁸⁷ Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

velopment by reason of subsequent interpretative details, largely growing out of interchanges of thought with non-Anglican bodies to whom they have been communicated. Moreover, as already indicated, they have suffered divergent interpretations within the Episcopal Church, and these interpretations, from any realistic viewpoint, must be regarded as having modified the original statement, especially since they condition every effort to make the statement a basis of action.

The most generally acclaimed advance upon the original four points was made by the Lambeth Conference of 1920. It issued a moving "Appeal to All Christian People" in which the exposition of the essentials of union shifted from the episcopate to the ministry in general. Moreover, while repeating the Anglican stand on an historic episcopate, the Appeal added a cordial recognition of the spiritual values of the ministries of the non-episcopal churches and suggested a possible interchange of commissions between churches; so that the requirement of Episcopal ordination as the condition of a completely valid ministry would not appear to be wholly a one-sided proposal. These concessions were regarded as highly dangerous by more conservative elements within the Anglican church; and, on the other hand, were widely accepted among the free churches as marking the end of the Anglican demand for "unity on our terms only" and as a hopeful beginning for the consideration of mutual adjustments.

The last Lambeth Conference, that of 1930, reiterated its recognition of the spiritual warrant of the non-episcopal ministries; provided that Anglican communicants in very exceptional cases might receive communion in non-episcopal churches; and gave conditional approval to the South India scheme of Union between Episcopal and certain non-episcopal bodies as applicable in principle to the relations of churches to one another in other parts of the world. The significance of the more important points involved in this development will have further discussion.

THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND ORDER

The most definite and successful effort of the Protestant Episcopal Church to motivate its position and get consideration for its proposals was embodied in the World Conference on Faith and Order.

The method of this Conference was suggested by the successful World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910. The plan was officially adopted by the General Conference of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1910. Invitations for participation were sent to "all Christian bodies throughout the world which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior for the consideration of questions pertaining to the faith and order of the church of Christ", in the conviction that the study and discussion of such a conference "without power to legislate or adopt resolutions, is the next step toward

unity." Partly on account of the World War, but largely because of the enormous requirement in time for correspondence and visitation with Christian communions throughout the world, and in securing their favorable responses, the actual convening of the World Conference was delayed till 1927. By 1920, however, sixty-nine churches in forty nations had appointed commissions to coöperate and the preparation for the conference subsequently went on under the broadened auspices of these bodies.

The actual conference brought together representatives of virtually entire Christendom except the Roman Catholic Church. One hundred and eight separate bodies were represented. The agenda covered the total scope of Christianity expressed in its largest terms. These included the "Call to Unity," the gospel, the nature of the church, the church's faith, ministry and sacraments and the relations to one another of the existing churches. Each topic on the agenda was discussed in the full conference, referred to sub-committee for further consideration and report, brought back to the conference and, in some cases, adopted; in others accepted, in the sense that no objection was offered; and in still others, authorized for publication without acceptance.

Discussion and action on these findings by scores of churches throughout the world have been in active progress during the years following the Conference; and a Continuation Committee is projecting a second Lausanne Conference for 1937. This will discover whether further agreement has developed in recent years.

PARTICULAR CONFERENCES AND NEGOTIATIONS

Further practical commentary upon the official Anglican position on church union is found in particular conferences and negotiations initiated or participated in by the Protestant Episcopal Church since the Lambeth proposals.

Thus, the Concordat proposed in 1908 between the Protestant Episcopal and Congregational churches,³⁸ was designed to secure Episcopal ordination for Congregational ministers who might be willing to accept it, and to give them common standing in the two communions. It was thus related directly to one of the four principles of the Quadrilateral. Conferences with Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian representatives in 1931, on the contrary, had to do with problems of Christian morality, an auxiliary issue from the standpoint of the former proposals. A subsequent invitation attempted to bring Lutherans into conference so broadened in scope as to include other unity issues.

As will appear later,³⁹ the choice by the Protestant Episcopal Church of

³⁸ See p. 58.

³⁹ P. 481.

these particular denominations for first approach follows a sound instinct, since, of the larger church bodies, their positions actually stand nearest to that of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

ELABORATION OF POSITION WITH RESPECT TO THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE

The chief developments of the official Anglican position relative to church union since 1888 have related to the fourth essential laid down by the Lambeth Conference, namely, the historic episcopate. The reason for thus focusing upon a single point is that no challenging difficulties have arisen in connection with the other three, namely: the Scriptures, the creed and the sacraments. With respect to them (presumably as a result of the large measure of agreement registered at the Lausanne Conference) the Lambeth Conference of 1930 could report "such measure of agreement as to form a hopeful basis of further negotiations." This was in effect to waive the details of their discussion and to leave the historic episcopate the chief issue.

Before summarizing the specific points at which the Anglican position with respect to this issue has developed, it is important to understand the principle by virtue of which official Anglicans are able to justify any development in a matter which many churches have regarded as a fixed requirement. This principle is the one popularly designated as "taking the will for the deed." It was appealed to by the Anglican bishops in 1930 in the following terms: "The earnest desire to restore union makes possible a recognition by the Church, in some respects, of ministries which, in separation, must stand on a different footing." The same principle was also appealed to as justifying certain anomalous conditions foreseen as consequent upon the adoption of the South India Scheme of Union.⁴⁰ Explaining the Lambeth action to American Episcopalians as involving "much that seemed and probably still seems so strange to many convinced Anglicans," Bishop Edward L. Parsons, of the Diocese of California, wrote:

"Where the goal of unity has been definitely set and two or more Christian bodies definitely committed to it, experiments and concessions are justified which under ordinary circumstances would be out of the question. It is essentially the same as the familiar Orthodox principle of economy in accordance with which the church may in its own interests or in those of individual souls validate irregularities. For the sake of the great end of the consummation of union the church will not change its rules but may justify or validate exceptions."

Logically speaking, of course, the so-called exception to a rule is an additional datum concerning the supposed truth which underlies the rule. This gives significance to the concessions allowed by official Anglicanism

⁴⁰ This and subsequent references not otherwise identified, in this section are to the Lambeth 1930 Report, pp. 116-128.

under the principle of economy, which have appeared to non-episcopal Christians to narrow the gap between the Anglicans and themselves. The chief concessions, some of which have already been noted, are as follows:

(1) The non-episcopal communions are recognized as *de facto* churches, and spoken of in the same terms as those applied to Anglicans and other Episcopal bodies; and it is declared that: "Each of the bodies thus separated has under the guidance of the Holy Spirit developed spiritual resources and enjoyed spiritual treasures which must be conserved in the re-united Church." While the continued existence of these churches in separation is not acquiesced in, the Anglican church confesses and accepts its share of responsibility for disunion and sets forth fully the mutuality of the processes necessary for re-union.

(2) If ministers of other communions will accept Episcopal ordination as a commission "obtaining for them a ministry throughout the whole fellowship," the bishops and clergy of the Anglican communion would accept in turn from the authorities of the other communions "a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations as having its place in the one family life."⁴¹

(3) While Episcopal ordination is thus insisted upon, a spiritual validity is accorded to the non-episcopal ministries. These ministries "have been manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace." Non-episcopal ministers may on occasion be permitted to preach in Episcopal pulpits. This permission was subsequently broadened and made more specific for the United States by action of the Protestant Episcopal Church.⁴²

Negotiations by authorities of the Church of England, following the 1920 Lambeth "Appeal", with the English free churches elaborated this point with the declaration: "Ministries which imply a sincere intention to preach Christ's word and administer the Sacraments as Christ has ordained, and to which authority so to do has been solemnly given by the Church concerned, are real ministries of Christ's work and Sacraments in the Universal Church. Yet ministries, even when so regarded, may be in varying degrees irregular and defective."⁴³

(4) Upon occasion, and by Episcopal permission, an Anglican communicant may receive the communion from a non-episcopal minister, in spite of this minister's defective status, particularly "in special areas where the ministrations of his own church are not available for long periods of time or without traveling great distances;" while, under similar circumstances,

⁴¹ Quoted in Slosser, G. J., *Christian Unity* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1929), p. 329.

⁴² *Supra*.

⁴³ Slosser, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

communicants of other churches may be encouraged to commune in Anglican churches.

(5) In connection with the approval of the South India Scheme of Union, the bishops agreed that the acceptance of the historic episcopate would not require the "acceptance of any one particular interpretation of it." This declaration was made in commentary upon a section of the Scheme which definitely permits a variety of theories to be held.

(6) The episcopate should be "constitutional", presbyterial and congregational elements duly coöperating in the "order of the church's life."

These concessions are of course to be considered in the light of points not conceded. In the official Anglican view, the separated churches are in error in remaining separate. The historic episcopate is the required condition of union. Complete interchangeability of present ministries is not conceded, nor is intercommunion ordinarily allowed.

It follows from the extreme Anglo-Catholic position, as previously set forth, that these concessions are either interpreted with extreme rigorousness by that party or else utterly repudiated.

THE SOUTH INDIA SCHEME OF UNION

The most clarifying interpretation of the official Anglican position is found in the favorable reception of the South India Scheme of Union by the Lambeth Conference of 1930. The scheme is essentially an attempt to apply Anglican principles and concessions to a proposed union of Indian churches of four general types, Episcopal, Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist. Details of the Scheme show how an attempt to combine points of view representing such origins actually works out. They become a further exposition of the Anglican position because of the bishops' declaration at Lambeth that in their judgment the principles of the Scheme are capable of application to other fields.

In harmony with the general balance of interest observed in all recent discussions involving Anglicans, other points of Christianity are simply and briefly dealt with. The evangelical message, the Scriptures, the creeds and sacraments are easily agreed upon. In the matter of order, however, the character and constitution of the proposed united church is painstakingly set forth. The following are the most salient points as set forth in the Scheme of Union:

(1) The United South Indian Church is to be autonomous but in fellowship and full communion with all the churches to whose missionary activities the Indian church owes its origin, and the Indian church hopes to be allowed delegated participation in the highest assemblies of all these communions.

(2) The proposed church is to be episcopal in polity, but with large recognition of presbyterian and congregational elements in its government. The present Anglican bishops are to be bishops in the united church, but additional bishops are to be consecrated at the inauguration of the union, with the joint laying on of hands of bishops and of presbyters representing the non-episcopal elements in the union.

(3) The functions of the bishops are to be named and defined in a written constitution. These are to include the authority of the bishop to suspend the action of his diocesan council in matters directly concerning faith, worship or ministry of the church pending final decision by the General Synod of the whole church.

(4) All existing ministers of the uniting churches are to be recognized as ministers of the Word and of the sacraments in the united church.

(5) All members of the uniting churches become members of the united church.

(6) "Every form of service which was used in any of the uniting churches before the union may continue to be used after the union," and individual congregations may in general determine what forms of worship they will observe.

(7) Recognizing that union is essentially a process of growing together into one life and that during the period of transition difficulties will arise, the united church "will be careful not to allow any over-riding of conscience by church authorities or by majorities, nor will it in its administrative acts knowingly transgress the long-established traditions of any of the uniting churches." The Scheme explicitly sets forth, however, the purpose and expectation that in the end "all members of the united church are willing and wishful to receive communion equally in any of its churches."

(8) For thirty years ministers of any of the churches to which the united church owes its origins are to be accepted as ministers of the united church without reordination upon assent to the constitution and basis of union. After thirty years the united church will reconsider and decide the question. This provision applies primarily to missionaries sent to India by western communions.

The South India Scheme is now before the subordinate bodies of the several churches for consideration and approval. As a movement parallel to the unity movements in the United States, it has only remote significance for the present study. But, as already pointed out, it has direct significance as an exposition of the official Anglican position, inasmuch as it shows concretely the meaning and application of Anglican principles and exceptions, which the bishops think "may be found capable of application in other fields."

INTERCOMMUNION OF ANGLICANS AND OLD CATHOLICS

A final interpretation through action of the Anglican official position with respect to union, is found in the approval, in 1932, by the Church of England of intercommunion with the old Catholic churches of Europe. These churches retain the ancient Catholic system but reject the Vatican decisions of 1870 with respect to papal infallibility and are not in communion with the Roman Catholic Church. Similar action favoring intercommunion had already been taken by the old Catholic congregations in Vienna. The chief elaboration of the Anglican position in connection with this action is indicated by the following utterance of the Archbishop of Canterbury: "I hope that there may gradually be built a great organism of churches throughout the world, each fulfilling its own function, yet united, not by mere sentiment but by a definite unit of structure both in faith and order." From the standpoint of American thinking, the chief significance of this interpretation is to show that, from the Anglican standpoint, unity in faith and order is compatible with the complete autonomy of churches in different countries, as is increasingly recognized between churches of the Anglican group themselves.

The most significant consequence of the Anglican movement for unity and its accompanying measures and proposals is that it has greatly intensified the internal conflict within the Anglican church. The fact that the most definite progress in the consideration of reunion had been between Anglican and other churches of the Episcopal type, namely, the Eastern Orthodox, together with a certain apparently less cordial emphasis on concessions in the 1930 Lambeth declaration as compared with the 1920 Appeal, led many free church representatives in England to suspect a certain reaction from the appreciative spirit of 1920; while failure to go farther in the direction of intercommunion gave rise to the charge that the bishops were "scuttling back to their insular strongholds." In 1930, however, formal renewal of conferences between the free churches and the Church of England was undertaken and these discussions are still under way.

PRAGMATIC UNITY: GENERAL CORPORATE UNION

Unlike the viewpoints relative to church union hitherto presented, this, the most widely held of all,⁴⁴ cannot be chiefly identified with any single denomination or party. Consequently it lacks the sharp and explicit sectarian formulation which most of the others have received. The fact that the masses of the American religious public are relatively inarticulate on the subject of union and that they lack an authentic mouthpiece was discovered at the very outset of the present study. The sanctions of the popular

⁴⁴ As proved by the strongly preponderant tendencies of their leaders and select constituencies. See chapter xiv.

viewpoint toward union have, therefore, to be found rather in the dominant mood of the rank and file and in the abiding characteristics of the American people than in any theological position.

Now various strands of evidence have proved that the attitude of the great majority of Protestant Christians is one of religious accommodation permitting various concessions and compromises between denominations and implying the essential equality of the better-established churches. This is the stage which has been reached generally by the religious forces of the United States.⁴⁵

Religious accommodation has worked out in numerous alliances and combinations, as seen by the church federation movement and in the great number of partial unions. This type of unity, temporarily at least falling short of complete amalgamation, expresses itself in an interlacing network of organizations by which the allied churches increasingly seek influence in the world.⁴⁶

When, therefore, popular thinking passes on from alliances and combinations to contemplate full and actual church union by the merging and consolidating of previously separate bodies, it still retains its mood of accommodation and carries it over into the new field. In contrast with the single or fixed criteria of union which other positions propose, it recognizes alternatives. Instead of issuing ultimatums as to the conditions of union, it leaves room for various possibilities.

Because its concern for unity is so largely motivated by practical considerations, the popular attitude is to leave it largely to practical considerations to determine the form and terms of union. Union thus reflecting the practical disposition of the American religious public is most accurately named "pragmatic" union. Because it is without any previously fixed idea as to means, it permits of two major alternatives. Pragmatic union may be corporate or it may be federal.

CORPORATE UNION

As was seen in chapter iv, many who voted the ballot for federal union regarded it as a step toward general corporate union. And from the standpoint of any given moment the choice between the two may be determined purely by practical considerations. The differences between the two types of union, however, have been sharply drawn in actual negotiations between denominations; and, though their exact forms and patterns are not narrowly defined as in the case with the proposals of single denominations, their distinctive points have been fairly established by competent interpreters.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ See especially Introduction and chapter iv.

⁴⁶ See chapters ii and iii.

⁴⁷ Brown, W. A., *The Church in America* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922), p. 158;

Corporate union in the pragmatic sense, as it is generally understood, takes place when independent and self-determining religious bodies form one body where there were two or more previously.

This definition fits fairly well the ten cases of completed mergers of two or more denominations discussed in chapter iii. The detailed study of cases, however, compels some refinements of the definition. In some cases the central corporate agencies of the old denominations or some part of them are not extinguished, but are rather retained in a subordinate capacity, say, as property-holding corporations instead of general administrative agencies. Thus, in the union of the Congregational and Christian churches, not all centrally performed functions were transferred at the outset to a central body. For legal reasons the pension boards of the two groups remained independent.

To be entirely exact, what disappears in a corporate merger is the co-ordinateness of the separate bodies. Some vestige of them may still remain; but only as inferior to a new and controlling body. The analogy of the ordinary constitution of society would lead merging bodies to contemplate such possibilities.⁴⁸

The comparison of cases of corporate merger also reveals important differences growing out of the unequal degrees of unity which the merging bodies themselves possessed. Obviously external union does not fix internal unitary character; to alter that would require a separate process.

Congregationally organized denominations maintain only a loose form of organization, so that their union is less completely organic than that which results from corporate mergers under some other types of polity. It is organic, nevertheless, in every sense that the previous union of local churches had been, as in the case of the Congregational and Christian bodies.

Corporate union, then, may still leave each individual church, or each group of churches "free to retain and develop its own form of expression." Even "strong" types of corporate union frequently safeguard this point. To identify, therefore, corporate union with a highly centralized type of church government is a gratuitous fallacy.

Irrevocability and the transfer of primary allegiance from the old to a new center are sometimes proposed as secondary criteria of corporate union. Thus, Dr. William Adams Brown's version of "organic" corporate union depends on "an attitude of mind" which is accompanied by a "feeling of irrevocableness and inevitability. . . . The center of allegiance is transferred

Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, *Christian Unity: Its Principles and Possibilities*, p. 198; *Next Steps Toward a United Church*, Proceedings of the First Annual Christian Herald Institute of Religion, 1929, pp. 9 f.

⁴⁸ See p. 156.

from the older bodies to the new, so that in case of a conflict between the two conscience requires that one follow the latter rather than the former."⁴⁹

But surely these attitudes are equally essential to the federal type of union *if it is a union*. Federation without them is only confederation. They are not, therefore, distinctive marks of corporate union.

CORPORATE UNITY ILLUSTRATED: THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

However much unofficial distinctions are drawn, in the absence of authoritatively formulated proposals, pragmatic corporate union has to be recognized rather than strictly defined. Such recognition is not far to seek. If an actual majority of American Christians could be isolated, made to indicate the kind of union which they favor and to set forth measures which would give it concrete existence, their proposals would probably be found following somewhat closely the lines actualized by the United Church of Canada, in which the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches became one church.

Without resorting to details, the characteristics of this epoch-making Canadian union are easily outlined:

(1) It was union by negotiation. The uniting churches accepted each other as ecclesiastical equals. They felt fully competent to unite under what they conceived to be the authority and guidance of the spirit of God. They took the full validity of one another's ministerial orders for granted and only added a definition covering this point as an afterthought to meet possible Episcopal scruples.⁵⁰

(2) The United Church combined three divergent polities represented by its component units and harmonized three somewhat divergent types of expression of the common evangelical doctrine. The development of the United Church's actual constitution out of these elements was reached by a series of compromises, the course of which roughly represents what American churches would expect to go through under similar circumstances.⁵¹

(3) The Canadian union was chiefly motivated by the practical needs of the church in Canada. The advantages of union as over against the weakness of separation was the outstanding argument. In response to such practical pressure union came about through evolution, beginning on the lower levels of coöperation and finally culminating only after the experience and discipline of coöperation had had time to take effect.⁵²

(4) In ideal and in intent Canadian union was to be inclusive of all non-Roman churches. Although in its immediate achievement it covered

⁴⁹ The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁵⁰ Silcox, C. E., *Church Union in Canada* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933), p. 139.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 133 f.

⁵² *Ibid.*, chapter iv.

but three of the five major bodies, it retains the aspiration to become national and attempts to leave the way open for later-comers.⁵⁸

(5) Finally, Canadian union was content to stand or fall on the results of an educational process which undertook to win and carry the consent of the people of the three churches generally. Actual union was arrived at through prolonged steps of proposal, agitation, consolidation of opinion and ultimate decision. In brief, it was carried out through democratic processes.

In all these respects, the Canadian church registered itself as an authentic member of American religious society. In pioneering on this basis it did what most Christians in the United States mean and intend when they speak of corporate union.

A similar philosophy is implied by nearly all of the current proposals for partial union in the United States. The consideration of the Methodist and Presbyterian union, for example, has not reached the point of suggesting particular terms. This proposed measure, however, involves churches which feel fully competent to form a union, on the basis of the merits of the case. They would expect to compromise differences growing out of their respective forms of government. The Presbyterian element might be asked to accept some form of an episcopate; but, if so, the argument would be based primarily on the contemporary value of the office for the efficiency of the church. No doubt as to the validity of the process or the decision, whatever it turned out to be, could occur to most of the Protestants of the United States. To the pragmatic spirit, whatever works best is right—always within the normative control of a strong common tradition.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE PRAGMATIC APPROACH TO UNION

The chief consequence of the pragmatic approach to union is that most general proposals originating from this viewpoint take a federal rather than a fully corporate form. For reliance upon practical sanctions renders a movement responsive to practical difficulties. The United States is a vast country with many and stubborn denominations. It is far easier to get consideration for federal union, which retains some at least of these denominations as units in the united church, than for union which extinguishes their separate identities. Accordingly federal union has received more definite formulation from the pragmatic standpoint than has corporate union and it has received more nearly official expression.

PRAGMATIC UNION: FEDERAL

The distinction between the position which favors corporate union and that which favors federal union involves this paradox: that while the prac-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 131 and 164.

tical difficulties of achieving union tend to pull it down into the easier federal form, the proponents of federal union so largely conceive it as an advance toward full corporate union, through gradual evolution, that they have not been greatly interested in its philosophical exposition nor primarily concerned with detailed plans. Existing discussion generally concerns itself with "next steps" rather than with final forms.

REPRESENTATIVE EXPOSITION

Such explanations by representative leaders of the church as exist chiefly commend federal union as a method of preserving religious diversity as now exemplified in the existing denominations. The following are typical utterances:

"We are seeking a unity in diversity. The next step in this land is toward a federal unity which will be patterned after the United States of America, a sovereign nation made up of sovereign states."

"We must have church unity for the sake of fellowship and its values and for the sake of effective Christian service. The unity we seek should make full provision for liberty and diversity. A desirable next step is the conduct of studies to discover what form federal union may take, nationally or locally, and what functions may be performed by the United Church."

POLITICAL ANALOGIES

In the United States, the development of the idea of the federal unity of the churches has largely devoted itself to an elaboration of the analogy of government. Previous to the adoption of the Constitution, the American colonies were coöperating uncertainly and feebly under the Articles of Confederation. In order to form a "more perfect union" the states delegated to the Federal government certain rights, reserving all others to themselves. Similarly, it is argued, the central organ of the united churches must be much stronger than the present Federal Council, but at the same time can only have such authority as the denominations confer upon it, they retaining their essential independence and all undelegated authority. The arguments of Washington, Madison and Marshall against the weakness of mere confederation and the necessity of a genuine central government are borrowed and restated so as to fit the church.⁵⁴

Venturing into prophecy, a recent writer pictures the consummation of federal union as follows:

"The future of interchurch coöperative movements will see the extension of the principles of federation to a logical and practical conclusion. . . . As to jurisdiction, a fuller measure of executive power will be given to interchurch federations defined by constitutional provision and adequately supported by public

⁵⁴ Moore, *A Formula for Church Unity* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1927).

opinion. . . . No longer will the Federal Council be merely 'a weak federation' resting on the level of immediate consent, but it will become a commanding federal government, the kind of federal union of which Webster spoke when he said, 'Union and liberty, now and forever, one and inseparable.'"

POSSIBLE OUTCOME OF THE STEP-BY-STEP METHOD

How from present tendencies a united church on the federal plan might painlessly evolve through the gradual and continuous transfer to a central corporate agency (like the Federal Council) of tasks now denominationally done, is visualized in a recent editorial:

"In the end an adequate expression of Protestant catholicity would evolve and Protestantism would wake up some morning and find that it was united; organically united; and that, without having done violence to denominational independence."

Other representative leaders have systematically developed the idea of permanent federation in connection with partial corporate unions of related denominations into four or five general types of churches, supposed to represent basic differences in human nature and consequent outlook upon religion. "If we could have six types in the United States, making room for differences of temperament, differences of heritage, then I think we could have a Federal Council that would be very efficient and the ills of sectarianism would practically be cured."⁵⁵

SYSTEMATIC PROPOSALS

The most concrete formulation for the United States of the pragmatic position in behalf of the federal version of union is found in a set of proposals developed just after the World War, which can no longer be regarded as embodying a vital program. The so-called "Philadelphia Plan," nevertheless, is the most adequate expression that ever reached the proposal stage of what the American religious majority is theoretically ready for.

The story of the Philadelphia Plan is briefly this: A Conference on Organic Union was held in Philadelphia in 1918. It convened upon invitation of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., and was attended by representatives of nineteen denominations. Its Continuation Committee was authorized to prepare the plan of union which was submitted to and adopted by a second conference held in 1920. The plan was to become effective when six denominations had formally assented to it. That time never came. A few denominations assented, but the revulsion of mood following the World War rendered the plan abortive.

The essentials of the plan were as follows: It proposed to create a federal

⁵⁵ Richards, "Coöperation Must Lead Beyond Denominationalism," *Proceedings of the First Annual Christian Herald Institute of Religion*, p. 17.

body to be known as the United Churches of Christ in America. The central organ of this body was to be a Council with functions described as follows:

"a. The Council shall harmonize and unify the work of the united churches.

"b. It shall direct such consolidation of their missionary activities as well as of particular churches in overchurched areas as is consonant with the law of the land or of the particular denomination affected. Such consolidation may be progressively achieved, as by the uniting of the boards or churches of any two or more constituent denominations, or may be accelerated, delayed, or dispensed with, as the interests of the Kingdom of God may require.

"c. If and when any two or more constituent churches, by their supreme governing or advisory bodies, submit to the Council for its arbitrament any matter of mutual concern, not hereby already covered, the Council shall consider and pass upon such matter so submitted.

"d. The Council shall undertake inspirational and educational leadership of such sort and measure as may be proper, under the powers delegated to it by the constituent churches in the fields of Evangelism, Social Service, Religious Education, and the like."

All powers not delegated to the new body were reserved to the several denominations.

The proposed organization went beyond the existing Federal Council of Churches, not only in the addition of fairly extensive functions with corresponding administrative powers, but also in calling upon the governing bodies of the constituent churches "to effectuate the decisions of the Council (of the United Churches) by general or specific deliverance as may be required."

Analyzing the assumptions of the Philadelphia Plan, one notes that they presume that the associating churches are competent to act under the spiritual authority and leadership of Christ and to modify and adapt forms of church order and government to meet practical demands. This was essentially the basis of union used by the United Church of Canada.

Tracing further the assumptions implied or expressed, it is obvious that the action proposed by the Philadelphia Plan, like that consummated by the Canadian churches, is the denial of the theory of the one fixed plan of church arrangement, predetermined by Christ and therefore unalterable.

The churches, moreover, assumed a common faith, styled "evangelical." This basis of union was referred to, but not systematically expounded in the Preamble of the plan, which added that the common faith permits a variety of expression.

The practical considerations growing out of the stress of the World War, which were chiefly alleged in behalf of the plan, were presented with moral fervor based on the sense of contemporary need.

Such common assumptions lead to pragmatic union, consonant with either the corporate or the federal form. The Philadelphia document, while denominating itself "organic," clearly proposed a federal structure for the united church. All the existing denominations were to remain in existence, as units in this structure. The Plan, however, contemplated a real federal union, in contrast with a mere confederation or limited alliance, because the functions transferred by the denominations to the central authority were substantial and permanent.

VITAL DISTINCTIONS

The study of cases shows that the essential distinction between the two types of pragmatic union herein called respectively corporate and federal, is after all primarily a matter of balance and emphasis. Sociological analysis leads one to expect some trace of federal character in the most complete social unity. Political philosophy inclines to make the grant of substantial powers to central government the criterion of the federal state. When the legal authority and effective prestige of the central organ of a society become extreme one has the essentials of corporate union. When, on the other hand, the powers transferred to the central agency are not substantial, even though they are actual and permanent so far as they go, the resulting union, according to previous analysis, is not federal but only confederate. It achieves unity of a sort, but not union.

CONSEQUENCES OF PROPOSALS FOR FEDERAL UNION

These distinctions are not universally recognized. The consequent equivocal use of the term "federal unity" and the fact that it does not present a clear-cut alternative to all other forms of union, are generally recognized. Thus Report VII of the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order notes that "federation" may denote "either (1) a substitute for organic union, (2) a step on the road to organic union, or (3) a form of organic union."⁵⁶

It is doubtful whether this analysis touches the real point of distinction. Federal union might indeed be proposed as a substitute for some private and limited idea of corporate union, but not for corporate union in its most prevalent and authentic version; since it is precisely a federal form of union which this version proposes, particularly as between churches of different nations. Examples of this are most impressive.

The Anglican churches scattered throughout the world have increasingly come to define themselves as a federation. In the words of the Encyclical Letter of the Lambeth Conference of 1930, "This communion is a common-

⁵⁶ Continuation Committee, World Conference on Faith and Order, "Questions for Study," etc., No. 62, February, 1930.

wealth of churches without a central constitution; it is a federation without a federal government."

The Eastern Orthodox Church, which puts forth a claim of unbroken unity throughout the ages, consists of a federated group of autocephalous national churches holding a common faith but without a common government. Negotiations for mutual recognition and intercommunion between the Anglican bodies and the Orthodox Church are based upon a union of the same kind.

The proposed basis of intercommunion between the Anglican and Old Catholic churches of Europe "does not require from either communion acceptance of all doctrinal opinion or liturgical characteristics of the other, but implies that each believes the other to hold the essentials of the Christian faith." In harmony with this same principle, the Lambeth Encyclical of 1930 contemplates a larger federation of intercommunicating churches "beyond but including the federation of strictly Anglican churches."⁵⁷

The plan for a United Church in South India, if consummated, will constitute the new Indian church a province in the church universal, not governmentally related to any other but vitally related to other parts in an implicit federation of equals.

But federal union is equally tenable as a form of unity for churches that occupy a common territory.⁵⁸ Thus a plan, presented in an address by the Bishop of Gloucester at the Lausanne Conference in 1927, proposed the continuance in Great Britain of five or more large denominations, such as the Baptist, the Congregational, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, each organized on an autonomous democratic basis, yet all comprehended within the religious structure of the national Church of England.⁵⁹

This suggestion, though not officially presented for action, completes the demonstration that federal union enjoys full respectability, not as a rival of, but rather as the preferred form of organic union.

There remains, however, a real point at issue: namely, the authoritarian sanction for union in opposition to the pragmatic. It is *pragmatic* federal union that presents a definite alternative to union based on predetermined requirements as to faith or order.⁶⁰

According to the analysis offered above, pragmatic federal union may be a step toward a more definitely corporate form of pragmatic union, just as the federal union of the United States has been a step toward our present stronger national government. But it is not in line with the advance of authoritarian versions of unity.

⁵⁷ Supra.

⁵⁸ See chapter vi.

⁵⁹ Faith and Order, *op. cit.*, p. 331 f.

⁶⁰ P. 186.

PRAGMATIC UNION: PARTIAL AND LOCAL

Most of the partial unions and local church unions as set forth in chapter iii are essentially varieties of pragmatic union, distinguished only by their limited applications. Both sometimes take the fully corporate form and sometimes the federated form.

Partial unions are, of course, equally possible on the dogmatic basis; but the more extreme positions are habitually bound up with claims of universality. They consequently do not greatly encourage dealings with one church or community at a time.

NON-UNION: PRAGMATIC VIEWPOINTS

Integrative movements in the American church which fall short of union were dealt with in chapter ii. They were shown to have reduced the practical divisions of the church very materially, though without altering the denominational order in its essence. Later chapters revealed the large implications of these movements which are commonly regarded, by friend and foe alike, as steps toward further unity. Provisional definitions were offered showing wherein these integrative movements fail to constitute union in the sense now more fully explained. They represent a somewhat definite viewpoint: namely, that the separate churches should coöperate and federate loosely but not unite. In the interests of accuracy this should be designated the confederative stage of unity.

Most of the integrative movements under discussion settled their limitations in the original definitions adopted as to their scope and objectives. The charters of others like the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ were capable of being interpreted as intending union instead of mere federation; but the bodies themselves have officially decided upon a non-union understanding of the charters.

The status of these organizations is thus deliberately fixed. The position of the group as a whole is definitely pragmatic. Union is declined or deferred on grounds of expediency more often than on those of principle; at the same time compromises permitting of limited coöperation are adopted when full coöperation is refused.

The pragmatic non-union position includes two different attitudes toward coöperation and federation. The first approves unity of this kind, as expressed in current integrative practices and organization. Unity on this level is good and there should be more of it. The second and alternative attitude holds that the kind of unity actually achieved by current coöperation and federation is too close. Integration of some other and more shadowy sort is favored, but it has already gone too far. Each of these attitudes requires separate exposition.

UNITY THROUGH COÖPERATION AND LOOSE FEDERATION

As chapter ii has already shown, the Federal Council of Churches is the capstone of the present coöperative structure of Protestantism. It is a federation of the denominations to which three-fourths of American Protestants belong, but a federation for very limited purposes. Their unity in the Council is not merely spiritual, but is actualized through a corporate organization. That is to say, it has gone beyond the kind of union which defensive denominationalism chiefly stresses.

The Council was officially organized under competent authority from the coöperating churches and operates through representatives just as regularly appointed as any denominational official is. Within the sphere of action thus authorized the Council is a union of churches as definitely as any federal union can be.

FULL FEDERAL UNION NOT REACHED

Three important actual differences, however, distinguish the Federal Council from what is ordinarily thought of as genuine corporate union of the federal type:

(1) It lacks the substantial powers which characterize a true federal union. The scope of its functions is too limited. All that it does is not enough to satisfy the demands of imagination in view of the vast resources and interests which it purports to unify. And it cannot perform, under its present charter, what, as tests show, are actually regarded as the natural functions of a united church.⁶¹

(2) Again, the field of unity as expressed through the Federal Council is indeterminate. Negatively, it is not a union on the basis of common belief or common government such as are ordinarily conceived as essential to a united church. Positively, it has failed to define even a narrow field as distinctively its own. "Whatever may better be done in unity than in separation" may vary day by day—or at least permits unending debate. No government could exist with so ill-defined powers.

(3) Membership is entirely revocable. Denominations threaten to secede nearly every year, and occasionally some small denomination has seceded.

One is justified, then, in treating the Federal Council in its present development as an instance of coöperative denominationalism rather than of effective federal union. The denominational system is preserved intact. The Council and its allied organizations have carried coöperation forward a long way; they desire to foster more coöperation on the same level as at present; they are mitigating many evils of denominationalism; but they are

⁶¹ P. 309.

not intended to displace the method of organizing the church into autonomous separate communions.

This interpretation was doubly justified by the action of the Federal Council in 1932 when, after four years of formal study of a possible enlargement of its functions, it deliberately turned its back on proposals looking to that end which it had itself approved in tentative form. The Council also side-stepped all attempts to secure an official restatement of its relation to the movement of church unity.⁶² It is thus precluded from making any specific proposal for union or in exercising any acknowledged leadership in its behalf.

LIMITATIONS ON PRESENT COÖPERATIVE UNITY

Meanwhile the cautious coöperation of the majority of Protestant denominations in the Federal Council is subjected to further limitation by a view held in certain quarters that coöperation has already gone too far.

The most frequent ground of complaint is that the coöperative movement has stepped outside of the proper sphere of ecclesiastical action. This conviction is registered as follows by the United Lutheran Church, but is qualified by the distinction that it is sometimes appropriate for individuals to coöperate where churches as such may not:

"There are organizations and movements into which we cannot enter as a Church, in regard to which, however, the Church may definitely declare itself and which it may heartily commend to the pastors and members of its congregations as important spheres of activity for Christians, such as movements and organizations for social and political reform, the enforcement of law and order, the settlement of industrial conflicts, the improvement of the material environments of life, and the like."⁶³

Both individual Roman Catholics and Roman Catholic organizations with ecclesiastical acquiescence frequently go as far as this.

Again, few churches refuse to coöperate even in their corporate capacities within the sphere of traditional philanthropies, regarding these, as the United Lutheran declaration carefully pointed out, "as works of serving love, through which the faith of Christians finds expression."

When, however, it is attempted to go farther into the realm which the majority of coöperating American churches think of as the necessary application of Christian principles to modern problems, very great obstacles to coöperation are felt by the more scrupulous bodies. It is held by some that

⁶² Minutes of Quadrennial Meeting, Indianapolis, 1932, pp. 223 and 232, compared with recommendations of Committee on Function and Structure, pp. 24-40. See also chapter ix.

⁶³ Extract from Minutes of the Second Convention of the United Lutheran Church in America, Washington, D. C., October 19-27, 1920, p. 10.

efforts of organized reform, including, as they often do, attempts to influence political action, go beyond the proper sphere of the church and infringe upon that of the state. Controversies concerning the action of the Federal Council in these spheres have already been noted. While the majority of churches support in principle coöperative action along these lines, as evidenced by their "social creeds," a few bodies stand in definite opposition. Thus, a Southern Presbyterian minister records himself as follows: "I certainly favor Christian coöperation in every proper social activity, and do not object to federation for this purpose. But I am not willing for my church to belong to the Federal Council of Churches because most of its activities are illegitimate and some are unquestionably immoral."

This sufficiently shows that coöperation may find difficulties in matters of conduct quite as definitely as in matters of faith.

Moreover, the doctrinal angle obtrudes into all attempts at specifically religious coöperation. Coöperative evangelism, though approved by the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order, inevitably raises problems in the theological realm. Even the most general statement of the Christian message, such as was approved by action of the Lausanne Conference, as well as by the Jerusalem Missionary Council, does not escape them when it comes to the actual preaching of this message in interchurch gatherings. For preaching, according to certain churches, involves the necessity of a doctrinal "testimony." It is not sufficient that the true doctrine be not denied; no part of it may be omitted, and there must be no possible equivocation in the language used.

Less extreme persons, both liberal and conservative, actually feel a certain toning down of their message and a limitation on the mood of its expression when different shades of opinion in the coöperating group have to be thought of. The widely approved efforts of local church federations, for example, to hold union revivals or Lenten services, even when the celebration of the sacraments is not involved, often meet difficulties of this sort.⁶⁴

Even in the rather traditional realm of religious education, complaints are sometimes heard. Here the maintenance of an inter-denominational lesson system has been in effect for many decades. In spite of this, a Reformed Presbyterian minister writes: "In general it has seemed to me that such movements as the International Council of Religious Education have worked out to the unfair advantage of the modernistic elements (though bringing undoubted good in some directions). They have tended to lower the evangelical faith of Protestant teachers of church schools, needlessly, while raising technical skill. To lump the Protestantism of America, while

⁶⁴ Douglass, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-4, 341.

bringing some obvious gains, would seem to me to disregard all values of religious quality and loyalty to Christian truth."

Such hesitations to enter into coöperative movements, even when limited to the sphere of "life and work," lead certain denominations to accept only limited and partial membership, as the United Lutheran and Protestant Episcopal bodies have done with respect to the Federal Council; have caused others to stay out, as Southern Baptists and most Lutherans have done; and provoked still others to withdraw even when they have once been in, as was the case with the Presbyterian Church, U. S.

Still others venture upon formal coöperation, but do so fearfully and critically.

NON-UNION: DOGMATIC VIEWPOINTS

At most, though, out-and-out non-coöperators are few. Nearly everybody professes to want unity at least to the extent of a minimum of interchurch action. Of a total of 624 church leaders who passed on a series of representative issues, only 16 per cent. assented to the proposition that "it usually advances the Kingdom of God more rapidly when each denomination presses ahead with its own work, without the distraction and lost momentum involved in the effort to work with other bodies through coöperative agencies."

Two-thirds of the total vote was definitely against this proposition, as shown in Table XXXIV on the next page.

Nearly three-fourths of Lutheran replies affirm this proposition while a majority in all other denominations denies it.

Certain still more extreme Protestant sectarians feel that they have the one and only truth. With respect to authority they thus stand logically on exactly the same ground as the Roman Catholic Church. Some, consequently, oppose even a minimum of coöperative action between religious bodies, or will enter only into temporary coöperative relations and that most gingerly. Their attitude toward other branches of the Christian Church is the classical attitude of Christianity as a whole toward the non-Christian religions: namely, one of conflict, bent on extermination. It is a highly illuminating commentary on this position that a phrase in the recent report of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry implying that the ultimate fate of these "heathen" faiths might not be their elimination, but rather some form of accommodation between them and Christianity, has been one of the report's chief causes of offense with its more conservative readers. Even a most irenic exposition of the issue may feel compelled to assert that "in a sense" both Christianity and Judaism are "out to destroy other religions."⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Bevan, "Christian Propaganda Among Jews," *International Review of Missions*, vol. xxii, p. 494.

TABLE XXXIV—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—THE EXTREME DENOMINATIONAL POSITION

(624 Church Leaders)

"It usually advances the kingdom of God more rapidly when each denomination presses ahead with its own work, without the distraction and lost momentum involved in the effort to work with other bodies through coöperative agencies."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:
False True

Denomination	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Weighted Score*
All Denominations . . .	66.7	38.0	28.7	17.1	10.3	5.9	-0.83
Meth. Epis.	79.3	51.2	28.1	11.0	8.5	1.2	-1.20
Presb., U. S. A.	76.1	38.8	37.3	11.9	4.5	7.5	-0.96
Cong.-Christian	75.0	52.1	22.9	17.7	4.2	3.1	-1.17
Disciples	70.0	40.0	30.0	17.5	7.5	5.0	-0.93
Prot. Epis.	68.6	34.3	34.3	25.7	2.8	2.9	-0.94
Miscellaneous	66.0	34.7	31.3	15.3	12.0	6.7	-0.75
Reformed	64.5	38.7	25.8	25.8	6.5	3.2	-0.90
Bapt. (No. Conv.) . . .	60.6	27.8	32.8	23.0	8.2	8.2	-0.64
Meth. Epis., South . . .	55.2	27.6	27.6	24.1	13.8	6.9	-0.55
Lutheran	12.1	6.0	6.1	15.2	51.5	21.2	+0.76

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

The most unbridled expressions of the non-coöperative mood are quite explicit as to this underlying position. They make unpleasant reading and should not be taken as generally representative of the bodies to which those who make them happen to belong. They do, however, have somewhat wide currency. The following, for example, received editorial approval in one of the recognized organs of the Southern Baptist Church:

"Jesus Christ started His church and promised its perpetuity. That much is beyond question to anyone who believes the New Testament (cf. Matt. 16:18). To this church He committed His ordinances, teaching and Commission and to no other.

". . . Chaos, strife, persecution, warfare and all of the evils that go along with these have afflicted the religious world for centuries as the result of men arrogating to themselves the prerogative of Jesus to establish a church.

". . . Baptist churches were started by Christ and have had a continuous history until the present.

". . . Jesus Christ gave this memorial ordinance (of the Lord's Supper) to the church which He founded and promised to perpetuate, and no other church organization has this authority to administer it.

". . . To those who believe that Baptists trace their origin to Jesus and that Baptist churches are the true churches of Christ, it is unthinkable that there should be a merging with some rival, man-originated institution."⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Mason, "Does It Matter What We Believe About the Church?" *Western Recorder*, Louisville, July 24, 1930.

An even more bitterly sectarian position is represented by a correspondent of *The Lutheran*,⁶⁷ who quotes approvingly the following utterance of an official committee of one of the Lutheran groups:

"Modernism, under Satanic direction, has the faculty of employing every possible modern means of bringing its faith-destroying teachings to the attention of the people. The radio sends forth the philosophic fulminations of modernistic preachers into millions of conservative Christian homes. Men like Cadman, Fosdick, and Roy Smith have every week audiences of unnumbered souls among which they disseminate their poisonous philosophies. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America uses every possible means to advertise its vapors under the guise of religion."

How, then, asks this correspondent, can the United Lutheran Church keep on appropriating money toward the support of the Federal Council?⁶⁸ If such views prevailed, obviously it could not. The moral separateness of the Christian bodies would be as complete as their ecclesiastical divisions. The instinct of extermination cannot bring forth the fruits of coöperation.

SUMMARY

Ten positions constituting a series running from extreme unity to extreme disunity have now been reviewed.

Paradoxically those who repudiate coöperation most absolutely would be quite ready for union if they could have it on their own terms. The series thus turns out to be a circle: the end joins the beginning. Only the mediating positions make union by mutual appreciation and concession possible.

What chance, then, has any one of these positions of becoming dominant and actually gathering up any major fraction of American Christians into a real and binding union? It has already been indicated that pragmatic union has the largest following and that a stronger type of federal union than the loose federations now existing is the most desired next step. This remains the most outstanding discovery of the inquiry up to this point. The concrete realities which lie behind this possibility are, however, exceedingly varied and require cautious exploration of the points at issue, point by point. Consequently the several following chapters turn to a detailed consideration of church unity problems as ecclesiastically formulated.

⁶⁷ January 7, 1932.

⁶⁸ The editor of *The Lutheran* replies temperately to this fulmination that the United Church's relation to the Federal Council is a strictly limited one and that "the policy of isolation" recommended "breeds dogmatism or degeneration into superstition."

CHAPTER IX

The Church and Its Unity

From the theological standpoint the unity of the church depends upon the nature of the church and that in turn upon the nature of religion. Accordingly, the process employed by theologians in order to determine the quality and degree of this unity has been, first, to set forth basic assumptions concerning religion. From these basic assumptions the necessary nature of the church is drawn deductively and the consequent necessary character of its unity.

In contrast with this method, the present chapter undertakes to deal inductively with these same matters. Its data are the result of interrogating large and varied samples of the American religious public as to their understanding of church unity in a variety of aspects. This understanding is revealed by the answers of this public to a wide range of specific questions such as: What does your conception of unity mean as a present judgment upon the existing denominations? How does it apply within these denominations, and within local churches? What does it mean for the future of denominations? What does it mean in terms of the racial adaptation of the church at home or on foreign-mission fields?

It is only when a prolonged induction of this sort is completed that the actual meanings of unity appear. It is fair, however, to begin with the deductive approach to unity, and to observe its methods and conclusions.

THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH

The deductive approach to the nature of the church follows two lines. Those who seek to define religion exclusively in personal terms as a relation between man and God find it natural to conceive of the church simply as the sum of those who have realized this relationship. Those, on the contrary, who believe that religion is inherently corporate, involving the relation of groups of men to God and God's reciprocal relation to such groups, will recognize some sort of social organism as essential and frequently look upon this organism as the unique and divinely ordained channel of religious life. From the first standpoint the church will be defined as spiritual; and from the second as external and institutional.

Besides these two answers, that the church is spiritual, and that the church

is corporate, a third has in point of fact had historic currency: namely, that it is both.¹

THE CHURCH A SPIRITUAL SOCIETY

American theological thinking shows the presence of all three answers. Some believe that they hold a purely spiritual conception of the church. Thus an official of the Missouri Synod Lutheran writes to instruct the present study as follows: "God has established only one church, the holy, universal, Christian church, the communion of all believers, namely, those who believe that they are saved through the vicarious suffering and death of Christ. The invisible church of Christ on earth is one, since all believers are members of this church."

In the exposition of this conception of the church as a purely spiritual entity, popular thinking often contents itself with stating the matter negatively: the church is not to be identified with any external organization past or present. It has never appeared institutionally upon earth and never will.

Rather significant communications, however, were volunteered by correspondents of the present study, showing the belief that the church potentially is or might become a visibly united community of Christians, if it were joined together merely by common faith without a visible head or common organization. "Spiritual body will eventually come into existence," writes a Lutheran woman, "filling the place now occupied by 'confessors of Christ' by word of mouth only. It cannot come through more organization, mergers, etc., but the church triumphant is unfolding." Such a church would apparently be objective as a society and fellowship of believers, but not as an ecclesiastical institution.

In still another version, the assertion of the essentially spiritual character of the universal church manages to coexist with the recognition of a positively and intensely visible and corporate local church which is justified so long as the church remains merely a face-to-face fellowship of Christians. This has characterized the position of certain extreme congregational bodies. Thus, a Southern Baptist editor writes: "I know no 'church' on earth save a local assembly of God's people. . . . While others are wasting their time in the effort to create another ecclesiastical hierarchy akin to that of Rome, we shall have 'Church Union' after the plan of Jesus Christ and the apostles. But it will come only through the teachings of the simple Gospel and the extension of the Gospel polity, 'Independent Ecclesias everywhere within the

¹ Theology, of course, has also to take account of certain symbolic expressions of the nature of the church. It is the mystical "body of Christ," the organ of the "kingdom of God," perhaps itself the "city of God." Such symbols have high religious significance. They can be and are used by people who differ theologically. From the scientific standpoint, they, therefore, remain equivocal as to the nature of the church.

bounds of the Kingdom on earth, each independent and autonomous, but coöperating through love and loyalty to Christ.'"

According to this conception, though the church is invisible, the churches are quite visible. It may be added that (as shown in chapter vii) they have often manifested in their separations all the essential institutional qualities expressed in the most highly consolidated of the world-churches. They have enforced belief, hinged salvation upon the proper observance of ordinances, disciplined and excommunicated members from the actual social group. Yet they have kept on defining the church as belonging exclusively to the spiritual order.

This ancient issue between spiritual and corporate unity does not remain academic, because it furnishes favorite grounds for popular argument for and against the necessity of church union. If the church is essentially an invisible society, why need its members get together in any external organization and why, indeed, is external organization important?

CURRENCY OF BELIEF IN THE ESSENTIALLY SPIRITUAL NATURE OF THE CHURCH

To test the reactions of American Christians to such distinctions as to the nature of the church, a proposition was inserted in a questionnaire submitted to church leaders which read as follows: "The church is not an externally organized institution but is essentially an invisible society consisting of all people who confess Jesus Christ and are united with Him as a common spiritual Head." Of 624 church leaders replying on this point, seven out of ten regarded the above form of statement as probably or certainly true; the proposition ranking as fourteenth out of thirty as to the degree of agreement.

The distribution of judgments on this point is shown in Table XXXV.

Comparing denominational reactions, the most outstanding contrast is that, while nearly nine-tenths of Lutheran replies asserted the probable or certain truth of the above proposition, only one-fourth of the Protestant Episcopal replies agree. Moreover, the Lutheran replies were very strongly affirmative. They inclined not only to hold the proposition true but very certainly true, their degree of assurance going far beyond that shown by any other denomination. In brief, here was an ingrained doctrine very strongly maintained. In contrast, the Protestant Episcopal denial of the proposition was much less extreme. This denomination shows a rather more than average amount of indecision, while Lutheran indecision was very low.

All the rest of the denominations stand relatively close together on this issue. This means that the gap between the Lutheran and middle group is great and that between the Episcopal and middle group very great. In other words, these two denominations have decidedly unique and conflicting slants on the issue.

TABLE XXXV—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—THE CHURCH
UNIVERSAL AN INVISIBLE SOCIETY

(624 Church Leaders)

"The church is not an externally organized institution but is essentially an invisible society of all people who confess Jesus Christ and are united with him as a common spiritual head."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:
True False

Denomination	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Weighted Score*
All Denominations...	69.9	43.3	26.6	13.5	10.2	6.4	+0.90
Lutheran.....	87.8	69.7	18.1	6.1	6.1	0.0	+1.52
Cong.-Christian.....	77.1	49.0	28.1	12.5	5.2	5.2	+1.10
Meth. Epis., South...	75.9	48.3	27.6	10.3	6.9	6.9	+1.03
Disciples.....	72.5	40.0	32.5	12.5	12.5	2.5	+0.95
Meth. Epis.....	72.0	39.1	32.9	13.4	11.0	3.6	+0.93
Miscellaneous.....	71.3	46.7	24.6	14.7	7.3	6.7	+0.97
Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	68.9	45.9	23.0	14.7	8.2	8.2	+0.90
Reformed.....	67.7	35.5	32.2	22.6	6.5	3.2	+0.90
Presb., U. S. A.....	64.2	37.3	26.9	11.9	19.4	4.5	+0.73
Prot. Epis.....	28.6	11.4	17.2	14.3	28.6	28.5	-0.46

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

Presbyterian, U. S. A., returns also show a certain weakness for the idea of the visible church, possibly reminiscent of Calvin's Geneva. But the more striking characteristic of this denomination is its internal divergencies, a relatively strong minority of about one-fifth not being entirely sure that the proposition as stated is true, and 12 per cent. entirely undecided.

THE CHURCH CORPORATE

No Christian body exists whose view of the church can fairly be characterized as exclusively institutional. The ancient Catholic faith clearly recognized the invisible company of the "elect," and high-churchmen never mean to deny the personal union of the Christian to God. The Roman Catholic Church nevertheless does not recognize any *community* of Christians as in communion with Christ save through the visible and historic church which is exclusively His "body" and without which the "disjointed and scattered members" do not constitute a church at all.²

In similar vein an authoritative exponent of the Catholic position in its non-Roman version writes of the "corporate approach to God" as follows:

"The members of Christ are members one of another, even in their deepest relations to God. These relations are not exclusively incorporate, and what is called 'personal religion' is a very real and precious thing. But the personal is

² Papal Encyclical on "Fostering True Religious Unity," 1925, in Marchant, Sir James, Ed., *The Reunion of Christendom* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929), p. 24.

dependent upon the social and corporate. We are by nature social and mutually dependent beings. So it is that, in our conception of things, God wills to bestow His grace in and through Christ, but through Him as Head of a mystical Body, the members of which are to be nourished and blessed in their corporate relationship.

"This determines the external organization of the church, through which the manner of Christ's mediation is visibly corporate and ministerial. And this corporate method holds in our approach to the Father."⁸

THE CHURCH BOTH SPIRITUAL AND CORPORATE

In contrast with both extreme views, the historic reformation doctrine is that the church is both a spiritual society and an external institution.

A proposition asserting this belief was inserted in the questionnaire for church leaders in a form frequently employed in the effort to rationalize it: "Just as man is essentially a spirit but has a body and as God is a spirit but is also present and active in the physical world; so the church is both spiritual and at the same time external in some sort of a society of Christians on the earth." The results of this circularization are found in Table XXXVI.

TABLE XXXVI—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—THE CHURCH BOTH SPIRITUAL AND EXTERNAL

(625 Church Leaders)

"Just as a man is essentially a spirit but has a body and as God is a spirit but is also present and active in the physical world; so the church is both spiritual and at the same time external in some sort of a society of Christians on the earth."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:
True False

Denomination	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Weighted Score*
All Denominations...	87.7	62.7	25.0	6.4	3.7	2.2	+1.42
Prot. Epis.....	97.1	85.7	11.4	2.9	0.0	0.0	+1.83
Lutheran.....	97.0	87.9	9.1	0.0	3.0	0.0	+1.82
Presb., U. S. A.....	94.0	67.1	26.9	1.5	1.5	3.0	+1.54
Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	91.8	63.9	27.9	6.6	1.6	0.0	+1.54
Miscellaneous.....	86.6	57.3	29.3	8.7	2.0	2.7	+1.37
Meth. Epis., South...	86.2	58.6	27.6	3.4	10.4	0.0	+1.34
Meth. Epis.....	85.4	62.2	23.2	7.3	6.1	1.2	+1.39
Reformed.....	83.9	61.3	22.6	6.4	6.5	3.2	+1.32
Cong.-Christian.....	82.3	58.3	24.0	9.4	5.2	3.1	+1.29
Disciples.....	80.0	47.5	32.5	7.5	5.0	7.5	+1.08

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

Nearly nine-tenths of all replies approve the proposition as stated. It is particularly satisfactory both to Protestant Episcopal, and to Lutheran lead-

⁸ Hall, Francis J., *Christian Reunion in Ecumenical Light* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), p. 83.

ers, who were poles apart upon the last proposition; and to Presbyterian, U. S. A., leaders. Some of the congregationally organized churches are rather lukewarm toward it compared with the average. This is consistent with the positions taken by them on the previous proposition asserting the church's exclusively spiritual character.

The present proposition obviously tends to harmonize Protestant stress on the spirituality of the church with Catholic stress on its externality. The general meaning of the returns is that the body of American church opinion occupies a mediating position. It desires to escape both extremes as to the nature of the church.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE ACTUAL CHURCH

Like any other mediating position, this one remains equivocal until someone proposes to act upon it. Then its concealed inherent meanings are bound to appear. On the present issue the test comes at the point when, under the theory that "the church on earth possesses certain characteristics whereby we can be known of men,"⁴ some church presents itself for acceptance and exhibits the "marks" of the true church's nature in support of its claims. Rival churches urge the same acceptance. If the church is both spiritual and visible, these marks should be convincing as to both of its natures. Thus, an Episcopal clergyman asserts: "A 'spiritual fellowship' may be only a society or 'sect'; it is not a *sufficient* means of identification of the church. Some 'institutional characteristics' are indispensable."

It turns out, however, that American religious thinking is unwilling to accept any set of external and institutional marks (such as the Lausanne conference enumerated) as identifying the church.

This is proved by the result of a circularization of church leaders by the present study.

Replying to the proposition, "While the church is a visible society of Christians, it is to be identified by its inherent marks as a spiritual fellowship, not by institutional characteristics of any sort nor by its unchangeable form," nearly nine-tenths of the 624 responses agreed to its truth.

The main results may be briefly summarized by noting that all the replies but those from Protestant Episcopal sources assert the truth of the proposition by an average of about 90 per cent. The congregationally organized churches are more pronounced in its favor than the average, the Methodist slightly more and the Presbyterian-Reformed slightly less so. Episcopal thinking alone dwells upon the visible marks of the church or else is uncertain in the matter.

The obvious conclusion from these data is that, while theoretically main-

⁴ Report of Lausanne World Conference on Faith and Order, Sec. III in *Proceedings*, p. 464.

TABLE XXXVII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—IDENTIFICATION OF THE CHURCH AS A SPIRITUAL FELLOWSHIP

(624 Church Leaders)

"While the church is a visible society of Christians, it is to be identified by its inherent marks as a spiritual fellowship, not by institutional characteristics of any sort nor by its unchangeable form."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:			Undecided	Probably	Certainly	Weighted Score*
	Certainly or Probably	True	False				
All Denominations...	88.1	63.1	25.0	5.8	4.2	1.9	+1.43
Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	95.1	67.2	27.9	1.6	3.3	0.0	+1.59
Miscellaneous.....	91.3	65.3	26.0	4.0	3.3	1.4	+1.51
Lutheran.....	90.9	66.7	24.2	3.0	3.1	3.0	+1.48
Cong.-Christian.....	90.6	69.8	20.8	7.3	2.1	0.0	+1.58
Disciples.....	90.0	67.5	22.5	2.5	5.0	2.5	+1.48
Meth. Epis., South...	89.7	58.6	31.1	10.3	0.0	0.0	+1.48
Meth. Epis.....	89.1	65.9	23.2	2.4	6.1	2.4	+1.44
Presb., U. S. A.....	88.0	58.2	29.8	4.5	4.5	3.0	+1.35
Reformed.....	83.9	48.4	35.5	12.9	3.2	0.0	+1.29
Prot. Epis.....	51.4	40.0	11.4	22.9	14.3	11.4	+0.54

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

taining that the church is both spiritual and corporate, American church leaders are unwilling to identify it by any set of visible marks. They thus make its character as a spiritual fellowship clearly determinative.

Accordingly one is forced to conclude that the attempt to catalogue a set of invariable institutional marks by which candidates for recognition as churches may be tested is not a promising road to agreement nor a hopeful basis of union. In substantiation of this judgment it is to be noted that in general the denominations voted on this issue as they did on the proposition that the church is essentially spiritual and in reverse of their vote on the proposition that it is both spiritual and corporate.

The result of the deductive approach to the nature of the church is to show American church leaders asserting, (1) that the church is by nature spiritual, (2) that it is indeed both spiritual and corporate, but (3) that it is to be identified exclusively by its spiritual characteristics. This leaves one, if not in conflict, at least in some confusion. It has, however, probably revealed about the degree of accuracy in thinking which actually exists and may suggest the inevitably equivocal results of the abstract approach. The same equivocal quality carries over to the next step, namely, the attempt to deduce the character of the church's unity from its nature.

THE CHURCH'S UNITY

The measure and quality of the church's unity in which any man or group of men believe is not actually inferred from their views of the church's

nature. In general, emphasis upon the spiritual nature of the church naturally tends to extenuate a state of external division, since external organization does not belong to its essence. However, as was previously noted, a most extreme emphasis on the invisible church may yet insist upon the unity of the local church under a "gospel polity" as strict in form as the most fixed pattern of the universal church as maintained by the rabid institutionalist.

The institutional version of the church, on the contrary, exhibits a certain bias toward organic unity of organization, which, however, is often held not to be contradicted by complete governmental autonomy, provided unity in more spiritual aspects is secured.⁵

What rather is in danger of happening, and what actually happens in many cases, is that philosophy makes its illicit entrance into the issue, and takes sides as between unity and variety. It is an old weakness of philosophy to regard one of these as a truer and more admirable trait of the universe than the other. The consequent controversy of monism and pluralism is as old as human speculation. Monistic religion has inherited a preference for unity. It is easy for a religious person to pass from unity as the essence of God to unity as the essence of the church. The Lausanne Conference, accordingly, agreed without dissent to the proposition, "As there is but one Christ and one life in him, and one Holy Spirit who guides into all truth, so there is and can be but one Church, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic."⁶

When, however, this proposition was submitted to the 624 leaders of the American church, the majority declared it probably or certainly false, though by the rather narrow margin of fifty-five to forty-five. Only 20 per cent. of replies held that it was definitely true, while 17 per cent. were uncertain. These results are shown in Table XXXVIII.

While the majority held that this idea in its Lausanne version was false, it will be observed that Disciples opinion condemns it by a very narrow margin, and the Presbyterian, U. S. A., Reformed and Lutheran groups are not strongly against it on the average. But only Protestant Episcopal opinion is very strongly for it. However, the per cent. of indecision is impressively high.

Instead, then, of constituting a formula for which universal acceptance can be presumed, this proposition turns out to be one on which sentiment is unusually divided. Neither logic nor sentiment, then, impells American religious leaders to follow the deductive approach of Lausanne to the problem.

⁵ See p. 380. This consent to governmental autonomy is congenial only to the more tough-minded of the high-churchmen. The tender-minded among them have a weakness for centralized "ecumenical" authority, perhaps vested in a reformed papacy. See Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁶ *Proceedings*, Section III, p. 464.

TABLE XXXVIII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—"ONE VISIBLE CHURCH, HOLY, CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC"

(624 Church Leaders)

"As there is but one Christ and one life in Him and one holy spirit who guides into all truth, so there is and can be but one visible church, holy, Catholic and apostolic."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:

Denomination	False			True			Weighted Score*
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Undecided	Probably	Certainly	
All Denominations...	54.7	37.8	16.9	17.1	9.6	18.6	-0.45
Cong.-Christian.....	67.7	46.9	20.8	18.7	7.3	6.3	-0.94
Meth. Epis.....	65.9	46.4	19.5	14.6	7.3	12.2	-0.80
Meth. Epis., South...	62.1	44.9	17.2	10.3	3.4	24.2	-0.52
Lutheran.....	60.6	39.4	21.2	9.1	3.0	27.3	-0.42
Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	59.0	41.0	18.0	13.1	9.9	18.0	-0.54
Presb., U. S. A.....	52.3	34.4	17.9	16.4	10.4	20.9	-0.34
Miscellaneous.....	48.7	37.4	11.3	21.3	12.0	18.0	-0.38
Reformed.....	48.4	19.4	29.0	22.6	16.1	12.9	-0.26
Disciples.....	42.5	25.0	17.5	22.5	17.5	17.5	-0.15
Prot. Epis.....	22.9	17.2	5.7	11.4	5.7	60.0	+0.86

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

THE DESIRABILITY OF ORGANIC UNITY

Since from the mixed version of the church's nature no answer as to its unity inevitably flows, and especially since the attempt to deduce church unity from the central religious postulates fails to convince the American mind, it is necessary to ask directly and in specific terms as to the desirability of unity. This was done in the questionnaire secured from the "select constituency" with the following results.⁷

Two thousand seven hundred and seventeen persons recorded their reactions to eight viewpoints bearing on the desirability of the union of all churches into one visible body. These viewpoints and the frequency with which each was chosen as "strong" or as "weak" appear in Table XXXIX.

Generalizing on these results, one notes that the group as a whole gives small support to the most extreme views in favor either of denominational division (viewpoint 7) or of visible union (viewpoints 1 and 3). The three more extreme positions get only 18 per cent. of the total vote, but there is a great concentration of opinion upon mediating positions. The two positions most favored by the group as a whole are viewpoint 8 (vital union through the harmonious functioning of denominations as parts of a whole), which is rated as strong by 26 per cent. of those replying, and viewpoint 4 (the sense of fraternity, stronger than difference, demands corporate expression), which gets the support of 18 per cent. Furthermore, these two

⁷ See p. xxxi for definition of "Select Constituency."

answers are most frequently paired. They may perhaps be regarded as respectively the inner and outer aspects of a single viewpoint which reflects the broadest agreement of the constituency sampled.

Three supplementary judgments stand between those most often and least often chosen. Viewpoint 2 looks in the direction of the denominationalist position, and asserts the primary importance of variety in religious expression. Viewpoint 5, on the contrary, which gets about the same degree of approval, looks toward visible unity, and stresses the need of correlation, though without going so far as the unification of agencies. These may be taken as indicating the limitations within which the central judgments may find it possible to realize themselves. The third viewpoint of this group (No. 6), chosen by 11 per cent. of those responding, reflects a somewhat different idea in that it makes the equality of Christians before God the central consideration.⁸

The serial order of arguments as it appears in the table is shown also in Chart XVI, in which the distribution of the total replies of the select constituency is shown by the middle bar, compared with those of twelve denominations—the six most favorable to union appearing above, and the six least favorable below.

Comparing the denominations more exactly, two extreme and two mediating groups are discovered. The extremes reflect divergent views of the church, as they have previously been set forth in chapter viii. One, composed of high-church Episcopal, Protestant Episcopal in general, and Disciples adherents, stresses arguments favorable to union far beyond the average; the other, consisting of Lutheran, Unitarian and Southern Baptist adherents, defends diversity to the extent of denominational division. In contrast with these extremes, Federated Church replies tend to favor union, but on emotional rather than on ecclesiastical grounds. The Presbyterian, U. S. A., and Methodist Episcopal, South, replies, in turn, exceed the average in the exceptional stress which they put on three mediating arguments (2, 4 and 6).⁹ Baptist (North) and Presbyterian, U. S. A., replies do not vary greatly from the average. The former tend, however, a little more toward diversity, the latter toward union. Finally, United Presbyterian returns go beyond the average at both ends of the scale.

Within the group of denominations which diverge in the direction of unity, inspection of the chart and of Appendix Table 21 reveals interesting minor variations. While, in immense contrast with all others, high-church Episcopal returns give nearly the whole of their approval to the two most extreme arguments for unity (1 and 3), all the rest of the denominations show a considerable division of sentiment among most of the eight items.

⁸ This judgment reflects especially the position of the Christian Unity League. See p. 223 f.

⁹ For complete data, see Appendix Table 21.

TABLE XXXIX—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS ON ISSUES—DESIRABILITY OF COMPLETE UNION

(Select Church Constituency)

"Is the union of all churches in one visible body of Christians desirable?"

Arguments	Per Cent. of Replies Rating as:		Per Cent. Distribution of Weighted Score*
	Strong	Weak	
The division of the church into different denominations does not contradict a spiritual unity which meets every requirement of our Lord's prayer for the unity of Christians. (7) . . .	6	16	— 6
Permanent varieties of religious temperament and conscientious differences of conviction must have room for free expression, and the church should not desire or seek an external unity which hinders or conflicts with this freedom. (5)	14	8	+ 8
The denominational divisions of the church can be brought to function harmoniously as parts of a whole through the recognition of their common purpose, and conflicts and rivalries can be removed by the exercise of a Christian spirit. Vital union will then have been reached and union of the denominations into a single organization will be secondary. (8) . . .	[26]	3	+ 19
The sense of fraternity among Christians and the recognition of Christ in one another's lives ought to be stronger than any difference existing within the Christian body; and these feelings demand some sort of corporate expression. (4)	[18]	1	+ 16
Coordinating agencies able to unite all branches of the church in practical life and work should be set up in some way, leaving open the question of a single, all-inclusive ecclesiastical organization. (2)	13	2	+ 10
It is not the division of the church into separate groups but the fact that some groups hold themselves to be better than others and do not accord equality to the ministries and members of other churches which constitutes the evil of disunion. If the equality of all Christians before God and equal status in the church can be accorded, the question of adjusting external organization to this fact can take care of itself. (6)	11	6	+ 10
Such a union is the only way of expressing and actualizing the spiritual oneness of the church in Christ. (1)	7	32	— 20
Christ and the apostles intended the church to consist of one undivided body, and anything else is a denial of Christ's plan. (3)	5	32	— 11
Total	100	100	100
Number of Choices	5,590	2,436	...

Bracketed figures indicate arguments most frequently paired as strong.

* Arrived at by weighting for variability and subtracting "weak" from "strong" replies.

Again, while Federated Church adherents give nearly twice the average value to the argument that external union is the only way to express spiritual unity, their greatest stress is rather on the less extreme demand for some corporate expression of visible union (Argument 4). In contrast with its high-church wing, Protestant Episcopal opinion in general is stronger for

union than Federated Church adherents are, but the two agree upon a secondary emphasis upon the need of room for variety (Argument 5), and in denying that the achievement of equal status for all churches would constitute a satisfactory solution for the issue of unity without actual union.

Turning now to denominations which tend strongly in the direction of diversity, one discovers Unitarian opinion especially stressing the claims of variety in religion (Argument 5), while, at the same time, it stresses vital

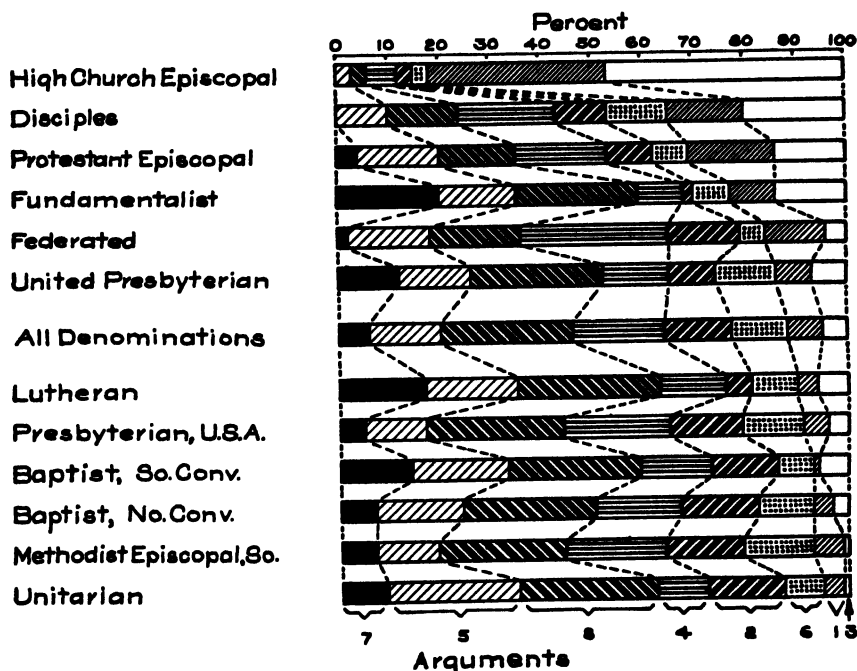


CHART XVI—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE ISSUE: IS THE UNION OF ALL CHURCHES IN ONE VISIBLE BODY OF CHRISTIANS DESIRABLE?

For select constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table XXXIX)

union and coördination of religious forces in contrast with organic union. Lutheran opinion also stresses the claims of variety and, along with the Fundamentalist group, is proportionately most pronounced of all in the defense of denominational division (Argument 7). It closely agrees with the average on vital union, but is little impressed by the idea of coördination of denominations.

The Baptist (South) position is close to the Lutheran except that it is more strongly for coördination and even less convinced that corporate union is the "only way."

Still other denominations, which generally stand near to the average, show extreme deviation on special points. Thus, Friends are especially vigorous in denying that the union of all churches is the "only way" of expressing spiritual unity. United Brethren find exceptional value in the coördination of denominations, while Fundamentalists give this view almost no encouragement. Fundamentalists, on the contrary, back high-church Episcopal and Disciples replies, in being extremely certain that Christ intended the church to be visibly one, an opinion which is strongly controverted by Baptist (North), Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal, South, replies.

Fundamentalists, again, ascribe less than half the average value to the idea that fraternity demands some corporate expression. On the question whether denominational divisions contradict spiritual unity, the Reformed Church in America, United Presbyterian and Baptist (South) answers are exceptionally strong in denial, while the Congregational-Christian assert that they do.

A most interesting phenomenon is that of internal inconsistency. Thus, after standing with the high churchman on three arguments out of four, the Fundamentalist reverses himself and takes a position of polar opposition in favor of the proposition that denominational divisions do not contradict spiritual unity.

Similarly, Federated Church adherents occupy an adjacent position to the high-church Episcopal, all Episcopal and Disciples on three propositions, but completely reverse themselves in affirming the need of some corporate expression for spiritual union. Is this because the slogan "fraternity" moves them as it does not move churches more swayed by ecclesiastical theory? On this issue, the Disciples also shift to the other side of the average. It is one of the advantages of the variety of answers provided by the study that, in bringing out these variations, it suggests explanations. It also makes clear that similar positions often rest upon different rationalizations.

Still other minor variations have significance. It is probably not by mere chance that two miscellaneous groups composed of small denominations, along with minority branches of larger denominational families, should especially stress the equality of churches, since this is to their advantage in case of negotiations for union. Again, it is not mere chance that coördination rather than union should be a word especially sweet to a considerable group of these smaller denominations, which naturally dread being swallowed up.

In spite of the deviations enumerated, the pattern of the total group's thinking is rather closely followed by the great majority of denominations. They want vital unity, with room for variety, but with some corporate expression. Coördination of function and the recognition of the equality of the churches are more highly valued than ecclesiastical union. While the

indefinite unity thus indicated does not require "one undivided body," neither is it satisfied that the present divisions of the church are according to the mind of Christ. For this common trend of thinking the denominations allege somewhat different reasons, and pressure toward the common objective is less effective because divided along separate lines of motivation. This has obvious bearing upon the prospects of church unity in the American church.

The above showing constitutes a commentary upon the ballot on church union, the results of which have already been presented. The ballot showed virtually two-thirds of a cross-sectional sample of the American religious public calling for church unity in some form. The present questionnaire shows that no exact kind of corporate expression of unity is determinative. What is called for is vital unity and something different from the division that now exists.

Such general considerations, then, do not get one forward very fast toward a decision as to the actual current issues of church union. The real issues on which men divide have not yet been met. As the various parties in the church actually line up, the really significant distinction is between those who stress not unity but uniformity, and those who similarly maintain the inherent right and value of variety in the church.

Neither of these positions as actually held is without qualification, chiefly on two counts.

The first involves the scope of unity. Is it without limits? Does it cover all fields? This consideration has set theologians to debating whether this demand for unity relates to faith alone, or to faith and order, or to neither.¹⁰

The second qualification arises in the popular distinction between essentials and non-essentials. Without attempting to decide precisely what are the limits to unity, it asks one to assume that there are limits vaguely defined by the maxim: "In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty."¹¹

THE REPUDIATION OF UNIFORMITY

Forewarned of the presence of these qualifying conceptions even when the issue seems simplest and most clear-cut, the best way to get concrete evidence as to the attitude of the American religious public seemed to be by asking the direct question: "When you say unity, do you mean complete uniformity, or, if not, how much diversity are you willing to tolerate?"

UNIFORMITY

Reactions to the question, "Does church unity mean that the church's beliefs, modes of worship, and forms of organization must be exactly the

¹⁰ P. 322.

¹¹ P. 193.

same everywhere?" were secured for 2,525 representatives of the more competent religious public.¹² The results are summarized in Table XL.

TABLE XL—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS ON ISSUES—DOES UNITY MEAN UNIFORMITY?

(Select Church Constituency)

"Does church unity mean that the church's belief, modes of worship and forms of organization must be exactly the same everywhere?"

Arguments	Per Cent. of Replies Rating as:		Per Cent. Distribution of Weighted Score*
	Strong	Weak	
Uniformity contradicts the very genius of Christianity as a spiritual experiment and an adventure. To hold more progressive bodies of Christians to the slower pace of the majority is deadly. (5).....	15	4	+ 12
All necessary requirements for unity in the church would be satisfied by a loose confederation of churches in which the present denominations would be allowed to perpetuate their several religious traditions and continue as societies within the common association, and which would allow new societies to be formed if the future demands them. (2).	18	5	+ 11
Certain denominations already maintain an external unity which does not demand uniformity of faith and practice. Most of the variations actually now present in the recognized branches of the Christian church other than the Roman Catholic could be accommodated within a united church with little more difficulty than these differences are already accommodated within these denominations. (6).....	[27]	1	+ 15
Provided the church's unity in essentials is safeguarded some room may be left for various types of expression of the common faith and worship and some liberty of interpretation. (3)	[34]	1	+ 22
The unity of the church can be expressed and assured only through authoritatively established forms of faith, worship and government which shall be observed by all. (1)	4	38	- 16
There can be no legitimate church union unless bodies which separated themselves from the original church universal acknowledge that they were wrong and give up the positions which led them to separate. (4).....	2	51	- 24
Total.....	100	100	100
Number of Choices.....	5,261	2,405	...

Bracketed figures indicate arguments most frequently paired as strong.

* Arrived at by weighting for variability and subtracting "weak" from "strong" replies.

The arrangement of the table follows the pattern of distribution of sentiment frequently found in connection with other issues, namely, two sets of extreme arguments at opposite ends of the series getting relatively little favor, with a group of mediating arguments in the middle which are strongly advocated. In this case scarcely anybody favors the most extreme

¹² For denominational distribution of returns, see Appendix Table 22.

arguments for uniformity (numbers 1 and 4) and most regard them as weak. The distribution of favorable opinion among the arguments is shown by the bars in Chart XVII, which follows the order of arrangement presented in the table.

On the face of the returns, then, unity does not mean uniformity to the great majority of the select constituency. According to the foregoing analy-

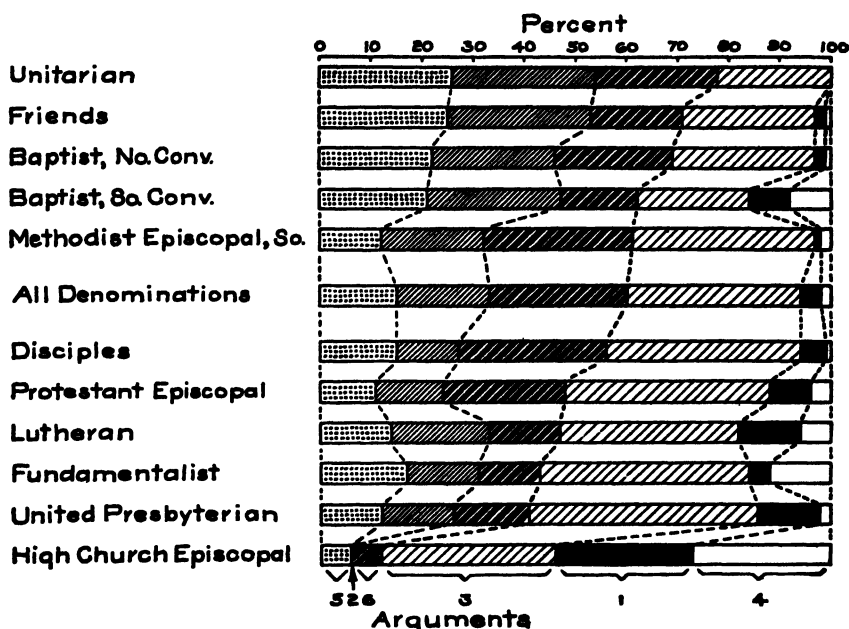


CHART XVII—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE ISSUE: DOES CHURCH UNITY MEAN THAT THE CHURCH'S BELIEFS, MODES OF WORSHIP AND FORMS OF ORGANIZATION MUST BE EXACTLY THE SAME EVERYWHERE?

For select constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table XL)

sis, however, the important thing is to get light on any qualifications which may attach to this view and to see how the denominations differ on the issue.

The results of such a comparison show that the group as a whole believes in variety in faith and worship (1) with the qualification that essentials are to be safeguarded, but that (2) it does not think that such a degree of difference as now divides the existing churches would be too great to be tolerated within a united church. This is shown by the concentration of favor upon the third and sixth arguments in the table.

Individual denominations which deviate most radically from the median

distribution of opinion may be compared by following the bars in the chart. Those strongly for uniformity are shown in the lower part of the chart, those against it in the upper.

The denominations which tend to favor uniformity most strongly are the high-church Episcopal, United Presbyterian, Fundamentalist, Lutheran, Protestant Episcopal and Disciple. Of these the high-church Episcopal is by far the most extreme. It puts approximately ten times the average stress of the group on the necessity of authoritative forms and the requirement that separated churches return penitently to the mother church.

Lutheran opinion, doubtless reflecting the strenuous efforts of that denomination to maintain internal regularity, is especially averse to the existence of wings within a church, while at the same time it ranks next to (though much behind) high-church Episcopal opinion in favor of authoritative forms and the return to the fold.

United Presbyterian opinion closely agrees with Lutheran in its approval of uniformity, but puts more than average stress on agreement in essentials.

Protestant Episcopal opinion also runs beyond the average in favor of some degree of variety; and, while favorable to the general idea of uniformity and against loose confederation, it is on the whole the least extreme of this group.

Fundamentalists are particularly averse to tolerating opposing wings within the same church, possibly because they so often constitute such a wing; and they rank only second to high-church Episcopalians in insistence upon return to the fold.

The contrasting group of denominations, which tends to favor variety, includes the Methodist Episcopal, South, Baptist (North and South), Friends, Congregational-Christian and Unitarian. Of these the Unitarian is the most decisively inclined to variety, followed by the Friends. This group gives no more than the barest trace of approval to the demand for authoritative forms or a return to the fold, except the Southern Baptist, which includes a minority conscious of its forms and its fold. This tendency of certain conservative denominations to take extreme views on both sides of representative issues will be proved in a later connection to have large consequence.

Denominations deviating widely from the average at one or two points only include the Disciples, which is little inclined to loose confederation, as is natural in view of its historic stress on unity, and is for the toleration of wings within the church, and Presbyterian, U. S., which shows little favor for loose confederation or for the proposition that uniformity contradicts Christianity. The Reformed Church in America is also much against this proposition and strongly for authoritative forms in the church.

The question of uniformity finds a larger per cent. of opinion leaning to extreme positions than most of the other issues do. It is distinctly a two-

sided issue. However, outright sentiment in favor of uniformity is slight: it is distinctly repudiated by the group as a whole; and, while there is considerable favor for variety without much integration, most of the sentiment is for a comprehensive type of unity, one which includes in one church all varieties now present in the non-Roman branches of Christianity, with the sole qualification that "essentials" be safeguarded.

CONCENTRATION OF THE DEMAND FOR EXTREME UNIFORMITY

Not only does representative thinking thus repudiate the necessity of uniformity in the church, but more detailed examination of returns proved that on a variety of concrete criteria there is only a small minority in any denomination which makes this demand.

In order to locate this tendency, eight criteria were selected as expressing it, namely, (1) insistence upon apostolic succession as a ground of validity in the ministry; (2) insistence upon highly centralized authority in the church; and (3) the requirement of a common creed, coupled with (4) a denial of the use of special confessions and customs by subordinate groups in the church; (5) refusal of modified church customs for racial groups, or (6) for indigenous foreign churches; (7) denial of the right of interpreting the creeds in varying senses; and (8) of maintaining different polities in local churches.

A comparison of denominations according to the degree of favor shown these eight criteria appears in Table XLI.

TABLE XLI—PER CENT. OF RETURNS DEMANDING EXTREME UNIFORMITY AS MEASURED BY EIGHT CRITERIA, BY DENOMINATIONS

Denomination	Per Cent.
Protestant Episcopal.....	21.2
Lutheran.....	20.8
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	8.2
Total Cases.....	7.8
Miscellaneous.....	7.8
Reformed.....	7.3
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	6.4
Disciples.....	5.0
Methodist Episcopal.....	4.9
Baptist (Northern Convention).....	4.3
Congregational-Christian.....	3.0

As indicated by this battery of judgments, only 7.8 per cent. of all returns favored extreme uniformity, but of Protestant Episcopal and Lutheran returns 21 per cent. favored it, while the proportion fell off to 4.3 per cent. for Baptist, 3 per cent. for Congregational-Christian.

Considerable variation between denominations appeared from item to item. While the Lutheran tendency toward extreme uniformity covers six

of the eight items involved, Lutheran insistence is very much higher on the common creed and the refusal of the right of individual interpretation of doctrine than on other points. The Protestant Episcopal tendency to extreme uniformity appears on only four of the eight points involved and is especially strong on apostolic succession, common creed and centralized authority. Appreciable traces of high-church tendency appear on three points in the Methodist Episcopal, South, returns; on two points in Presbyterian, U. S. A., and miscellaneous group returns, and on one point each in Baptist, Disciples and Reformed returns. But, as previously noted, the total never exceeds 8 per cent., except for Lutherans and Episcopalians.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

The version of unity in the church which does not require uniform and unchangeable creeds, modes of worship, or forms of government can only be termed unity in diversity. It is unity of this sort in which the majority of American church leaders believe. Many will maintain that it is not unity at all.

The question of unity of this type was referred to church leaders by means of a proposition in the following terms: "The unity of the church is a unity in diversity expressing a common life, to which uniform and unchangeable creeds, modes of worship or forms of government are not essential."

Replies from 624 leaders are summarized in Table XLII.

TABLE XLII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—UNITY IN DIVERSITY
(624 Church Leaders)

"The unity of the church is a unity in diversity expressing a common life, to which uniform and unchangeable creeds, modes of worship or forms of government are not essential."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:						Weighted Score*
	True			False			
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	
All Denominations...	85.3	59.8	25.5	7.0	5.1	2.6	+1.35
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	95.1	73.8	21.3	4.9	0.0	0.0	+1.68
Cong.-Christian.....	93.7	75.0	18.7	4.2	0.0	2.1	+1.65
Meth. Epis., South...	89.7	65.5	24.2	10.3	0.0	0.0	+1.55
Presb., U. S. A.	89.5	52.2	37.3	6.0	3.0	1.5	+1.36
Meth. Epis.	87.8	64.6	23.2	4.9	4.9	2.4	+1.43
Disciples.....	87.5	57.5	30.0	5.0	2.5	5.0	+1.33
Miscellaneous.....	86.7	60.0	26.7	8.0	3.3	2.0	+1.39
Reformed.....	77.4	48.4	29.0	6.5	16.1	0.0	+1.10
Lutheran.....	60.6	33.3	27.3	12.1	18.2	9.1	+0.58
Prot. Epis.	48.6	28.6	20.0	17.1	25.7	8.6	+0.33

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

Eighty-five out of every one hundred replying affirmed the truth of the proposition. Ten other propositions of the thirty submitted were more generally favored, nineteen less so. As a detached formula the doctrine of unity in diversity thus gets very large acceptance and only a very few are bold enough to deny it absolutely. Uncertainty on the point is also rather slight.

All denominations hold to the formula at least by a majority, except the Protestant Episcopal, with which opinion as to its truth is about half and half. However, Lutheran opinion notably and Reformed opinion in an appreciable degree is less cordial to the formula than is that of others. The seven of ten listed denominations that are most favorable to it are less than 10 per cent. apart in their opinions. Protestant Episcopal and Lutheran returns, besides being least favorable to the formula, register the highest return of indecision with respect to it.

Here, then, is one of the more widely accepted of the thirty propositions referred to the leading minds of the American church. It embodies a conception much used by popular thinking in rationalizing the concrete issue of church relations.

Very numerous individual comments illuminate this general tendency of thought. The following are typical:

"There must be some freedom of organization or religious emphasis, as I cannot conceive any group, no matter how official it may consider itself, that would have a corner on all truth."

"Allow wide diversity of belief and worship as in 'South India' scheme."

"I believe theoretically in the desirability of one church. Yet the whole history of the church makes me sure that it will not come and ought not to come, until and when we allow wide divergence in faith and practice and little overhead authority."

"I confess that church unity concerns me not so terribly much. Variety appears in everything, in tacks, wheel barrows, and even in Cal Coolidge's voice, and it seems almost legitimate for variety to exist in things religious. I am sincere in my belief that there is too much discussion about church differences and about church unity and that the sin lies in this discussion more so than it lies in the different camps of the Church."

Those who go on to indicate the grounds on which they regard variety as necessary generally draw on two fields, the psychological and the social. Inherent differences in mental tendencies fixed by long ages of evolution and temperamental variations limit the capacity of men to unite religiously.

"It seems rather necessary to have different churches to accommodate various types of mind; e.g., I think there is a distinct Baptist mind, an Episcopalian, a Methodist, etc. I do not think matters of creed or doctrine so very important,

yet these various types of mind probably demand various types of creed and church polity."

Again, it is argued that differentiation and specialization are the law of our mature social organization. Differences in creeds, practices, and ethics along with distinctive cultural differences represent normal variations which should not be swallowed up in a standardized church:

"Social pluralism in religion seems to me in some ways a healthy state."

"Personally, I feel that the United Protestant Church of America—if it ever comes—will have to be very catholic in its spirit and with allowance for the largest liberty of thought and action. Any creed would have to be of the simplest and broadest kind. There are different types of mind and what appeals to one does not interest another. Whether human beings in any numbers can ever be raised who are willing to live and let live—who can believe that folks who do not think or feel as they do may yet be really Christian and co-workers in the building of the kingdom—I am not able to guess. We have grown mighty few of them up to date. Our special prejudices make us schismatics or sectarians—despite our fine theories."

MEANING OF UNITY IN VARIETY

Even if the formula of unity in variety is admitted as expressing in general the position of American religious people, church unity hinges upon concrete answers to a variety of situations showing the degree of variation which the church regards as permissible and is actually willing to allow. Can denominations as different as the Friends (who follow no fixed forms of worship and do not recognize the necessity of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper) and the high-church Episcopalians (who hold a strict doctrine of the priesthood and maintain that sacraments celebrated in a prescribed manner are essential) be successfully comprehended in a single church? This issue is raised popularly with respect to conflicting tendencies of thought within some of the existing denominations. Some maintain that their differences are wider than can occur without harm, or than ought to be tolerated—particularly theological ones. This opinion is volunteered by two correspondents.

"If the question as to genuine churches were divided, as I think it should be in the case of denominations having a 'right' and a 'left' wing, a part would be classed by 'yours truly' as 'a genuine church of Christ' and the modernistic part as 'doubtful'."

"The greatest trouble that I see at this time, and it has possibly existed for the past several years, is the apparent friction or inability to get together of the pre-millennial, or fundamentalists, and what is often termed the modernist or liberal crowd, within the same denominations."

Without some decision upon issues of this sort, no adequate interpretation of the formula, unity in diversity, can be reached.

Some of the questions which obviously must be raised are: What theoretical adjustment is to be made with respect to the actual denominational divisions of the church? How do attempts to maintain the dual principle of unity and diversity work out? What are the boundaries within which diversity is limited: for example, at the point where diversity is in danger of running over into moral division, or of bringing confusion to non-Christians, as it is said to do on foreign-mission fields? How does the principle of diversity apply to differences within denominations and within local churches? Or to deliberate adaptations of organization and method in the case of churches for special racial groups? Finally, what generalized practical verdict is to be passed on current denominationalism in the light of the principle of unity in diversity, and what future disposition of the denominations is proposed?

When these questions are answered, one may believe that he understands somewhat concretely what the accepted formula means.

The remainder of this chapter, accordingly, gives itself to a record of the results of a series of eight concrete tests covering the responses of a representative American religious public to the questions outlined.

THEORETICAL ADJUSTMENT TO THE FACT OF DENOMINATIONAL DIVISION

A frequent answer to the charge of disunion in the church is that disunion is only apparent. Vital union, it is insisted, already exists:

"Spiritual unity fulfills all the conditions intended by Christ."

"Denominations do not divide the body of Christ, but are rather the ways in which the members of the body coöperate."

On this theory, many correspondents seek to evade the reproach of religious division:

"I am weary of that Roman goad, 'Divided Protestantism'. Rome has ever tried to destroy Protestantism. We are not divided, but stand on the same foundation—faith in God the Father—God the Son and God the Holy Spirit—the blessed Trinity—which our heavenly Father does not expect us to explain—*only believe*."

"All buildings are the same in that they stand on a solid foundation—but the forms of the same differ greatly leaving room for individual choices. We want that freedom of choice—because of the eccentricities of humanity. We grow weary of hearing so much about *forms* and so little about soul saving."

Another volunteered opinion put the idea in homey fashion, using the analogy of the family: "My idea is that in time we will be one family and

that each individual will represent a unified denomination and will have his individual name, John, James, George, Henry and so on and still have our own ideas and yet be one family." From this viewpoint some find it possible to define the church as the sum of the denominations.

The first specific test of the formula of unity in variety is to discover whether it approves of variety of this sort and to this degree. Accordingly, a proposition, formulated as follows, was submitted to leaders of American churches: "The true visible expression of the church of Christ on earth is found in the existing Christian denominations and communions all taken together." The results are shown in Table XLIII.

TABLE XLIII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—UNITY IN VARIETY
(624 Church Leaders)

"The true visible expression of the church of Christ on earth is found in the existing Christian denominations and communions all taken together."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:						
	True		False				
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Weighted Score*
All Denominations...	61.6	30.8	30.8	15.2	14.2	9.0	+0.60
Lutheran.....	72.7	45.4	27.3	15.2	6.1	6.0	+1.00
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	72.1	37.7	34.4	13.1	9.9	4.9	+0.90
Miscellaneous.....	63.4	30.0	33.4	15.3	10.0	11.3	+0.61
Cong.-Christian.....	61.5	27.1	34.4	14.6	16.6	7.3	+0.57
Presb., U. S. A.	61.2	31.3	29.9	14.9	12.0	11.9	+0.57
Reformed.....	61.2	22.5	38.7	19.4	12.9	6.5	+0.58
Meth. Epis.	59.8	26.9	32.9	12.2	20.7	7.3	+0.51
Meth. Epis., South...	58.6	34.5	24.1	20.7	20.7	0.0	+0.72
Prot. Epis.	51.4	34.3	17.1	17.2	20.0	11.4	+0.42
Disciples.....	45.0	27.5	17.5	17.5	20.0	17.5	+0.18

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases

For the group as a whole, more than six out of ten replies assert that the proposition is true, and less than one that it is certainly false. This ratio or a higher one holds for seven denominations. With two only is opinion distinctly less favorable, a bare majority of Episcopal returns and less than one-half of those of the Disciples approving the proposition. These two denominations, then, set themselves off from the others as being distinctly less able to assimilate the fact of denominational division to the formula of unity in diversity.

A fairly large measure of uncertainty characterizes the general attitude toward the question.

The proposition does not assert that the present denominational system constitutes in all respects a satisfactory form of unity. That it fulfills all the conditions of unity as intended by Christ was distinctly disavowed in a

previous test.¹⁸ It simply asserts that it is possible to regard the present denominations collectively as satisfying the ideal of unity. Formal separation, per se, does not prevent the quality of vital unity from existing. It may obscure the ideal of the church, but does not destroy it.

APPLICATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF UNITY

Passing to the attempt to maintain the dual principle of unity and diversity in detail, interesting points of application emerge, and the limitations of the last-discussed proposition immediately appear.

Thus the necessity of getting the churches together in such fashion that the world shall get an impression of union rather than of disunion was repeatedly voiced in the evidence gathered by the study. What sort of unity in the church does the world require as a witness, and how much of it would be necessary to be thus convincing?

A statement intended to illuminate this issue was inserted among propositions submitted to leaders of American churches in the form: "Unity is necessary to impress and convince the world that Christians are not morally divided and to secure the power of a united church in the struggle against evil. The church must have that degree and kind of unity which the world

TABLE XLIV—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—UNITY BEFORE THE WORLD

(624 Church Leaders)

"Unity is necessary to impress and convince the world that Christians are not morally divided and to secure the power of a united church in the struggle against evil. The church must have that degree and kind of unity which the world will recognize as such, but this does not necessarily involve formal ecclesiastical union."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:
True False

Denomination	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Weighted Score*
All Denominations...	86.0	54.8	31.2	8.2	3.9	1.9	+1.33
Meth. Epis., South...	96.6	44.9	51.7	0.0	3.4	0.0	+1.38
Meth. Epis.	90.3	56.1	34.2	2.4	3.7	3.6	+1.35
Reformed.....	90.3	51.6	38.7	3.2	3.2	3.3	+1.32
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	90.2	60.7	29.5	4.9	3.3	1.6	+1.44
Cong.-Christian.....	89.6	60.4	29.2	8.3	2.1	0.0	+1.48
Presb., U. S. A.....	88.1	61.2	26.9	7.5	4.4	0.0	+1.44
Miscellaneous.....	87.3	53.3	34.0	8.7	2.0	2.0	+1.35
Disciples.....	80.0	62.5	17.5	12.5	7.5	0.0	+1.35
Lutheran.....	72.7	45.4	27.3	18.2	3.0	6.1	+1.03
Prot. Epis.	57.1	31.4	25.7	22.9	14.3	5.7	+0.63

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

will recognize as such, but this does not necessarily involve formal ecclesiastical union." Results from this circularization are shown in Table XLIV.

Eighty-six per cent. of the replies agreed that there must be such union in the church that would convince the world, but that this need not necessarily involve formal ecclesiastical union.

This view was approved by virtually nine-tenths of all votes in six denominations, with Disciples showing considerably less than average satisfaction in it, and with Lutheran and Protestant Episcopal opinion distinctly less pleased. However, dissenting opinion in these three bodies tends to take the form of indecision rather than of outright opposition to the proposition.

The burden of the evidence thus seems to be that American church opinion as a whole is interested in pragmatic tests of union and in the type of union which convinces the non-ecclesiastical mind. Briefly, it must be a union that works.

This, of course, is not the whole story. One may be concerned about the effective manifestation of union and at the same time value it on other and more purely ecclesiastical grounds.

UNION BEFORE THE NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD

A similar challenge to a particular application of the principle of unity in diversity is found on foreign-mission fields. The conscience of Christendom has found an especially sore point in the exhibition of its divisions in the face of the non-Christian world, and especially in the continuance in the denominational native churches of historic divisions which many bodies regret and are trying to get away from. Sensitiveness on this point was eloquently voiced in the Lausanne Conference and subsequently by the International Missionary Council in the following utterance:

"Church Union. The Committee, profoundly convinced that the fulfilment of the universal missionary task can only be achieved through the life and witness of a united Church, and oppressed by the difficulties in the way of the reunion of the divided Churches, instruct the officers to approach the Continuation Committee of the World Conference on Faith and Order with a view to the establishment of contacts between the two bodies."¹⁴

In view of the live character of this issue, a proposition intended to test the attitude of American church leaders was inserted in the questionnaire as follows: "While church union may be incidental in Christian countries, it is vitally necessary on mission fields." The results of replies on the issue as thus stated are shown in Table XLV.

Well above four-fifths of all replies assert the truth of the proposition.

¹⁴ Excerpt from *Minutes of the Committee of the International Missionary Council*, Herrnhut, Germany, June 23-July 4, 1932 (New York: International Missionary Council).

TABLE XLV—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—NECESSITY OF UNION ON MISSION FIELDS

(624 Church Leaders)

"While church union may be incidental in Christian countries, it is vitally necessary on mission fields."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:						Weighted Score*
	True			False			
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Undecided	Probably	Certainly	
All Denominations...	82.7	52.1	30.6	9.9	4.5	2.9	+1.24
Disciples.....	95.0	62.5	32.5	2.5	0.0	2.5	+1.53
Cong.-Christian.....	91.7	62.5	29.2	5.2	1.0	2.1	+1.49
Meth. Epis., South...	89.7	62.1	27.6	10.3	0.0	0.0	+1.52
Presb., U. S. A.	89.5	59.7	29.8	4.5	3.0	3.0	+1.40
Reformed.....	87.1	48.4	38.7	3.2	3.2	6.5	+1.19
Meth. Epis.	82.9	54.9	28.0	13.4	1.2	2.5	+1.32
Miscellaneous.....	82.0	46.0	36.0	11.3	3.4	3.3	+1.18
Prot. Epis.	80.0	54.3	25.7	11.4	8.6	0.0	+1.26
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	67.2	42.6	24.6	19.7	9.8	3.3	+0.93
Lutheran.....	51.5	24.2	27.3	15.2	27.3	6.0	+0.36

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

Exceedingly few are sure that it is not true, while about one-tenth are undecided.

Comparing the denominations, the replies group as follows: Five denominations (Congregational, Disciples, Methodist Episcopal, South, Presbyterian, U. S. A., and Reformed) approve the proposition by approximately nine-tenths of those voting. Three groups (Methodist Episcopal, Protestant Episcopal and the miscellaneous group) approve it by a little more than four-fifths. Two denominations lag behind the rest, namely, Northern Baptist and Lutheran. Nevertheless, two-thirds of the former and one-half of the latter approve the proposition.

It is significant that high uncertainty accompanies the position of the middle and low group as thus classified. Thus, for example, the Methodist Episcopal position is less favorable to the proposition than that of the congregationally organized and Presbyterian groups, and Methodist uncertainty is correspondingly high.

DENOMINATIONAL COMPETITION IN INDIA

In a previous connection,¹⁵ it was discovered that popular thinking is very sensitive over the transfer of American denominational rivalries to foreign fields. The reaction of the rank and file constituency to an actual

¹⁵ P. 88.

situation involving this issue was consequently also secured by means of a questionnaire, with results which appear in Table XLVI.

TABLE XLVI—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—DENOMINATIONAL RIVALRIES IN MISSION FIELDS

(General Church Constituency)

"In a certain city in India, four denominational mission churches stand on the four corners of cross streets, each trying to convert Hindus to its own version of Christianity."

Judgments	Per Cent. Choosing as 1st or 2nd Best, By Status in the Church				
	Total	Min- isters	Lay Church Officers	Mem- bers	Non- Mem- bers
The need of Christ in non-Christian lands is so great that denominational differences should be ignored and all stress laid on unity of the church. (7).....	34	35	35	34	32
It will be impossible to convince the Hindus that there is any good reason for such divisions in a religion claiming a common God. (8).....	21	23	24	20	19
It will greatly hasten union at home if the churches would practice union abroad. (5)...	16	18	15	16	15
The need of the non-Christian world is so great that each denomination should work to do its utmost in its own field without stopping to raise the difficult problem of church union. (4)	13	9	12	13	13
If the separate interests of the existing denominations were carefully preserved in their home countries, a local union of denominations in India might well be considered. (3).....	6	6	5	6	7
Converts from heathenism can hardly be seriously affected by denominational differences because such differences are familiar in connection with their native faiths, and would not seem to them in conflict with the idea of one common religion. (6).....	5	3	4	5	5
If denominations stand for vital differences in their own home lands, they must equally do so in other lands, even though appearances seem to condemn them for so doing. (2)....	4	5	3	4	6
It makes no great difference how denominational matters are managed in India. (1)....	1	1	2	2	3
Total (24,214 choices, 12,575 persons answering).....	100	100	100	100	100

The distribution of opinion among the arguments as shown by Table XLVI registers a general sentiment very strongly against denominational competition in India.

With the group as a whole, most nearly represented by the large Methodist and Presbyterian bodies, the chief argument for union and against competition is the exigent religious needs of the non-Christian lands (Judgment 7).

Secondary stress is placed on the impossibility of convincing non-Christians that there is any good reason for the sectarian divisions of Christianity (Judgment 8).

The distribution of the judgments of ten representative denominations among the eight arguments presented for consideration is shown in Chart XVIII. Denominations most opposed to competition stand in the lower section of the chart. They simply stress the two main arguments a little beyond the average.

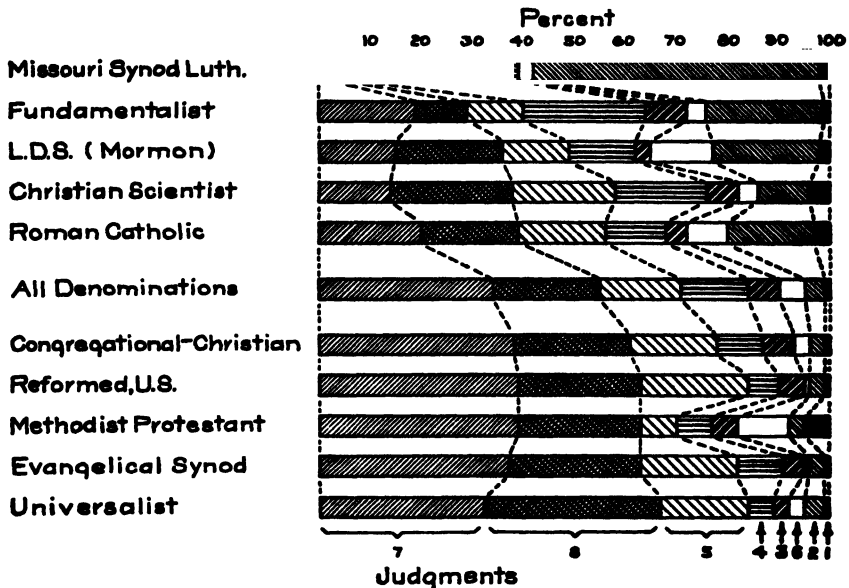


CHART XVIII—DISTRIBUTION OF JUDGMENTS WITH RESPECT TO DENOMINATIONAL COMPETITION IN INDIA

For total rank and file constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for judgments numbered to correspond with key, see Table XLVI)

It is, however, noteworthy that certain other denominations which are not charted are still stronger in their direct condemnation of competition, namely, Jewish and Unitarian, together with minor officials. They do not accept, however, the argument from the religious needs of non-Christian lands, and the two former are even in strong opposition to it. This is, of course, consistent with their known coldness to the "missionary motive" as assumed by evangelical churches.

The contrasting attitudes of the considerable group which defends competition in foreign fields are shown in the upper section of the chart. This group includes the following denominations: Roman Catholic, Christian

Scientist, Latter Day Saints, All Lutheran and particularly Missouri Synod, and Fundamentalist. Their chief argument is that if the denominations stand for vital differences at home they must equally do so abroad (Judgment 2). This group bases its secondary argument upon the extreme religious need of the non-Christian world (Judgment 4), just as the other group did; only in their case it is turned around so as to justify the strenuous separate effort without that slowing down which coöperation is said to involve.

It is noteworthy, however, that the defenders of competition on the foreign field are unwilling to avail themselves of the argument that division of Christians creates no difficulty for non-Christians because non-Christians are already familiar with sectarian differences within their native faiths (Judgment 6). Apparently they hold that the embarrassment of denominationalism is to be admitted, but accepted as one which must be borne for principle's sake.

On the argument that if differences are vital at home they are equally so abroad the three Baptist bodies (Northern, Southern and Negro), Dunkers, Protestant Episcopal, United Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and Unitarian reinforce the affirmative; while Congregational-Christian, Evangelical Synod, three Methodist groups (Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Protestant and Colored Methodist), Presbyterian, U. S. A., Reformed, U. S. and United Brethren take the negative side. Again, in addition to the denominations which generally defend competition, the Southern Baptist, Dunkers and Roman Catholic deny that denominational differences should be ignored because of the extreme religious needs of non-Christian lands. These differences may be traced in detail by means of Appendix Table 23.

As between ministers and lay church officers, on the one hand, and other laymen on the other, Table XLVI shows that the former are apparently more critical of competition in India than the latter; but the difference is not great.

Besides revealing the decisive antagonism of the American religious constituency as a whole to denominational competition in foreign lands, these reactions to the above incident clearly illustrate the general characteristics of popular thinking. Thus, Unitarians who lead the opposition to the competition, nevertheless admit the argument that if denominational divisions are vital enough to be justified at home they are equally so abroad. In strict logic one can hardly deny this. The great majority, however, believe in exceptions and compromises. They do not think that alleged principles must be followed out rigidly to the bitter end and are a good deal more strongly opposed to competition abroad than to competition at home.

The showing of Table XLVI roughly corresponds with the behavior of the denominations with respect to certain important unions, especially in

the Orient. With some exceptions, the denominations most favorable to the proposition as it stands have entered into ecclesiastical combinations going beyond coöperation or federation, while those less favorable have remained outside. This behavior is the most vital interpretation of the general notion of unity in diversity.

CONSERVATIVE AND PROGRESSIVE WINGS WITHIN DENOMINATIONS

The application of the principle of diversity is concretely measured by the degree of variation permitted within a denominational church. The attitudes of a representative cross-section of the religious public toward the division of many denominations into right and left wings was consequently tested by a further item in the questionnaire.

The fact of such division was stated in the following form: "Several American denominations are divided into parties, sometimes called a 'right wing' and a 'left wing'. One party is generally regarded as more 'conservative' and the other as more 'progressive'. The members of the two parties or wings differ widely in their views on many points of Christian truth and worship, and take different sides in interpreting the creeds, rites and forms of government which they are supposed to hold in common. The presence of the two wings within the same church often causes a good deal of controversy." The questionnaire was responded to by 12,222 constituents of twenty-five denominations, constituting a rank-and-file sample of the church, with results as shown in Table XLVII and in Appendix Table 24.

The most favored judgment, adopted by 36 per cent. of those replying, glorifies the continued union of such widely separated elements within existing denominations, and 32 per cent. more justify their sticking together so long as the divisive issue is not "fundamental". Secondary approval is given to the assertion that such divisions, though unfortunate, are better than new schisms. Few judgments mark down the issue as of little consequence, but only one reply in twenty holds that in a case such as the one described the minority should separate itself in the form of a new church.

Denominations which go distinctly beyond the average in disapproval of "wings" within denominations include Latter Day Saints, Fundamentalists, Missouri Synod Lutheran and Roman Catholic. The distribution of their answers among the five judgments listed in the table is shown in the lower section of Chart XX.

The stiff attitude of all of these denominations with respect to differences within their own ranks is a recognized fact. Even so, this group as a whole does not condemn "wings" unconditionally. Provided fundamentals are not affected (Judgment 2), even Missouri Synod Lutheran, Fundamentalists and Southern Baptists would tolerate them, though disagreeing over the question whether such actual wide diversity as exists within

TABLE XLVII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—DIFFERENCES WITHIN DENOMINATIONS

(General Church Constituency)

"Several American denominations are divided into parties, sometimes called a 'right wing' and a 'left wing.' One party is generally regarded as more 'conservative,' and the other as more 'progressive.' The members of the two parties or wings differ widely in their views on many points of Christian truth and worship, and take different sides in interpreting the creeds, rites and forms of government which they are supposed to hold in common. The presence of the two wings within the same church often causes a good deal of controversy."

Judgments	Per Cent. Choosing as 1st or 2nd Best, By Status in the Church				
	Total	Min- isters	Lay Church Officers	Mem- bers	Non- Mem- bers
It is the glory of such churches to show that mutual love and tolerance can keep together in one body people who differ radically on religious matters; thereby showing that sectarian divisions are unnecessary. (5).....	36	38	38	35	34
If the differences do not touch fundamentals of Christian belief and conduct, the two parties ought to be able to get along within the same denomination. (2).....	32	30	32	33	30
The situation described is unfortunate, but is better than to have these denominations break up into separate churches. (1).....	17	21	15	16	18
Theoretical differences such as these are of little real consequence, and the squabbles which they cause in the church should merely be disregarded. (3).....	10	8	12	11	12
In such a situation, the minority should get out and establish a church of its own; thus leaving the majority in unity and peace. (4).....	5	3	3	5	6
Total (23,463 choices, 12,222 persons answering).....	100	100	100	100	100

churches is better than new separation (Judgment 1). Only the Missouri Synod is pronounced in favor of Judgment 4, that the dissenting minority should withdraw.

Strongest in defense of variety as expressed by "wings" within denominations are the Reformed, U. S., Evangelical Synod, Universalist and Congregational-Christian replies, which are graphically presented in the upper section of the chart. They glorify diversity in itself, refuse to hinge the issue on the preservation of "fundamentals" and deny that minorities should secede in the interests of peace. On this latter position they have very general support.

In this series of judgments, Northern Baptist replies never fall into an extreme position; and those of the two Methodist and the two leading Presbyterian bodies do so but once each. In short, these great groups stand

close to the average, which does not regard the existence of wings as abnormal nor the variety which they reflect as contravening substantial unity.

Comparing ministers and laymen, it is noteworthy that ministers emphasize a little more strongly than the group as a whole the glory of unity in spite of difference and the undesirability of the separation of variant "wings." They take the problem of such internal divisions more strongly to heart; but they make somewhat less of the distinction between fundamentals and

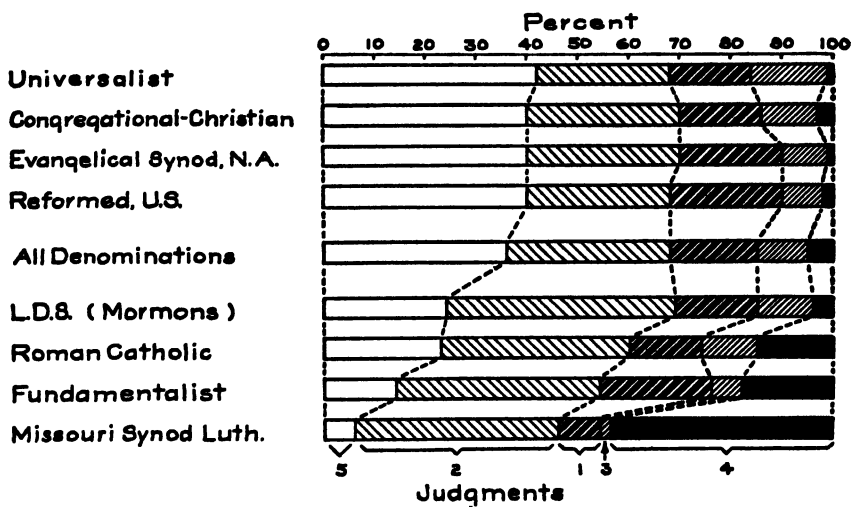


CHART XIX—DISTRIBUTION OF JUDGMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE EXISTENCE OF "WINGS" WITHIN DENOMINATIONS

For total rank and file constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for judgments numbered to correspond with key, see Table XLVII)

non-fundamentals. Non-members are most depreciatory of the issue and at the same time most inclined to approve schism. All told, however, differences according to status in the church are not extreme.

UNIFORMITY VS. VARIETY IN THE LOCAL CHURCH

Will the same degree of variety be tolerated in the local church as in the larger denominational body? In order to answer this question, an actual example of an Idaho community church, composed of very diverse elements, was submitted to the rank and file constituency in the form and with the results shown in Table XLVIII.

The distribution of the judgments of the group as a whole with respect to this situation is shown in the first column of the table. Denominations taking the most extreme position in approval of variety in the local church

TABLE XLVIII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—UNIFORMITY VS. VARIETY IN THE LOCAL CHURCH

(General Church Constituency)

"A community church in a small Idaho village includes members from sixteen different denominations as unlike as Episcopalian and Mormon. Members are not required to give up or deny what their previous denominations taught them. They differ widely as to the Bible, as to the ways of worshipping God, and as to church government; yet all belong to one church in their home."

Judgments	Per Cent. Choosing as 1st or 2nd Best, By Status in the Church				
	Total	Min- isters	Lay Church Officers	Mem- bers	Non- Mem- bers
The church exists for the very purpose of showing that because they have a common spiritual Head, all sorts of Christians can unite harmoniously in a single inclusive body. (6).....	29	25	30	31	29
The case is probably exceptional but, under the circumstances described, it is better to have only one church in town than to divide its people up among several churches. (1).....	24	30	25	22	22
If the different elements in the church are content not to insist too strongly on their separate views, it may be all right to have all of them in one church. (2).....	17	17	16	17	17
Differences in doctrines and ritual are not very important anyhow. (4).....	14	9	15	15	17
Christians differing as widely as those described in this case are better off in separate churches. (5).....	8	9	7	8	7
Christians cannot genuinely unite in one church without agreement as to the grounds of union in common beliefs and methods of worship. In this case they do not agree, and some must have to compromise or suppress their convictions. This is too high a price for union. (3)	8	10	7	7	8
Total (25,824 choices, 13,318 persons answering).....	100	100	100	100	100

are Federated Churches, Unitarian, Congregational-Christian and "No Denomination." They agree in thinking that differences in doctrine and ritual are relatively unimportant. Federated Churches are community churches and naturally justify the practices of their own type as illustrated in the incident. The Unitarian argument for variety differs from that of the others in that it is based on the exceptional nature of the case (Judgment 1) rather than on the general religious principle (Judgment 6) on which the rest primarily depend.

Denominations taking the most extreme position against variety as exhibited in the case under consideration are Lutheran, especially the Missouri Synod, Fundamentalist, Moravian, Presbyterian, U. S., and United Presby-

terian, together with Roman Catholic. Of these the Missouri Synod and Fundamentalist position is by far the most extreme. While total Lutheran returns look in the same direction as the Missouri Synod returns, the total shows only moderate deviation from the group average, while the Missouri Synod shows deviation in a most excessive degree.

Minor officials manifest conflicting tendencies on this issue. One group defends the case of the Idaho church as exceptional; another thinks that under such a circumstance such a variety of people ought rather to be in different churches. As leaders of the denominational system, one would scarcely expect general approval of community churches by this group.

The most controverted issue is whether the inclusion of varied elements in a local church involves compromises which are too high a price to pay for unity. Southern Baptist, Dunkers, Latter Day Saints, Evangelical, Evangelical Synod, Moravian, Pentecostal and Reformed in America go with the defenders of uniformity at this point, while Congregational-Christian, Disciples, Friends, Jews, the three Methodist groups, Presbyterian, U. S. A., Reformed, U. S., and Universalist defend variety as exhibited in the Idaho church.

On one or another of the judgments attached to this issue all but two denominations find themselves taking extreme positions at least twice. These two, Protestant Episcopal and United Brethren, stand closest to the group average. This strongly defends the Idaho church either on grounds of absolute principle, or on the particular circumstances of the case.

Tested by this incident, ministers (as recorded in the second column of Table XLVIII) appear somewhat less tolerant of variety than laymen.

Comparing these judgments as to variety in the local church with judgments previously noted as to parties and wings in denominations, rather strong correspondences appear. In both cases the judgment most frequently chosen asserts that it is right for the church to include a great variety of elements. In both justification on the grounds of the exceptional character of the case finds secondary stress. Both deny that the diverse elements had better separate rather than stick together within the same organization.

The familiar distinction between essentials and non-essentials was introduced in one test but not in the other. This distinction was eagerly caught at by those who had the opportunity to do so in the effort to rationalize their position. This illustrates the dependence of thinking upon accepted shibboleths which are bound to be made use of the moment anyone brings them into play.

RACIAL ADAPTATION

It is well known that the church on mission fields is often perplexed over the problem of how far historic Christianity may be adapted to the ways

of people of different inheritance and culture from that of the missionary. This was one of the major problems dealt with by the recent Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry. When people of similarly divergent racial and cultural antecedents are resident in the homeland as immigrant stocks, a similar question arises as to modifying church practices to suit their peculiar characteristics. This involves a principle of variation in contrast with the maintenance of complete uniformity in the church. How far would a united church be willing to introduce such variety as might reflect racial and cultural adaptation? One of the best tests of deliberate policy interpreting the principle of unity in diversity occurs at this point.

This issue was presented to church leaders in the form of a query as to whether a united church would "permit modification of church practices for people of different races and antecedents in some parts of the United States." The results of replies from 624 church leaders show that 83 per cent. felt that a united church would practise such latitude and that 84 per cent. approved the idea, while only a bare fraction which thought this outcome probable disapproved of it. In brief, there was great unanimity of opinion on this point, as shown by Table XLIX.

TABLE XLIX—PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD PERMIT MODIFICATIONS OF CHURCH PRACTICES FOR PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT RACES AND ANTECEDENTS

(624 Church Leaders)

Denomination	Per Cent. Judging Probable	Per Cent. Approving	Per Cent. of Those Judging Probable Who Disapprove
All Denominations.....	82.9	84.5	1.4
Congregational-Christian.....	90.6	89.6	0.0
Protestant Episcopal.....	88.6	94.3	0.0
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	86.2	86.2	0.0
Methodist Episcopal.....	85.4	87.8	3.7
Disciples.....	82.5	85.0	1.2
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	82.1	82.1	0.0
Lutheran.....	81.8	72.7	3.0
Reformed.....	80.7	83.9	0.0
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	78.7	90.2	1.4
Miscellaneous.....	77.3	78.0	3.5

Congregational, Protestant Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal replies were slightly more favorable to adaptation than the average, while Baptist, Presbyterian and miscellaneous replies were slightly more rigid in attitude.

The data make it appear all but certain that people representing special antecedents would find a united church ready to make pedagogic concessions to their peculiarities.

VERDICT UPON PRESENT DENOMINATIONALISM

The meanings actually read into the formula "unity in diversity" find their most general test in a comprehensive verdict upon the present denominational system. It is recognized that final appraisal of denominationalism, apart from its roots in history and apart from an interpretation of its tendencies with respect to the future, is an abstraction. There is significance, however, in the direct question: "Are denominations an evil?" when it comes by way of summary and after a long series of specific questions such as the present chapter has traced. The question was accordingly put to the "select constituency" as identified by the present study.

Eight arguments bearing on the issue were presented, among which those replying were to choose the strongest and the weakest. These arguments and the distribution of replies are shown in Table L, on the next page, and in Appendix Table 26.

The arrangement of the table puts arguments in defense of denominations first and those which condemn them as an evil last, with mediating arguments between. As it turns out, those most frequently chosen as strong fall at the middle of the list.

The strongest of the eight arguments in the minds of the group as a whole are that, whatever their significance in the past, many denominational divisions have been outgrown and are no longer justified, and that all legitimate variety might be made room for in a united church. Considerable strength, however, is found in support of the opinion that the evils of denominational division are incidental, and such that they could be overcome through coöperation without resorting to corporate union. To about 10 per cent. of those replying it seems an important consideration that natural and temperamental differences should express themselves in the organization of the church. The more extreme position on the side of denominationalism is the flat judgment that denominations are necessary, but only 7 per cent. of the replies put this as the strongest argument. Similar extreme condemnations of denominationalism as a scandal before the world and a breach in the visible church which Christ intended to remain one get only a few votes.

It is obvious that the question of the evils of denominationalism involves both its absolute and its relative merits or demerits. Considerations from both of these aspects were, therefore, included in the above list. The preponderant judgment, as just noted, is that they are *now* an evil, that the good which they represent could be otherwise secured through legitimate variations within a united church, but, on the other hand, that their evil might be overcome without abolishing the system. In short, relative evils rather than absolute are stressed by the majority.

TABLE L—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS ON ISSUES—ARE DENOMINATIONS AN EVIL?

(Select Church Constituency)

Arguments	Per Cent. of Replies Rating as:		Per Cent. Distribution of Weighted Score*
	Strong	Weak	
Denominations are necessary as free expressions of the varied insights and emphases of the Christian life. (6).....	7	21	— 16
Denominations are natural reflections of permanent differences in human nature and temperament, whose perpetuation in the church is not un-Christian. (1).....	11	18	— 8
It is possible for the separate churches to overcome the incidental evils of intolerance and bitterness and to express their spiritual unity through coöperation while at the same time they remain distinct organizations. (3).....	16	3	+ 9
Many denominational divisions which may have originally been justified are no longer so, because the divisive positions have actually ceased to have meaning or vitality to those who are still assumed to hold them. (8).....	[26]	2	+ 23
All variations in thought and practice necessary to express the legitimate variety of Christian life might be made room for within a united church without dividing this church into denominations each claiming to be a church by itself. (7) ...	[19]	4	+ 12
Denominations often impose arbitrary and outworn differences upon local communities and nations. (2).....	9	5	+ 13
The rending of the church into so many competing denominations is a great scandal before the world. (4).....	8	23	— 10
Denominationalism is a breach in the unity of the visible church which Christ intended to remain one. (5).....	4	24	— 9
Total.....	100	100	100
Number of Choices.....	5,456	2,381	...

Bracketed figures indicate arguments most frequently paired as strong.

* Arrived at by weighting for variability and subtracting "weak" from "strong" replies

The more pronounced denominational variations from the median position of the group are shown in Chart XX.

The lower section of the chart shows that the denominations most inclined to justify denominationalism are Baptist (South), Lutheran, Unitarian, together with the Fundamentalist and Reformed in America. The Baptist (South), Lutheran, Fundamentalist and Unitarian are very much more impressed than the group as a whole with the necessity of room for the free expression of the variety of the Christian life, while the United Presbyterian returns reinforce the position of the former group with respect to room for temperamental differences. Except for the Unitarian replies, the group also shows more than average willingness to acknowledge the incidental evils of denominationalism. It splits, however, into two groups on the proposition that the original reasons for denominational division have

ceased to have meaning, almost all Fundamentalists denying that this is true, while Lutheran and Baptist (South) replies give it much less than average support. Matching these conditional approvals of denominationalism go corresponding denials of arguments for unity at the other end of the scale.

The contrasting group, which tends to condemn denominationalism as evil, consists of Congregational-Christian, Disciples, Federated Churches,

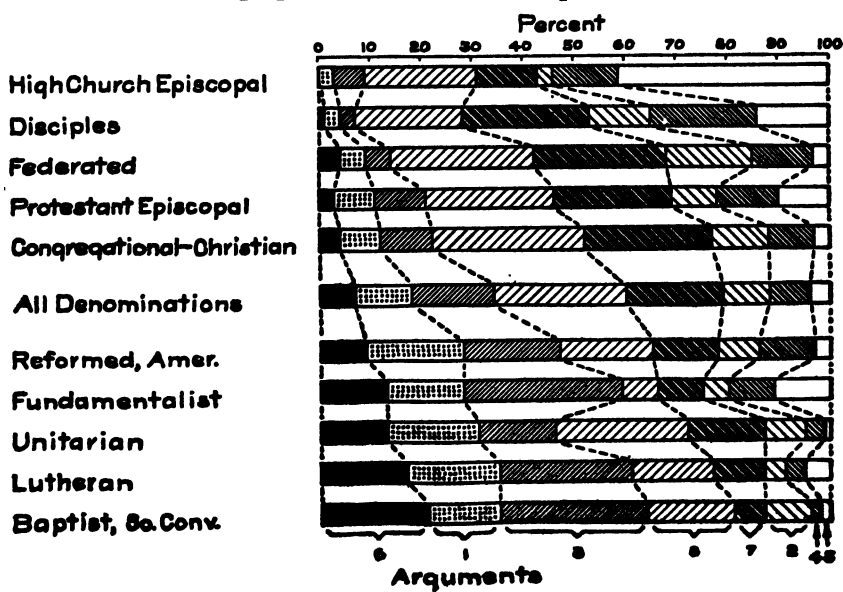


CHART XX—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE ISSUE: ARE DENOMINATIONS AN EVIL?

For select constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table L)

Protestant Episcopal and high-church Episcopal constituents. They consistently show less than average favor to the three arguments in defense of denominationalism, and more than average favor to the mediating and opposing arguments. Behind this unanimity, however, different reasons probably are to be assumed. Opposition of Disciples and high-church Episcopalians to denominationalism is theoretical, a fact which lands them in an extremely antagonistic position toward it, compared with more moderate and pragmatic Congregational and Federated Church views. In contrast with all other denominations, the argument from authority is particularly dominant in the case of the high-church replies.

Other denominations deviate strikingly from the average at one or two points. The most controversial point is whether Christ intended the visible

church to remain one, which Northern Baptists, Southern Methodists and Friends, along with the group last discussed, deny. The question of whether human nature and temperament are to be allowed for also brings further opposition, Evangelical Synod, Evangelical Church and Reformed in America replies favoring the proposition, and Methodist Episcopal denying it. Northern Baptist replies also vary from the average in minimizing the incidental evils of denominationalism, as do Methodist, South, replies in magnifying its local evils. Reformed Church in America replies also stress the great scandal of competitive denominationalism.

All told, the main distinction is that between denominations which stress unity—some on theoretical grounds, others, like the Congregational and Federated Church constituencies, rather on pragmatic grounds—and those with whom the demand for freedom and variety in religion is stronger than either the doctrinaire or the practical demand for unity.

These are the extremes. The main body of opinion holds that present denominationalism has incidental evils, and is no longer justified by its original reasons; and that the variety for which it properly contends ought to find room within the united church. Denominationalism as an idea may be defended but not the denominationalism that actually exists. The denominationalism that actually exists is partially evil and is increasingly meaningless. It is not to be regarded as final. An undefined degree of unity is to be achieved by gradual steps.

PERPETUATION OF DENOMINATIONS WITHIN A UNITED CHURCH

The final and most clarifying of the specific tests of the meaning of the dominant formula, "unity in diversity," is found in the question whether it is possible to find room within a united church for many of the variations which denominationalism expresses; whether denominationalism, robbed of its incidental evils, might not survive in some form; and whether denominations themselves might not find place as permanent organized societies within such a church.

The question appeared frequently in connection with actual proposals and in popular thinking. Of popular comments the following quotations are illuminating:

"Unite into one church of 'three or four' denominations rather than 'one church'. If we want 'one church', the Roman Catholic is O.K. If majority will join, I will. We want three or four Protestant denominations, not 300 or 400."

"I should like to see some kind of loose federation among the various Protestant churches, aiming at eventual friendly relations with the See of Rome."

"I am for the union of the Protestant churches for the weaker ones of the different denominations with the largest ones in the union holding their own forms of services."

As has been seen, numerous mergers, or negotiations for mergers which are actually going on, have contemplated federations rather than extinction of the old units in the new body. This policy perpetuates the denominations within a larger whole. The large vote for federal union is further evidence in this direction.

This question was consequently raised to the dignity of a separate issue and submitted directly both to the leaders and to the select constituency.

The form submitted to the 624 church leaders was that of a simple proposition. Their answers showed that this was one of the twenty-three items with respect to which the sharpest differences of opinion obtained. Thirty-five per cent. of those replying answered, "Yes"; but this was not more than half the degree of certainty attaching to the answers as a whole.

The denominational distribution of leaders' replies, together with variations by age and sex, is shown in Table LI.

TABLE LI — PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD CONTINUE THE EXISTENCE OF THE PRESENT DENOMINATIONS AS DISTINCT ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN THE CHURCH

Denomination	Per Cent. Judging Probable	Per Cent. Approving	Per Cent. of Those Judging Probable Who Disapprove
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	45.9	37.7	10.7
Lutheran.....	45.5	36.4	20.0
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	41.4	41.4	16.7
Miscellaneous.....	37.3	19.3	3.0
Methodist Episcopal.....	35.4	28.1	6.9
All Denominations.....	35.1	22.8	22.8
Disciples.....	32.5	12.5	61.5
Reformed.....	32.3	19.4	10.0
Congregational-Christian.....	30.2	18.8	27.6
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	26.9	34.3	16.7
Protestant Episcopal.....	25.7	8.6	33.3
Age and Sex Groups			
All Females....	37.2	23.3	25.0
Males over 60....	36.6	28.1	16.7
All Males.....	34.7		22.8
Males under 60....	33.9	20.7	25.5

A strong third of those replying think continuance of denominations probable; a strong fifth regard it as desirable. The ranking of denominations on this point is instructive. Baptist, Lutheran and Methodist Episcopal, South, are most persuaded that this arrangement is possible in a united church. Presbyterian and Episcopal are least persuaded.

In eight denominations out of ten, there is more or much more judgment of the probability of this outcome than of its desirability. Only Presbyterian, U. S. A., are more persuaded of its desirability than of its probability.

A strong fifth of those who expect the continuance of denominations in a united church disapprove of it. The ratio of disapproval runs as high as 60 per cent. with Disciples, and includes one-third Episcopal, one-fourth Congregational, and one-fifth Lutheran who judge this arrangement possible.

Here, then, is an area in which a good many people expect something

TABLE LII—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS ON ISSUES—CONTINUANCE OF DENOMINATIONS WITHIN A UNITED CHURCH

(Select Church Constituency)

"Could the more important of the denominations find permanent place and retain their special emphasis as organized societies of Christians within a united church?"

Argument	Per Cent. of Replies Rating as:		Per Cent. Distribution of Weighted Score*
	Strong	Weak	
A denomination which is conscious of being already a church by virtue of the leadership of the Holy Spirit in its origin, history and present life could not accept the subordinate status of a mere society within a united church. (6).....	8	30	- 11
These conditions are exactly realized under the federal plan of church union, according to which the denominations remain as permanent autonomous units within a larger whole. (1).	[27]	3	+ 31
The spiritual resources and values, which, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the various denominations have developed in separation, must be conserved in a re-united church as special gifts held in trust for the whole body of Christ, but this need not imply the continuance of denominations as separate organizations. (4).....	[31]	2	+ 26
If the common acknowledgment of the ancient creeds of the undivided church could be agreed upon as a basis of union, there might be continued use of their own confessions by special sections of a united church, unless these are in essential variance from ancient creeds. (3).....	14	7	+ 3
If, by episcopal ordination, the ministries of non-episcopal churches were given unquestioned status throughout the whole church and the chief barrier to genuine inter-communion thus removed, the now separate churches might constitute democratically controlled societies, each preserving its religious life, customs and manner of worship and at the same time enjoying full standing and communion in the church universal. (2).....	14	14	- 1
There could be no possibility of retaining any vestige of the denominational system in the united church, because denominations originated in schism contrary to the essential nature of the church. (5).....	6	44	- 28
Total.....	100	100	100
Number of choices.....	4,691	2,158	...

Bracketed figures indicate arguments most frequently paired as strong.

* Arrived at by weighting for variability and subtracting "weak" from "strong" replies.

which they do not desire. Dislike of a possible continuance of denominations within a united church overshadows the issue and tends to complicate it.

The distribution of replies to a similar question from 2,146 persons representing the select constituency is shown in Table LII, in which the extreme judgments are arranged at the opposing ends of the list, with concessive and mediating ones at the middle. Seventy-nine per cent. of the total approval concentrates upon three somewhat congruous replies.

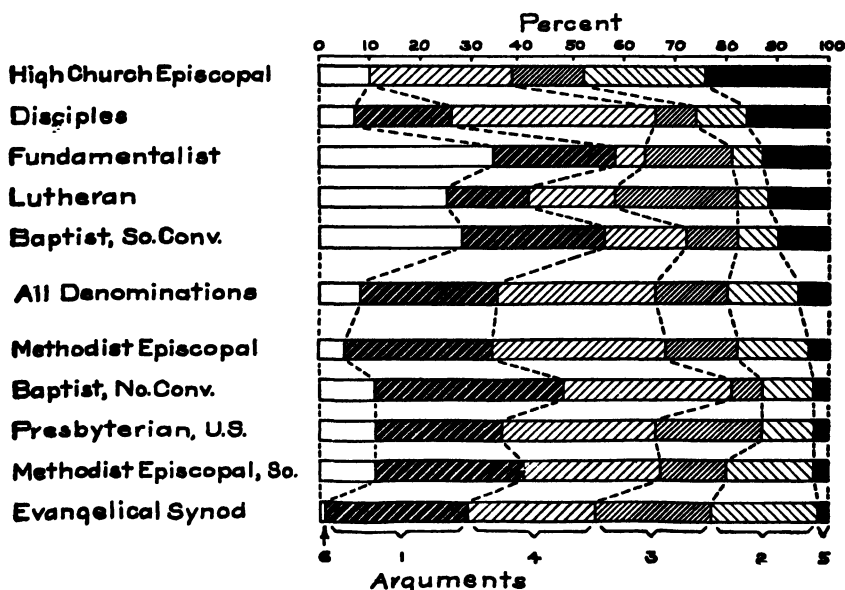


CHART XXI—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE ISSUE: COULD THE MORE IMPORTANT OF THE DENOMINATIONS FIND PERMANENT PLACE WITHIN A UNITED CHURCH?

For select constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table LII)

This table repeats the familiar pattern of reaction to the questionnaire. Extreme views on either side are rejected in favor of middle ground by a strong majority. On the one hand, the mind of the group as a whole would not justify denominations in a refusal to fall into the position of societies within the united church on the plea that their separate religious authentication forbids any to accept such a status. On the other hand, the mind of the group even more vigorously denies that denominations must be wholly absorbed and their separate existence obliterated.

A sample of concessions currently proposed from Anglican sources is found in the argument that denominations might continue as subordinate

societies provided their ministries were given unquestioned status throughout the whole church by virtue of episcopal ordination. As voiced in Argument 2, this finds relatively little acceptance. The suggestion that the basis of union be agreement on ancient creeds supplemented by separate denominational confessions (Argument 3) also gets little approval. In contrast with these more extreme positions, there is very large positive agreement that the values which the various denominations have developed in separation must somehow be conserved in a united church, and only slightly less agreement that the issue might be satisfactorily settled under a federal plan of union in which the denominations continue as autonomous units within a larger whole.

Chart XXI ranks the denominations which take the more extreme position on Argument 5 (no vestige of denominations conceivable within a united church).

Comparing the denominations on all six points, one finds a very tangled situation not fully represented by the chart. Four trends are, however, in evidence. First, Congregational and Federated Church replies go considerably beyond the majority in favor of federal union (Argument 1) and of the conservation of denominational values without perpetuation of separate organizations (Argument 4). In partial contrast with these, two denominations (Disciples and United Presbyterian) minimize federal union, but head the list of denominations favoring the conservation of values but not of organizations (Argument 4). Another group, consisting of Baptist (South), Fundamentalist and Lutheran replies, emphasize arguments at both extremes without sense of inconsistency. They would be unwilling to accept subordinate rôle within the united church, and at the same time they hold that unity when it comes must be that of a seamless robe—presumably of their special fashion. Hence they turn away from all mediating and concessive solutions.

Finally, one naturally finds the Protestant Episcopal and especially the high-church Episcopal returns emphasizing a concessive suggestion originating in Catholic quarters (Argument 2). Both wings of the Episcopal Church lay very great stress on the common ministry, the achievement of which, they think, might permit societies within the church to continue many of their special customs. High-church opinion, however, is not willing to admit the use of their own confessions by special societies within the united church, and is extremely insistent on sweeping away all vestige of denominationalism.

Of denominations that show less general variation, one finds the Baptist (North), and Friends supporting federal union for which United Brethren are not strong. Evangelical and Methodist Episcopal, South, replies favor a solution through a common ministry, which Presbyterian, U. S., do not favor.

Presbyterian churches, both northern and southern, emphasize the maintenance of their own confessions by special groups within a united church, which Baptist (North) and Friends replies oppose, probably because these latter denominations are against creeds in all forms. In addition, United Brethren, Fundamentalists, Methodist (North and South), and Presbyterian, U. S., are not sure but what some vestige of the denominational system might continue. Evangelical, Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian, U. S. A., returns are inclined to think that existing denominations might accept subordinate status in a united church.

All told, then, the group as a whole tends to support mediating positions. It rejects extreme views. But it is sharply divided between divergent mediating suggestions, one Catholic, the other federal in theory.

No real light is thrown upon the question whether survival as units within a united church is the exactly ideal rôle for denominations to play. It only appears to be agreed upon as the best way to dispose of denominations now that they are here.

Neither is any decisive indication given as to possible new divisions of the church in the future. About this no direct inquiry was made. The point of view which extenuates past division, which claims the present right of wide variation, which refuses to pronounce the present denominations essentially an evil, and which wishes to mend their incidental evils by gradual evolution, can hardly say a positive "no" to this question. May schism again be necessary and justifiable? The only hope to the contrary would seem to lie in leaving sufficient liberty within the church so that variants would not find it necessary to break away in order to have full opportunity. Should the church not afford room for legitimate variation, the undoubted logic of the position is that schism would then again be in order.

EVALUATION OF FEDERAL UNION IN PRINCIPLE

The following test of the opinion of church leaders shows that all denominations except the Lutheran and Protestant Episcopal—with some hesitancy also on the part of the Disciples—tend rather strongly to approve federation, at least in principle, as a satisfactory form of final union.

This result was secured by means of a questionnaire in which the issue was phrased as it appears at the head of Table LIII, on the next page.

About two-thirds of all expressing themselves say that the proposition is probably or certainly true. Methodist Episcopal, South, Presbyterian, U. S. A., Baptist (Northern Convention) and Congregational-Christian replies are committed to the proposition by more than a three-fourths majority. The Methodist Episcopal, Reformed and miscellaneous replies stand close to the average. As already noted, Disciples are less sure, and Lutheran and Epis-

TABLE LIII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—FEDERATION AS A METHOD OF ACHIEVING UNION

(624 Church Leaders)

"The federation of churches presents a satisfactory method of achieving church union in that it goes beyond mere coöperation, is organic so far as its authority goes, and allows the denominations to continue as autonomous parts within an organized whole. In this way, liberty and union are equally preserved."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:
True False

Denomination	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Weighted Score*
All Denominations...	67.6	24.8	42.8	17.3	11.2	3.9	+0.74
Meth. Epis., South...	82.8	27.6	55.2	13.8	3.4	0.0	+1.07
Presb., U. S. A.	77.6	17.9	59.7	13.4	7.5	1.5	+0.85
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	77.0	32.8	44.2	14.8	4.9	3.3	+0.98
Cong.-Christian.....	76.1	26.1	50.0	10.4	10.4	3.1	+0.85
Miscellaneous.....	66.7	24.7	42.0	18.6	10.0	4.7	+0.72
Meth. Epis.	65.8	32.9	32.9	15.9	17.1	1.2	+0.79
Reformed.....	64.5	22.6	41.9	22.6	6.5	6.4	+0.68
Disciples.....	55.0	17.5	37.5	32.5	10.0	2.5	+0.58
Lutheran.....	45.5	27.3	18.2	30.3	15.1	9.1	+0.39
Prot. Epis.	42.9	8.6	34.3	14.3	31.4	11.4	-0.03

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

copal leaders very much less favorable to the proposition than the rest of their brethren.

In explanation one should note the historic commitment of the Disciples to organic union (as opposed to federal) and the unwillingness of the Lutheran and Protestant Episcopal bodies to accept full membership in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America as a concrete expression of the principle of federal union.

SUMMARY

On the basis of the above long series of tests, one has finally to generalize as to the kind of church unity in which American religious constituencies believe.

Stated negatively, its limits are clear. It is not unity deduced from the nature of God, nor from the nature of the church; it is not identified with conformity to any invariable marks of the church nor realized in uniformity of belief and observance.

This body of conviction is in sharp conflict with the authoritarian view of institutional unity based on the idea that Christ ordained the church in a fixed form and that the sole basis of union is a return to the original church as historically continued throughout the ages, the separated churches not being true churches at all.

Stated positively, the matter is more complicated and subject to qualification. Vital unity is desirable and necessary; that is to say, unity of a sort which will convince the world and produce the sense of oneness of the Christian body on the foreign field. But this unity is compatible with wide variety within denominations and local churches and with a considerable racial adaptation of the church. It is not necessarily contradicted by the division of the church into denominations, though it is transgressed by the present denominational order because the differences maintained are no longer significant and not greater than can properly be comprehended within a united church.

This conclusion is unmistakable, but is too general to be finally satisfactory. It will take further inductive examination to discover how much variety is compatible with unity. Many unexpressed qualifications can only be brought to light when they are drawn out in connection with further special issues. For example, it has not been made sufficiently evident how the distinction between essentials and non-essentials works out.

The largest issue remaining to be cleared up is, however, whether the type of unity favored by a majority applies equally in all spheres of the church's life or whether there must be greater approach to uniformity in some spheres than in others.

With respect to this question, three general answers are current: Unity, says one important group in the church, is preëminently realized in the sphere of life and work. Unity, says another, is preëminently realized in the sphere of faith. Unity, says still another group, is most essentially a matter of the church's order.

The three succeeding chapters are accordingly devoted to these three major emphases, by means of which concrete applications of the idea of unity are varyingly made.

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CHAPTER X

Unity in Life and Work

The majority of American Christians approve, believe in as practicable and anticipate a degree of church unity as yet unrealized. It goes, as the last chapter showed, beyond the present stage of integration, but falls short of complete organic union.

But the effort to arrive at a concrete version of the exact degree or kind of unity desired or to construct a program of action in its behalf is at once complicated by the circumstance that there are different spheres of unity. The life of the church has manifold aspects. Can and should it be unified in one aspect and not in another? Particularly are there spheres of necessary unity which must be contrasted with other spheres of necessary or possible diversity?

The present chapter deals with one effort to make good this distinction between spheres and to unify the church in one particular sphere, leaving open the question whether other spheres may or must be unified later, or whether some permanently remain subject to diversity.

From the particular viewpoint under discussion—one held by an important section of the American religious public—the sphere of the proposed unification of the church is described as that of its life and work. These terms intend to indicate a special contrast with unity based on creedal agreement or apostolic succession and valid ministerial orders. But even within the sphere thus roughly marked off, there are maximum, minimum and average versions of what life and work comprehends and the degree to which it may involve corporate union.

Since the concept "life and work" is manifestly so inexact, the evidence necessary to give it full concrete meaning is somewhat varied. The first main section of the present chapter, therefore, first presents a further analysis of the concept, especially in the light of criticisms directed against current efforts to objectify it. It begins with a further account of efforts to realize a minimum of unity among the churches in the realm of practical good works.

The second section deals with agencies attempting to promote unity in life and work. Then follows an exploration of organized movements which employ the concept "life and work" in a broader sense. The question of the

contribution of these particular agencies to the larger idea which they serve follows naturally.

Finally, comes direct consideration of major issues which have actually emerged in connection with the theory that unity is to be achieved, first at least, in a limited sphere, as exemplified in "life and work" movements. What content is to be finally read into the formula? Are its objectives to be realized by the development of existing movements? Can the effort to integrate the churches keep itself within the limits of the life and work formula? Can this formula be thought of as defining a satisfactory final form of church union? These latter questions lead out again into other aspects of unity.

MOST GENERAL ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSAL

To unify the church first or exclusively in the sphere of life and work is essentially a practical proposal, a proposal to take the easiest and least exacting road to the goal. It falls in with pragmatic proposals for unity presented in chapter viii; but it straddles the line there drawn between the most elastic type of union, the federal, and coöperation and confederation, which fall short of union. Just how much unity is desirable or required is a matter left unsettled by the formula.

Minds that make an authoritarian approach to unity have settled this matter in their own way. They cannot regard unity in life and work as a step toward the unity they desire, because they do not admit that unity is to be reached by steps. Neither can they accept unity in life and work as a stopping place because they are sure unity must go farther. Even they may regard progress toward the more kindly relations of churches as good; but to them it seems not pertinent to the real matter of union. Sometimes they go farther and hold that such—to them—merely coöperative efforts distract and divert from authentic unity efforts. To be sure, unity in life and work is obviously consequent upon unity in the sphere of faith and order. But, because it is consequent, it is not something to be pursued directly. Those that seek first for agreement in doctrine or in authoritatively constituted organization have unity in life and work added unto them. Unity in life and work does not go too far—presuming the right start—but nobody should start that way. Unity in life and work logically supplements other aspects of unity, but practically is in danger of becoming a rival of true unity, namely, that in faith and order.

Unity in life and work along the actual lines currently followed is disapproved from another angle on the ground that such coöperation as is involved between churches cannot be carried on without compromising conviction. This view is well illustrated by the official position of the United Lutheran Church in the United States, which declares:

"That it is our earnest desire to coöperate with other Church bodies in all such works as can be regarded as works of serving love, through which the faith of Christians finds expression: provided, that such coöperation does not involve the surrender of our interpretation of the Gospel, the denial of conviction, or the suppression of our testimony to what we hold to be the truth.

"That we cannot give general approval to all coöperative movements and organizations of the Churches, since we hold that coöperation is not an end in itself, but merely a means to an end. Our attitude toward any such organization or movement must be determined by a consideration of

- (a) The purposes which it seeks to accomplish.
- (b) The principles on which it rests.
- (c) The effect which our participation will produce upon the independent position of our Church as a witness to the truth of the Gospel which we confess.

"In view of the above statements, our attitude toward proposed coöperative movements and organizations . . . must be subject to . . . limitations."¹

MINIMUM UNITY IN LIFE AND WORK

Despite such scruples nearly everybody favors at least a minimum of common action on the part of the churches as such. The most striking evidence of this is that the conservative Eastern Orthodox churches became leaders in proposing a world-wide league of churches to deal with moral and social conditions in common. It is further established by a test of opinion of 2,769 competent constituents of American religious bodies, that less than 10 per cent. opposed going as far as permanently to take some additional functions out of the hands of separate denominations and give them over to an interchurch body.² Moreover, the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order had set forth as a minimum expression of unity that churches should coöperate in evangelization and brotherly service.

The sentiment of American church leaders was accordingly tested on a proposition embodying this minimum recommendation. The proposition read as follows: "Because the separately organized Christian bodies are united in common faith and experience, they ought to undertake united measures for evangelization and brotherly service in the world, provided the representations made and the methods used do not compromise the convictions of any of the coöperating bodies on points in which they honestly differ." The reaction from this questionnaire is summarized in Table LIV, on the opposite page.

Of 624 church leaders replying, more than nine-tenths found themselves able to assert the truth of the proposition as formulated. Only three of the

¹ "Declaration of Principles Concerning the Church and Its External Relationships"—Extracts from *Minutes of the Second Convention of the United Lutheran Church*, Washington, 1920. See also p. 249.

² P. 313.

TABLE LIV — DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS — COÖPERATION IN EVANGELIZATION AND BROTHERLY SERVICE

(624 Church Leaders)

"Because the separately organized Christian bodies are united in common faith and experience, they ought to undertake united measures for evangelization and brotherly service in the world, provided the representations made and the methods used do not compromise the convictions of any of the coöperating bodies on points in which they honestly differ."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:

Denomination	True			False			Weighted Score*
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Undecided	Probably	Certainly	
All Denominations...	91.7	70.2	21.5	5.6	1.6	1.1	+1.58
Meth. Epis., South...	96.6	86.2	10.4	3.4	0.0	0.0	+1.83
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	95.1	78.7	16.4	4.9	0.0	0.0	+1.74
Disciples.....	95.0	77.5	17.5	2.5	0.0	2.5	+1.68
Prot. Epis.	94.3	65.7	28.6	2.9	2.8	0.0	+1.57
Presb., U. S. A.	94.0	74.6	19.4	6.0	0.0	0.0	+1.68
Meth. Epis.	93.9	74.4	19.5	3.7	1.2	1.2	+1.65
Cong.-Christian.....	93.8	75.0	18.8	6.2	0.0	0.0	+1.69
Reformed.....	93.5	70.9	22.6	6.5	0.0	0.0	+1.65
Miscellaneous.....	88.0	64.0	24.0	8.0	2.7	1.3	+1.47
Lutheran.....	72.7	30.3	42.4	6.1	12.1	9.1	+0.72

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

thirty propositions submitted to these leaders were more generally acceptable. Of outright denial, there is only the barest trace and there is but little indecision. Nevertheless, a minority of about 20 per cent. in the Lutheran communion dissent from the proposition, most of those who affirm it think it probable rather than certain, and about one-tenth declare it unqualifiedly false. On this point the Lutherans stand in opposition to all other denominations. The miscellaneous group also lags a little behind the general attitude. All told, however, sentiment in favor of coöperation in evangelization and good works is overwhelming, provided the convictions of coöperating bodies are not thereby compromised. This is, then, the generally accepted position.

The question, how much farther unity in life and work will and ought to carry the church, is involved in the question of the actual agencies which have developed in behalf of unity of this type and cannot well be raised until after some consideration is given to these agencies.

ORGANIZED MOVEMENTS

In spite of the difficulties just enumerated, organized movements for unity in the sphere of life and work have had extraordinary development and have pushed beyond the minimum just considered. The more important

of these movements were described in chapter iii. They reflect the most widely accepted interpretation of unity in life and work; and, in view of the pragmatic character of this phase of integration, it is proper to forecast its further development first in terms of a possible expansion of these movements.

THE CHURCH FEDERATION MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The organization and work of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, with its ramifications into a coöperative system, have already been noted. Of its general characteristics as a life-and-work movement the most determinative are: (1) That, though evangelical, the federation movement is non-creedal and ignores problems of the validity of the ministries and of intercommunion as between constituent bodies. (2) Its authority, however, is definitely derived from ecclesiastical action, in contrast with that possessed by merely voluntary associations; but its functions are indeterminate as well as narrowly limited.³

The church unity ballot showed that nearly one-third of the sentiment of the religious constituency is in favor of an immediate federal union of churches. Supplementing this evidence, a specific test was made of the sentiment of church leaders with reference to a proposition expressed in the following terms: "While church federation movements do not directly furnish a method for the union of Christian bodies which differ in principle, they should be approved as attempts to substitute a spirit of fellowship for that of division and because of their practical measures for interchurch co-operation." It will be noted that the proposition in this form waived all ultimate issues of church union and limited consideration to the immediate moral and objective values of unity. Federation in this sense was very widely approved, as Table LV shows.

Ninety-five per cent. of replies recorded in this table affirmed the truth of the proposition as qualified in the above statement. Federation is thus all but universally approved as a practical advantageous movement when not presented as directly a method of church union. Lutheran approval, however, falls much below the average, while Episcopal approval lags slightly. However, two-thirds of the Lutherans affirm the proposition and of those not approving it, half are doubtful rather than positively disbelieving. The especially strong approval of Baptist and Southern Methodist leaders may well be explained by the carefully qualified terms in which the proposition is stated.

Here, then, is a proposition agreed to by an overwhelming majority of the leaders of the American church. This finding corresponds in the large to

³ Constitution, Article 4.

TABLE LV—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—PRACTICAL ADVANTAGES OF CHURCH FEDERATION MOVEMENTS

(624 Church Leaders)

"While church federation movements do not directly furnish a method for the union of Christian bodies which differ in principle, they should be approved as attempts to substitute a spirit of fellowship for that of division and because of their practical measures for interchurch coöperation."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:						Weighted Score*
	True			False			
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Undecided	Probably	Certainly	
All denominations ...	94.9	79.5	15.4	3.2	1.1	0.8	+1.72
Meth. Epis., South ...	100.0	86.2	13.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	+1.86
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	98.4	83.6	14.8	0.0	1.6	0.0	+1.80
Disciples.....	97.5	80.0	17.5	2.5	0.0	0.0	+1.78
Presb., U. S. A.	97.0	79.1	17.9	3.0	0.0	0.0	+1.76
Cong.-Christian.....	96.9	85.4	11.5	3.1	0.0	0.0	+1.82
Miscellaneous.....	96.7	80.0	16.7	1.3	2.0	0.0	+1.75
Meth. Epis.	96.4	80.5	15.9	2.4	0.0	1.2	+1.74
Reformed.....	93.5	83.9	9.6	0.0	3.2	3.3	+1.68
Prot. Epis.	88.6	80.0	8.6	8.6	2.8	0.0	+1.66
Lutheran.....	66.7	39.4	27.3	21.2	3.0	9.1	+0.85

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

the practical attitudes taken toward the Federal Council of Churches by the bodies which they represent.

Cross currents of opinion qualifying the force of these favorable attitudes were sometimes registered in individual communications attached to the questionnaires. In general, they reflected the actual controversies experienced by the Federal Council, and by local federations, chiefly over recommendations involving political action and deliverances upon debatable moral questions. These complaints were sometimes supplemented by demands that the federations be required more exactly to represent the previously recorded views of their constituent denominations.⁴

CREEDLESS FEDERATION

Further probing of popular sentiment was resorted to in order to discover whether agreement on loosely stated general objectives, as exemplified in the Federal Council of Churches, and without a definite creed, would be regarded as a satisfactory basis of union in an agency of common life and work. The answer to this problem was sought by means of a questionnaire in the form given in Table LVI, on which 10,877 persons commented.

The judgments presented in the questionnaire included one general proposition distinguishing between spiritual and creedal unity and this was ap-

⁴P. 316.

TABLE LVI—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—CREEDLESS FEDERATION AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

(General Church Constituency)

"The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America includes twenty-six denominations with about 22,000,000 members. The Council has no authority to impose a creed as a basis of union; but has established a working basis by refusing to accept representation from bodies whose beliefs are judged to vary too greatly from the beliefs of the majority of member churches. Its general objects are 'to express the fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian Church and to bring the Christian bodies of America into united service for Christ and the world and to do what the churches can better do in union than in separation.' "

	Per Cent. Choosing as 1st or 2nd Best, By Status in the Church				
	Total	Min- isters	Lay Church Officers	Mem- bers	Non- Mem- bers
The spiritual unity felt by Christians belongs to and exists on a deeper level than that of the intellect. Exact agreement in thinking about Christian truth and on forms of language expressing that truth is accordingly not essential for a union of churches. (5).....	32	31	34	32	28
Union for fraternal and practical ends does not require a common creed. (1).....	22	26	21	20	22
A statement of common belief is not important in this case, since the question whether or not to join the Federal Council is rarely decided by any denomination on the basis of creed or creedlessness. It is other and more practical considerations which really determine action on this point. (4).....	20	20	21	20	22
If the organization will make it clear that it is merely a federation, and does not pretend to be an organic union of churches, the absence of common creed is permissible. (2).....	18	18	16	19	18
An attempt to unite so many churches in common service without agreement in common belief which underlies the service is only superficial; and no church which believes that correct belief is essential can be satisfied with the Federal Council's basis. (3).....	8	5	8	9	10
Total 20,660 choices, 10,877 persons answering.....	100	100	100	100	100

proved by the largest number of voters. Three other judgments asserting in varying terms that fraternal unity for practical ends, such as the Federal Council exhibits, does not require a creedal basis, received secondary support to about the same degree. Only 8 per cent. of the nearly 11,000 persons replying felt that a union of the type under consideration needed a common creed.

Friends, Universalist and Congregational-Christian responses showed more than average favor, and United Presbyterian and Lutheran (especially Mis-

souri Synod) less than average favor to the idea that spiritual unity makes exact agreement in thinking and verbal expression unessential. But except for Missouri Synod Lutheran, the divergences were not extreme.⁵

As indicated by their greater approval of Answer 5, laymen are somewhat less concerned about exact agreement than ministers are; but the difference between the two is not extreme.

The results as a whole indicate that, whether or not any other type of union requires a creedal basis, it is at least agreed that the type of union represented by the Federal Council does not require such a basis. Coupled with the results of the previous test, they demonstrate very solid backing for the Council as an instrument of unity in life and work.

THE UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL ON LIFE AND WORK

The world-version of the type of unity which the Federal Council represents is found in the Universal Christian Council on Life and Work. Because some of its original roots grew from American soil, and because it is in direct affiliation with the Federal Council, consideration of this Universal Council belongs to a study of church unity in the United States. Strictly speaking, it is the ecclesiastical phase of internationalism.

The Council is a permanent agency originating in the "Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work" held at Stockholm, 1925. This Conference represented a convergence of impulses, born simultaneously in many countries, of Christian concern for world civilization caught in the chaos following the World War. These became concrete in a proposal for "an ecumenical conference for different Christian communities to consider the urgent practical tasks before the church at this time, and the possibility of co-operation in testimony and action." The significance of this as an integrative proposal lay in the fact that it provided for common action by churches as such in contrast with the resolutions of a voluntary world assembly of Christian individuals. "There had been many national and denominational conferences, many international ones of particular groups, or unofficial individuals, but never since the birth of Protestantism in the 16th century had there been an international conference of the churches as churches."

The limitations of the conference were quite as definite as its formal ecclesiastical character. It was implicit in the name that the Conference did not deal with questions of creed or ecclesiastical organization, but merely with the practical work of the church. The program organized its topic for consideration under the following heads: (1) The church's obligation in view of God's purpose in the world; (2) the church in economic and industrial problems; (3) social and moral problems; (4) international relations; (5) Christian education; (6) methods of coöperative and federative efforts.

⁵ For complete denominational returns, see Appendix Table 28.

The actual session of the conference lasted for ten days. It was attended by 610 delegates from forty-four nations (some 155 of whom were American), representing 103 denominational bodies of thirty-one communions with a constituency of 345,000,000. It was precluded by its own terms from eventuating in any formal findings or platform, but perpetuated itself in a Continuation Committee later organized as the present Council.

As at present developed, the Council is divided into five sections: namely, Eastern Orthodox, Continental European, British, American, and Churches of Other Lands. These sections are integrally related to the national church federations in countries like England, Switzerland, Germany and the United States. The last-named functions as a department of the Federal Council. The Council on Life and Work maintains a permanent office in Geneva, holds *ad interim* international conferences (like one on unemployment held in Bâle, in 1932, attended by representatives of seven nations, also an important one convened within the historic territory of the Eastern Orthodox Church in 1933), and is planning a second universal conference for 1935.

Such are the major agencies actually in control of the unity efforts in the sphere of life and work. The possible larger realization of such unity through these agencies constitutes a further problem, which cannot be finally comprehended apart from some more definite understanding of the scope and content of life and work.

PROBLEMS OF LIFE AND WORK

What content, then, should be given to the term "life and work"? What concrete functions would be performed by a church united on this basis?

It is difficult to secure any answer at all, let alone a common answer to these queries.

This difficulty has appeared in connection with several attempts to discover what concrete functions are actually assumed as characterizing a united church. An orderly approach to the problem of unity by way of discussion of functions was attempted in 1928 by the Federal Council's "Committee of One Hundred," and again at the Buckhill Falls Institute of Religion in 1929. Both disclosed a very great disposition to fall back on generalities, together with great unwillingness to think concretely or to propose any exact, objective terms of union.

The present study, however, risked a further attempt at a functional approach to the problem. It developed a battery of questions on the possible functions of a united church, nine of which involved no issue of faith or order and might safely be regarded as falling within the realm of life and work. These are listed in the first column of Table LVII, which shows the per cent. of church leaders who expected a united church to perform

any of the enumerated functions, together with the per cent. which approved such a function as proper for a united church.

TABLE LVII—OPINION OF CHURCH LEADERS AS TO THE PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD PERFORM 9 SPECIFIED FUNCTIONS

Function	Per Cent.
Maintain officially a comprehensive system of church philanthropies	
Expecting.....	80.5
Approving.....	77.4
Set up lesson systems and standard methods in religious education	
Expecting.....	79.0
Approving.....	68.4
Promote such legislation on moral questions as is officially approved by the church	
Expecting.....	75.0
Approving.....	76.8
Speak authoritatively on current moral issues in the name of total Protestant body of America	
Expecting.....	68.7
Approving.....	63.1
Conduct home missions and church extension through one board or system	
Expecting.....	67.3
Approving.....	69.6
Conduct foreign missions through one board or system	
Expecting.....	65.7
Approving.....	64.9
Maintain a comprehensive official system of church colleges and secondary schools	
Expecting.....	46.5
Approving.....	41.8
Decide officially whether or not to support a war undertaken by the U. S. government	
Expecting.....	27.4
Approving.....	29.8
Advise how to vote in a Presidential election	
Expecting.....	11.2
Approving.....	6.9

The performance, by a united church, of six of the nine functions suggested was expected by from two-thirds to three-fourths of the leaders replying. Such a church, according to this strong majority, would have a comprehensive system of church philanthropies, of religious education, of home missions and church extension, and of foreign missions. It would speak authoritatively on current moral issues and promote legislation on such of these issues as it might approve. Replies were less certain about a comprehensive system of church education, though well toward one-half of those replying expected that a united church might maintain such a system. More than one-fourth even thought that it would take an official attitude toward a war declared by the United States, and slightly more than one-tenth that it would advise members how to vote in a Presidential election.

Opinion approving the performance by a united church of the functions enumerated was only a little less strong than opinion expecting it, though with minor variations from item to item.

The ten denominational groups compared naturally reveal considerable variation as to the probability and desirability of a given function. Generally, however, the variation is not extreme enough to be highly significant. Appendix Table 29 is, however, worth considering from the standpoint of denominational comparisons. When a denomination takes a position very much out of line with the average (as the Lutheran does); when it records twice as much expectancy as the average that a united church would advise its members on voting, or when it shows less than half the average expectancy (as the Protestant Episcopal does on the same issue), the position is clearly exceptional and an explanation should be sought. Reversal of the average position as between expectancy and approval is also significant. This is shown both by Lutheran and by Northern Baptist returns on the issue of advising constituents how to vote in a Presidential election. The evidence is definite that the great majority do not expect such advice as the part of a united church. These two denominations, on the contrary, incline to assume its likelihood. They set up a boggy man with whom they disagree. In later connections a good deal of opposition to unity will be shown which is really opposition to some imaginary version which no one has ever responsibly proposed.⁶

As a result of the inquiry just reported, one knows pretty well some things the present leaders of the American churches think that a united church ought to do and would be likely to do. The list reaches much farther than the present functions of the Federal Council and goes far toward indicating those substantial powers of central organization demanded by true federal union in contrast with weak confederation. It is worthy of note in this connection that the recent report of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry culminated in a recommendation for an agency of joint administration of foreign missions on behalf of all the American churches.⁷

As expressed in its slogan, the temper of the movement for "unity in life and work" is to try to get these things done if possible without raising ultimate problems; but the list of possible functions, even within these limits, is capable of great extension.

POSSIBLE UNITY IN LIFE AND WORK THROUGH EXPANSION OF EXISTING AGENCIES

Even apart from any measure of agreement as to the concrete functions ultimately to be performed by a united church in the sphere of life and

⁶ P. 420.

⁷ *Re-thinking Missions* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932), chapter xiv, "Reorganization of the Home Base."

work, it is natural for those who are pursuing unity pragmatically after this fashion to take account of the possibility of making immediate progress through the assignment of additional functions to existing agencies.

Accordingly, previous to the 1928 Quadrennial Session of the Federal Council, which celebrated two decades of the Council's existence, an influential "Committee of One Hundred" circularized the constituency as to the desirability of "initiating new forms of activity along the lines which have been followed since its inception," or of "attempting to make its work more effective by changing its structure."

As a result of this gathering of opinion the Committee reported:

(1) That the union of all churches into one body was not regarded as a present or practicable issue.

(2) There was a widespread desire for a legitimate expansion of the Federal Council's functions.

(3) Many replies indicated a feeling that the adequate expression of the essential unity of the churches required also "an enlargement of the scope of coöperative life and action."

The Committee, therefore, submitted to the Federal Council the question: "Whether the churches are prepared to give larger liberty to the Council in initiating new forms of coöperative activity. If so, what are the forms to be and to what extent should the new work be carried on . . . ?"⁸

As a result of this report the Federal Council appointed a Committee on Function and Structure, directed to study this problem during the succeeding quadrennium and to report annually *ad interim* to the Executive Committee. At the end of the first year's study, the Committee on Function and Structure was instructed "to examine, plan and report on methods by which the Federal Council may take on administrative responsibilities in behalf of its constituent bodies, if and when any of these bodies may wish to transfer to the Council definite and limited functional or administrative responsibilities."

Among the functions informally discussed as suitable for possible transfer to the central body were the coöperative administration of work in the field of temperance, social service and international relations; the operation of a joint Board of Home Missions; and the enlargement of the number and authority of joint home-mission bureaus.

When, however, the Committee on Function and Structure made its final report in 1932, a reactionary spirit was ascendant. The Committee did not see any chance of favorable action on the recommendations for enlarged functions for the Council and omitted any mention of that point in its report.

In view of these rather erratic fluctuations of ecclesiastical sentiment,

⁸ Report of the Committee of One Hundred, to the Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of Churches, December 5, 1928.

comment upon the possible enlargement and strengthening of the Federal Council was sought from a representative sample of the more competent of the American religious constituency by means of a questionnaire replied to by 2,332 persons.

The issue was phrased in the following form: "Would a considerable increase in the magnitude and scope of the functions of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (by action of the member-denominations) and the strengthening of its authority and support constitute a significant advance toward the type of unity which the church would permanently desire?" Six considerations or arguments bearing upon this issue were furnished those replying and they were asked to choose the two strongest and the one weakest response. The results are reported in Table LVIII.

As usual in presenting the results of questionnaires, extreme arguments are put at the beginning and at the end of the list. The first argument represents the unwillingness of cautious denominations to give additional power to the Federal Council, while the last and diametrically opposing one reflects the inability of the radically Catholic mind to see any significance for unity in negotiations between what it regards as merely schismatic sects. The middle of the list presents an argument for continuing denominational autonomy within a federated scheme which is expected to grow stronger at the expense of the separate units, as the federal government of the United States has grown strong at the expense of the states. The more pronounced considerations in favor of expanding the Federal Council get a fairly heavy concentration of favorable judgments, though a very considerable amount of approval goes to qualifying judgments, particularly that of limiting the Federal Council to the sphere of life and work.⁹

A comparison of denominations shows a group composed of the Lutheran, United Presbyterian and Fundamentalist, and less pronouncedly of Southern Baptist, most emphatically emphasizing the opinion that to strengthen the Federal Council would be to have too much unity. All four, nevertheless, go beyond the average in favor of the possible enlargement of *some* federal agency, provided it is confined to the fields of life and work. Three of these four denominations lay special stress on the opinion that the federation movement must not be so developed as to alienate support. On the contrary, they do not think that federation fulfills the ideal of unity or that the movement is likely to grow into something stronger. The effect of the varying views of this group is clearly against the enlargement of the Federal Council.

Unitarian replies also are against an enlarged Federal Council, though

⁹ For full denominational data, see Appendix Table 30.

TABLE LVIII—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS ON ISSUES—ENLARGEMENT IN SCOPE OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

(Select Church Constituency)

"Would a considerable increase in the magnitude and scope of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (by action of the member-denominations) and the strengthening of its authority and support constitute a significant advance toward the type of unity which the church should permanently desire?"

Arguments	Per Cent. of Replies Rating as:		Per Cent. Distribution of Weighted Score*
	Strong	Weak	
Such a measure would exceed the degree of unity which the church should permanently have. Churches should coöperate whenever it is found helpful to do so, but no particular form or field of church activity should permanently be taken out of the hands of the separate denominations and given over to any interchurch body. (5).....	9	16	— 6
A church federation might be given authority to do the characteristic things which a united church would do in the fields of Christian life and work, but without encroaching upon the fields of faith and order, which must remain subject to the control of the separate ecclesiastical bodies. (6).....	23	3	+ 34
While the ultimate union of the Christian church must be closer than a federation, a federal union of significant proportions would be likely to grow into something stronger, as has been the case with the central government in the United States. (2)	[30]	3	+ 15
If the union of the denominations in such a federation with augmented power were made permanent, and if this common organ of the churches were given adequate authority, the results would be sufficiently organic to satisfy the conception of the united church; while at the same time the denominations might retain autonomy like that of the states in the American union. (1).....	[20]	8	+ 11
An enlargement of the Federal Council's functions might be desirable provided it did not alienate churches which are afraid of being compromised by a confessed movement for union. (3).....	16	5	+ 4
Because most of the Christian bodies which belong to such Federations are not properly constituted churches, their combination cannot be regarded as contributing to legitimate church union. (4).....	2	65	— 30
Total.....	100	100	100
Number of choices.....	4,889	2,139	...

Bracketed figures indicate arguments most frequently paired as strong.

* Arrived at by weighting for variability and subtracting "weak" from "strong" replies.

they admit the ideal of federation as the proper form of unity. It should be noted that the Federal Council is unwilling to open its membership to this denomination.

The group of denominations which show extreme favor to federation as the form of unity, and to the enlargement of the Federal Council as a

movement likely to grow stronger, includes the Congregational-Christian, Evangelical Synod, Federated Churches, Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal, South.

Other denominations follow the average closely. On two items, however, the Presbyterian, U.S.A., stands with the group which would enlarge the scope of federation, while the Presbyterian, U.S., admits the federated ideal and approves federation under some agency confining itself to life and work. The high-church strain in the Protestant Episcopal replies was not isolated on this issue, but doubtless it explains the position of this denomination in denying that federation makes any contribution to legitimate union. Finally, while not believing that federation fulfills the ideal of union, the Reformed Church in America replies go beyond the average in favoring federation so long as it does not alienate support.

Comparing replies on this issue with the more general question whether the federation movement should advocate church union, it is noteworthy that the Baptist (South), Congregational-Christian, Evangelical Synod, Lutheran, Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, South, and United Presbyterian are consistently on the same side of both issues.

Moreover, all the deviations noted above are to be considered in the light of the larger fact disclosed by this questionnaire: namely, that a very high proportion of the opinion of the select constituency stands for the enlargement of the Federal Council in principle, at least conditionally. On paper this representative body of opinion appears as entirely ready to back a very considerable enlargement of the Federal Council's functions, as something to be expected and falling in with what is recognized as a natural evolution toward permanent union. In view of this attitude, the unwillingness of the Federal Council actually to seek enlargement must be traced either to the judgment that the specified conditions cannot be met or else that the time is not propitious. At best, the question how much farther the Federal Council should go in the extension of functions remains unanswered.

FINALITY OF THE LIMITATION OF UNITY TO THE SPHERE OF LIFE AND WORK

Those who oppose efforts for unity in life and work even as a stage of integrative development, because they think it diverts from the direct quest of true union, obviously cannot agree to the finality of any such limitation. But what of those who accept the limitation for their current working programs? Do they regard it as temporary only, or as permanent? If permanent, is it satisfactory? Both views are doubtless held.

Some light is thrown upon these divided opinions by the fact that, as soon as submitted to the test of practice, the formula "unity in life and work" immediately shows certain inadequacies.¹⁰ For one thing, the de-

¹⁰ P. 302.

termination of the "proper" sphere of the church within which "life-and-work" coöperation is to take place obviously involves theological considerations. Again, disagreement actually occurs as to the practical application of Christian ethical principles, as exemplified in current Federal Council controversies, for instance, that on birth control.

Many other points of disagreement are notorious. Some lie within the sphere of the church's own practice. For example, shall Negro churches be included or excluded from a united church or from local federations? The problem may be classified as racial rather than theological; but the inner kernel of the issue is distinctly ethical. Actual conclusions on this issue are not uniform. Coöperative Christianity itself does not agree in racial practice.

Other disagreements concern the church's ethical message to the world. Most serious divergences of view exist between social progressives and stand-patters, between militarists and pacifists, between advocates of properly limited birth control and divorce and conservatives in domestic relations; all are evidenced within the coöperating churches. Some of the severest conflicts between Roman Catholic and Protestant opinion are not over doctrinal but over social issues. It has already been pointed out as noteworthy that the first point at which the Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian and Protestant Episcopal negotiators found themselves exercised as to the possibilities of union was the point of ethical agreement. The issue as to prohibition is flatly expounded by a southern layman as follows:

"With reference to the question of church unity I would like to make this general statement. It is impossible, in my opinion, for there to be any unity in regard to religious conceptions or social conceptions on the part of the members of the groups who constitute what are known as denominations of the evangelical churches. For instance, the Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Mississippi is my warm personal friend. On the social and economic question of prohibition I share his views. I should say that the views of the Methodists of this state would be represented by the Reverend James Cannon, Jr. Without any desire to make any invidious comparison, it would be thoroughly impracticable, if not impossible, for the two different groups which follow the leadership of the two distinguished men I have mentioned to harmonize on any common ground of social or religious activity.

"I am frank to say that at no time in my life do I consider that the evangelical churches had as small influence in social, moral and religious matters as is true today. On account of their narrow, intolerant, reactionary attitude with reference to the great human questions of the time, they have lost the support of the educated, forward-looking young men and women of America."

All told, then, unity in life and work is not easy unity any more than unity in faith or order is. And it is likely that one will have to go beyond this formula for answers to problems which the formula raises.

On the other hand, the "life and work" formula does work in a rough general way. The limited practice of unity based upon it shows no sign of breaking up.

Again, a standardized ethics probably is actually more widespread and

TABLE LIX—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS ON ISSUES—THE CHURCH FEDERATION MOVEMENT AND ORGANIC UNION

(Select Church Constituency)

"Should the church federation movement advocate organic union and represent itself as a step toward such union?"

Arguments	Per Cent. of Replies Rating as:		Per Cent. Distribution of Weighted Score*
	Strong	Weak	
For the church federation to represent itself as interested in organic church union is to alienate a large constituency of churchmen who would otherwise be willing to coöperate practically for common ends. (7).....	7	19	- 24
The church federation movement expressly declares (in the constitutions of many of its organizations) that it is not concerned with modifying the present ecclesiastical order or with raising problems of faith, worship and government. In good faith with its constituents it cannot therefore advocate organic union. (3).....	9	12	- 17
Coöperative interchurch work such as federations carry on should be valued for its practical accomplishments and as a testimony and reinforcement of the spirit of Christian unity, but should not be considered as having any bearing upon church union. (2).....	14	12	+ 1
The federal union of churches is to be regarded as an intermediate step toward organic union. Successful coöperation will bring a larger sense of unity and this might naturally lead on to integration of organization. (1).....	[26]	6	+ 25
The church federation movement may create fraternal conditions out of which future church union of some sort will naturally rise; but it should not be an advocate of organic union and should seek to avert the suspicion that this is the ultimate objective. (5).....	21	11	+ 20
The end sought by the church federation movement, namely the progress of the Kingdom of God in the world, cannot be realized by any power short of the united strength of the church. The movement must declare this and definitely range itself on the side of corporate church union. (4).....	[15]	26	- 6
The ideal of union is inseparable from the ideal of the church. It has always been implicit in the purpose of the church federation movement to contribute to and to favor organic union. (6).....	8	14	- 7
Total.....	100	100	100
Number of choices.....	4,920	2,032	...

Bracketed figures indicate arguments most frequently paired as strong.

* Arrived at by weighting for variability and subtracting "weak" from "strong" replies.

generally accepted than any standardized creed. Men are more alike in their definitions of ideal responses to moral situations than in the explanation of the supernatural. This is true even of the non-church population.

Furthermore, many are ready to try unity in life and work but not unity in faith and order. The difficulties presented by this version of unity are contemporaneous, not antiquarian. They are such as the age's mood is willing to tackle, while it is often merely bored with the difficulties of the ecclesiastical type.

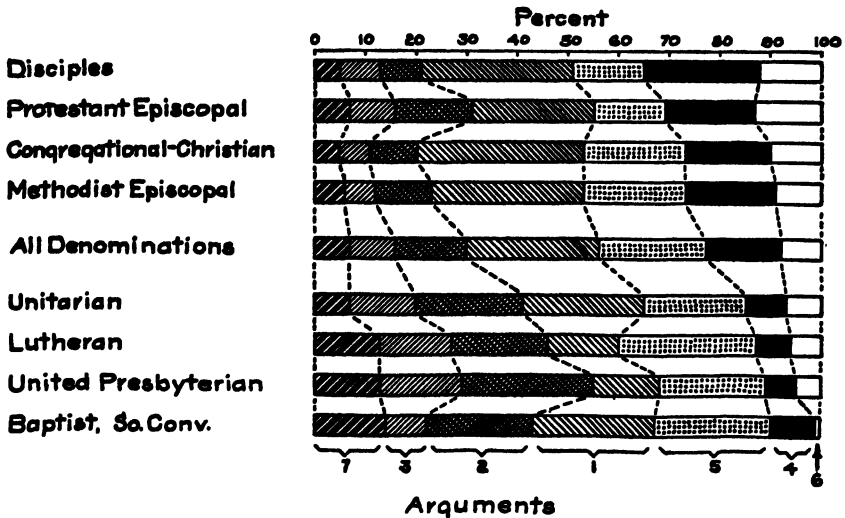


CHART XXII—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE ISSUE: SHOULD THE CHURCH FEDERATION MOVEMENT ADVOCATE ORGANIC UNION AND REPRESENT ITSELF AS A STEP TOWARD SUCH UNION?

For select constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table LIX)

Finally, the experience of working unity is genuine and grateful. It relieves many from a sense of being in wrong position toward their Christian brethren, and permits even a sincere denominationalist to feel that he is also a Christian.

Much can be said, then, for unity in life and work especially in the maximum development envisaged for a church unified on this basis. And many, sensing the vast difficulties of any profounder unity, adopt the practical attitude of being pretty well satisfied with its possibilities on this basis.

In view, however, of the manifest inability of others to regard unity in life and work as an absolute or final stage, and the many tendencies to regard it as temporary, a direct test of the sentiment of a select constituency

was devised as to whether the Federal Council should deliberately acknowledge its concern with the further realms of unity and represent itself as a step toward some higher phase. The question was put in the following form: "Should the Church Federation Movement advocate organic union and represent itself as a step toward such union?" Seven arguments were presented for rating as strong or weak with results as shown in Table LIX (page 316) and Appendix Table 31.

The table lists arguments most antagonistic to the proposition first and most favorable last. It is interesting to discover that the argument from the practical disadvantage of advocating union gets less favor than the ethical argument against it; namely, that it would be to break faith with the constituent denominations. But neither of these adverse attitudes gets as much as 10 per cent. of the total vote. A third argument attempts to dissociate the practical and sentimental values of coöperation from any possible implication for union. The fourth and fifth in the list (Numbers 1 and 5) say with qualifications that federation is a step toward actual union; and these two get the largest support. Still stronger arguments for the advocacy of union by the federation movement urge that this would be to follow the implicit logic of the federation movement and that the movement should definitely range itself on the side of corporate union. These again show reduced support, and, when weighted, register a preponderance of opposition over approval. In short, the attitude of the group as a whole is again very strongly toward a mediating position on this issue.

Comparing denominations, the usual distinct groups appear. In an extreme position against the advocacy of union by the federation movement are Southern Baptist, Lutheran and United Presbyterian. All say that federation is good in itself, but that it has no significance for union, is not an intermediate step toward union, and that the advocacy of union by federation would alienate support. Lutheran and United Presbyterian replies add emphasis to the argument that it would be a breach of faith with the participating denominations.

The advocacy of union by the federation movement is in general approval by Congregational-Christian, Disciples, Methodist Episcopal and Protestant Episcopal opinion; also by that of Evangelical Synod and Methodist Episcopal, South, constituents. All say that it is implicit in the logic of the movement. All but the Protestant Episcopal say that federation is actually an intermediate step. Disciples, Methodist Episcopal and Protestant Episcopal replies go farther and say that the federation movement should come out flatly on the side of corporate union.

Of minor deviations, the Presbyterian, U.S.A., denial that the advocacy of union by federation would alienate support or be a breach of faith is to

be noted; but this denomination fails to go beyond the average in the more positive arguments. Reformed Church in America replies show more than average fear that the advocacy of union would alienate support. Of denominations which show vacillation, the Northern Baptist asserts that federation will naturally develop into something further, yet denies that it is an intermediate step toward union, while the Methodist Episcopal, South, which fails to believe that advocacy of union would alienate support or be a breach of faith, equally fails to see that union is implicit in the federation's position or will be a natural consequence of the movement.

This issue ranks low with respect to concentration of opinion. The repeatedly evidenced stream of agreement that federation is a step toward union is reasserted. Opinion then divides as to whether federation is to create conditions which may lead to union without actively advocating it, or whether it should come out in its explicit advocacy. In opposition to both of these alternatives, a rather strong minority, which does not oppose federation as such, nevertheless denies that it is significant for union and objects to the advocacy of union on the ground of alienating support or of bad faith with constituents.

CONCLUSION

From this last evidence, as well as in the light of the chapter as a whole, one has to conclude that church federation is recognized as more definitely a movement toward union than its supporters have thought it is wise to claim. Federation, at least as currently practised, is not the last word. Beyond this point judgments conflict. No clear conclusion is enforced by the evidence, and whatever is done practically is sure to displease very considerable minorities.

Again, the results of this study of unity in life and work show the indefiniteness so highly characteristic of American religious thinking. Furthermore, no great sense of urgency is discoverable, requiring that the issue be clarified.

Meanwhile, however, a minority presents its conflicting views in a very different mood. It is certain; the majority uncertain. It is insistent; the majority content to drift. The minority insists not only that issues of faith and order are real, but holds that they are central and determinative for the church's well-being, if not for its very existence.

Moreover, a specific test proves that these attitudes are held by no inconsiderable minority, but one with which the strategy of church union has seriously to deal. A proposition phrased as follows was submitted to the church leaders: "The movement for increased coöperation between the churches is desirable, but unless it implies a purpose to seek common ground

in faith, worship and government, it has no significance for real church union."

The denominational distribution of returns is shown in Table LX.

TABLE LX—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT FOR GENUINE UNION

(624 Church Leaders)

"The movement for increased coöperation between the churches is desirable, but unless it implies a purpose to seek common ground in faith, worship and government, it has no significance for real church union."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:						
	True		False				
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Weighted Score*
All Denominations . . .	46.3	26.3	20.0	16.7	21.6	15.4	+0.20
Lutheran	66.7	48.5	18.2	15.1	15.2	3.0	+0.94
Prot. Epis.	62.9	42.9	20.0	11.4	22.9	2.8	+0.77
Presb., U. S. A.	61.2	29.9	31.3	11.9	15.0	11.9	+0.52
Meth. Epis., South . . .	51.7	24.1	27.6	10.4	27.6	10.3	+0.28
Miscellaneous	46.0	24.7	21.3	19.3	19.3	15.4	+0.21
Disciples	45.0	25.0	20.0	15.0	25.0	15.0	+0.15
Meth. Epis.	41.5	24.4	17.1	17.1	26.8	14.6	+0.10
Bapt. (No. Conv.) . . .	41.0	24.6	16.4	18.0	23.0	18.0	+0.07
Reformed	38.7	16.1	22.6	29.0	12.9	19.4	+0.03
Cong.-Christian	32.3	19.8	12.5	15.6	26.1	26.0	-0.26

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

From one-third to two-thirds of the leaders of the ten denominations, then, are not convinced that unity in life and work has significance for real church union, and call instead for a common ground in faith, worship and government.

This positive attitude makes the discussion of such issues inevitable, and it is to them that the immediately following chapters now turn.

It is a fair question, too, whether the minority attitude does not voice the profounder insight into reality. As has been shown, working relations are continuously demonstrating the impossibility of remaining within the alleged limits of life and work. They keep invading the realm of faith and order. Thus, time and again the Federal Council has closed the door to the discussion of the implications of federation for further unity. But just as often the problem has re-emerged. Every comprehensive formal statement has felt obliged to deal with it, even if in deliberately equivocal language, and practical Federal Council politics has very often hinged on the fear that it was going to be brought forward as a live issue.

Similarly, the Lausanne World Conference on Faith and Order has felt obliged to discuss its organizational relationships with the Stockholm Uni-

versal Conference on Life and Work; and the involved relations of the two movements at their roots are felt by many to present a yet unsettled point.

As a final philosophical formula, then, unity in life and work can scarcely be regarded as adequate, even by most of those who assert it as a practical slogan. Its deeper issues are felt to be integral with those of faith and order. There is much emotional uneasiness due to a sense of unacknowledged and omitted problems, an uneasiness shared even by the most practical of men in their deeper moods.

CHAPTER XI

Unity in Faith

This chapter and the one next following concern the reactions of the American religious public to ecclesiastical proposals for church unity which go beyond unity in life and work. Most Americans, as has already been seen, want unity of some sort to go farther in some indeterminate degree. This opens two specific questions: In what aspects of the church is additional unity sought? And how much farther is it to go?

The most conspicuous proposal for unity beyond the sphere of life and work is for unity in faith. Many join with this a demand for unity in "order" also. But those who want to unite in faith but not in "order" take a radically different course on important issues from those who think it essential to unite on both, and draw variant conclusions; so that it is necessary to differentiate sharply between positions at this point.

Consequently, the question of unity in "order" is deferred to the next chapter, while the present chapter limits itself to the demand for unity in faith.¹

DEFINITION

What any given person means by unity in faith must be determined by his actual reactions to a variety of criteria. Verbal definitions at this point are peculiarly inept. A starting point may, however, be found in the fact, denied by no one, that a common stock of religious ideas is necessary for there to be any coherence or permanence in a religious group. It is one of the most obvious and well-established of certainties that the American religious public actually possesses such a common stock of ideas. It has been thoroughly established by extensive surveys that the traditional Christian doctrines, as popularly understood, are almost universally held. From the common-sense point of view the beliefs of the majority are very similar or sufficiently the same for all practical purposes. This lies at the basis of the common religious attitudes so often exhibited in connection either with customary observance or with crisis. Social science magnifies the significance of these common ideas as a bond of cohesion in the community with-

¹ The rivalry between faith and order and the demand for a prior decision favorable to one rather than the other before consideration of church unity is begun have already been noted. See pp. 182-3.

out venturing any judgment as to the truth or falseness of any one of them.² But does this constitute unity in faith?

FAITH AND THEOLOGY

From the recognized strength of the common religious ideas of Christian society, two conflicting inferences are drawn. It is possible, on the one hand, from this premise to argue for the imperative necessity of theology in order to make the implications of the common ideas rational and defensible. On the other hand, it is possible to argue the superfluity of theology, because people actually possessed of common religious ideas can get along without it.

Whichever inference is accepted, one has to raise the further question: How much unity in ideas is required? Obviously, like-mindedness must overbalance unlike-mindedness; but by how much? Chapter vii found 85 per cent. of returns from a popular questionnaire favoring a "unity in diversity," understood as one which does not require a uniform creed. This position is of course not inconsistent with the conviction that theology has some proper function in furnishing a norm for the judgment of variant ideas; and in any case it is necessary to consider the merits of the minority view that strict creedal unity is essential.

MODIFYING FACTORS

Whether or not unity in faith implies creedal unity, additional factors modifying the situation must be noted. Differences with respect to creeds are affected or determined by prior assumptions at every step. Conflicting views of revelation and authority; variant ways of drawing the line between uniformity and variety; broader or narrower definition of essentials and non-essentials—all conspire to complicate the issue.

The significance of creedal definitions of faith is particularly affected by the degree to which the implications of unity in life and work are systematically developed in non-theological terms. It is believed by many that Christian history, and particularly the actual coöperative life of the church in modern times, have discovered and demonstrated common values which can be expressed in other than conceptual symbols and made effectively normative without resort either to the mood of the creeds or to the hypotheses and definitions which characterize them. It is thus thought to get the functions which the creeds were presumed to perform performed in another way, to meet the problem rather than to evade it, but to meet it in a more concrete and realistic fashion.

All told, then, the issue of unity in faith is not the sheer issue of creeds

² Giddings, "The Group-Making Rôle of Ideas and Beliefs," *Studies in the Theory of Human Society* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922), chapter x.

versus creedlessness, but rather that of a broad contrast between the dogmatic formulation of belief and some looser expression of congruity of religious values, complicated in either case by many modifying factors.

In considering, then, unity in faith, the most broadly expressed difference to be reckoned with is that of the degree to which the creedal determination of faith is asserted or creeds are depended upon to assure unity in faith.

ATTEMPTED CREEDAL UNITY AND OPPOSING REACTIONS

Attempts at creedal union are familiar. They are evidenced by the practice of comparing creeds in the effort to achieve partial unions of churches; in the painstaking comparisons so often made by scholars of the confessions of the many churches in order to bring out their harmonies; and, convincingly in the present study, by the strong demand that theological agreement be reached before any discussion of church unity is undertaken.³

Popular expressions reveal sharp differences of opinion on this point. To one, "Creeds are absolutely necessary and ignoring them leads nowhere. All life depends upon a creed." Whether or not this is true, the opinion is widespread that the historic status of creeds, together with the present insistence of the churches upon them, makes it necessary to rely on them as grounds of union. Many more people expect creedal union than approve it.

There are, of course, important formal exceptions to the use of creeds in the past. A group of strong American denominations never have had authoritative creeds; indeed, some of them denounce all creeds as unscriptural. All tend, nevertheless, to substitute for creeds a traditional interpretation of the Bible quite as dogmatic as the creeds themselves. So far as this is true, the formal exceptions are unreal. There are, however, certain real exceptions. They are found in a widely diffused anti-doctrinal spirit (to which alarmed defenders of creeds give most convincing witness⁴) typically expressing itself in some such a reaction as: "What difference does creed make? We are all teaching Christianity."

VARIETY OF ACTUAL ATTITUDES

Between such extremes the data reveal a series of proposals for unity in faith originating in ecclesiastical thinking. They run from the completely non-creedal standpoint to the most severely creedal one in some such order as the following: One may seek unity without resorting to any formal expression of the common faith; or, again, in agreement on the Christian message couched in purely religious terms, without doctrinal definition; or he may insist on creedal union which, as actually advocated, may mean any

³ See p. 179.

⁴ For example, Bishop Gore at the Lausanne World Conference on Faith and Order. See its *Proceedings*, p. 164.

one of a variety of things. It may mean only a more or less formal and qualified acceptance of the historic creeds, or, on the contrary, a strict interpretation of some comprehensive formulation of a whole theology. Or, finally, one may seek unity through what are conceived of as spiritually creative processes, in which the creedal considerations figure as issues to be transcended and sublimated to profounder and more vital modes of apprehending truth.

The specific evidence of the chapter concerns the reactions of the American religious public to this series of proposals. As on previous topics, the evidence was secured largely by the circulation of instruments and the collection of free expression from large numbers of individuals.

UNION WITHOUT FORMAL EXPRESSION OF COMMON FAITH

At one logical extreme stands the proposal to unite churches without any formal expression of the common faith. Popular reactions to this proposal and popular commentary upon it have first to be presented.

Those making such proposals manifestly rest back upon the fact that loosely defined religious values are widely held in common by the religious public and that its members instinctively agree in what sociology calls "the definition of the situation." That is to say, religious persons, confronted with typical issues, tend to apprehend them in the same way and to act with a certain uniformity. In popular phraseology this implies "not a common explanation of belief, but some 'believing ground' in common."

Prior to explanation, however, comes the testimony of behavior. This has already been noted on a historic scale in the case of the non-creedal denominations, such as the Disciples, Baptist and Congregational. Of the consciousness of a common ground of faith, the greatest single evidence is probably the participation of the vast body of American Christians (outside of the Roman Catholic Church) in the maintenance over many decades of a "standard" Sunday-school lesson system, now under the International Council of Religious Education. This implies the recognition of very large common elements in the formal religious teaching of the children and youth of the nation; and it is most significant that this unity upon a generalized version of the basic elements of the faith manages to secure the adherence of thirteen denominations with a total of 1,355,000 members who are unwilling to unite in the Federal Council of Churches which expresses unity on the lower level of life and work. Unity in the sphere of faith, without attempt at formal expression of common faith, is thus actually wider in practice than organized unity for practical coöperation. Particularly it rallies denominations which have been suspicious of the Federal Council on the score both of its theology and of its practical attitudes on moral issues.

In analyzing further this sphere of informal agreement it is possible to

identify it with a certain loosely defined attitude toward the Scriptures common to all "evangelical" denominations, together with a practical definition of "fundamentals" harmonizing with general tendencies of American thinking.

Beyond this area of working agreement, the employment of creeds as instruments of integration appears to many as unnecessary if not positively injurious. Creeds are denounced as going beyond Scripture, as being employed as instruments of prerogative and power, and as stumbling blocks rather than helps to unity. Representative expressions of this attitude from individual communications follow:

"As to differences in doctrine—why creeds, anyway? It seems to me the fundamentals are few—belief in God the Father and love for Him, belief in His Son Jesus Christ as our Saviour, and belief in the brotherhood of man which will lead to practice of the Golden Rule. Let us be done with all squabbling and quarreling over doctrines, over scientific beliefs, etc., and let us emphasize these essentials and put all our efforts into following the lead of Jesus."

"For a long time, I have been an interdenominationalist. But with all, I am a strict fundamentalist. I believe that real Christians can come together and that a creed should be only a statement of those things that are necessary to a saving faith."

"After all, much of the insistence on 'sound doctrine' is more prejudice and selfishness than anything else, and the things that have led to so many denominations are as irrelevant to a sincere spiritual experience in the Christ-like life, as the 'Traditions of the Elders' that the Master cast aside and led the people back to the Law of God."

The incorporation of this point of view in the historic anti-creedal tendencies of such denominations as Disciples, Baptists and Congregationalists has already been noted.

The prevalence in popular religious opinion of this general depreciatory attitude was tested on two levels by widely circulated questionnaires. The last chapter raised the issue of creedless federation in order to throw light upon the position held by some that legitimate unity cannot be had even in the sphere of life and work without previous agreement on faith.

THE CONTROL OF VARIATIONS IN BELIEF THROUGH FELLOWSHIP

Some of those who hold this opinion, explain that they trust to common experience to assert a normalizing influence over belief. Likeness of experience, they think, will be sufficient to bring varied views into essential harmony, and that through the medium of fellowship, rather than by means of the exercise of authority.

A statement reflecting this type of thinking and the results of its presentation to church leaders appear in Table LXI.

TABLE LXI—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—HARMONY THROUGH COMMON EXPERIENCE

(624 Church Leaders)

"Variations in religious expression and emphasis must be expected as growing out of differences in individual experience; but these are to be corrected and normalized by the energy of the common spiritual experience of the church, exercised through fellowship, not by reference to authoritative creedal definitions."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:						Weighted Score*
	True			False			
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Undecided	Probably	Certainly	
All Denominations...	89.3	61.6	27.7	7.2	2.4	1.1	+1.46
Disciples.....	97.5	77.5	20.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	+1.75
Meth. Epis., South...	96.6	75.9	20.7	0.0	0.0	3.4	+1.66
Meth. Epis.	95.1	63.4	31.7	4.9	0.0	0.0	+1.59
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	93.5	78.7	14.8	1.6	3.3	1.6	+1.66
Cong.-Christian.....	91.7	72.9	18.8	6.2	2.1	0.0	+1.63
Miscellaneous.....	90.6	58.0	32.6	6.7	2.7	0.0	+1.46
Presb., U. S. A.	89.6	55.3	34.3	5.9	4.5	0.0	+1.40
Reformed.....	87.1	45.2	41.9	9.7	3.2	0.0	+1.29
Prot. Epis.	77.1	42.8	34.3	20.0	0.0	2.9	+1.14
Lutheran.....	51.5	24.2	27.3	27.3	9.1	12.1	+0.42

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

Approximately nine-tenths of all replies assented to the truth of the proposition. Lutheran approval, however, was by a bare majority, and Protestant Episcopal by a majority greatly below the average. Both of these denominations, too, expressed a high degree of uncertainty in the matter.

The possibility that even one addicted to the creedal viewpoint might sympathize with this formula is shown in the following quotation from a Protestant Episcopal professor:

"I should be perfectly willing to accept such a principle—though most Anglicans might not. For I believe the normative influence of the common fellowship would be really strong and effective. Faith in something *caught: cor ad cor loquitur*. However, in extreme cases, an individual who persistently and obdurately refused to admit the reasonableness and tenability of another Christian's views might require to be prohibited from preaching authoritatively and publicly his denial of authorized Christian doctrine—e.g., a preacher who propounded atheism as Christian doctrine, to take an extreme example."

All told, then, the evidence is strong that the great majority, even of official church leaders, do not regard creedal definitions as an essential basis of union. On the contrary, they do look to common spiritual experience as potent enough to bring variant ideas under the spell of a common faith.

UNION ON A NON-DOGMATIC STATEMENT OF THE MESSAGE OF THE
CHRISTIAN GOSPEL

Not so extreme as the proposal for union without any formal expression of common faith, but falling far short of the scientific comprehensiveness of the formal creeds, are certain very influential efforts of the recent past to find a beginning, at least, of union in the "Christian message" expressed in religious rather than doctrinal terms. Men had long observed that the degree of their agreement in debatable issues of religion depended upon their method of approach. Thus, there had been two major ways of approaching the common faith, namely, the lyric and the dogmatic. (Both may be contrasted with the third and much rarer scientific approach.)

Men have found it possible to use the same hymns with equal sincerity, though they remained in extreme variance as to definitions of the matters to which the hymns referred. The creeds that had found most general and easy acceptance were those which developed as in immediate connection with worship and were couched in liturgical phrases. Might not, then, the common evangelical faith claimed by all branches of the church (other perhaps than the Roman Catholic) be expressed in words charged with religious feeling which might be found generally acceptable?

This effort was actually made by the Lausanne World Conference on Faith and Order, with the results that its report on "The Church's Message to the World—the Gospel" was received by the full conference without dissent. This was the only report out of six that the representatives of the Eastern Orthodox churches were willing to vote for. The report on the Message was incorporated in full in the subsequent declaration of the Jerusalem Missionary Council in 1928, at which representatives of the churches of Asia, Africa and Latin America participated equally with those of the older portions of Christendom. The effort for a non-dogmatic statement of the Christian message as the basis of unity thus has the highest approval, and the unanimity of the result justifies the verdict that "Here is a testimony approaching ecumenical significance and value."⁵

The theologians who share in this effort do so in their profounder capacity as religionists. It is not regarded by most of them as more than a beginning. It does not—they think—go far enough, nor make additional creedal unity unimportant. On the other hand, it is exactly in tune with the demand from many popular sources for simplicity and non-dogmatic character in the expression of the common faith. The following are samples of such utterances from communications volunteered in the course of this study:

⁵ Report of the Commission of the United Lutheran Church in America on Reports of the World Conference on Faith and Order, p. 3.

"Personally I am sincerely in sympathy with every effort to secure a union of Christian denominations with the *simplest possible statement of faith* that is essentially Christian."

"I think the average person of today does not talk in this terminology of former years. I have talked with individual Catholics, Unitarians, for example, who when talking of what Jesus means to them, use very much the same words. If a large body of Christians can unite in a great church with a very simple creed I think it can be done if church leaders heartily search for the plan and the words for the simple creed."

THE STATUS OF RELIGIOUS VARIANTS WITH RESPECT TO CREEDLESS UNION

Neither the effort to unite churches without formal definition of faith nor insistence upon a non-dogmatic statement of the "gospel" or the "essentials" satisfactorily defines the position of the traditionally non-evangelical Christian whose intended exclusion by the popular majority, as shown by the religious distance and other tests, is so clearly evidenced in the previous data.⁶

It is clear that the majority desires to exercise a definite guardianship over religious thinking, even though it prefers not to resort to creeds. A common "evangelical" tradition is assumed and appealed to without definition. Thus, the Federal Council's constitution testifies to the "essential oneness" of the participating churches "in Jesus Christ as their divine Lord and Savior." The Lausanne World Conference invited "all Christian bodies which accept the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior." These are typical positions, often taken for granted.

Complaint that those who attempt unity without formal agreement in doctrine continue practically to exclude certain other Christians on doctrinal grounds is sometimes rather bitterly made, as appears in the following quotations:

"The church to which I belong, viz., the Universalist, is not recognized by the Federal Council of Churches; though it is the truest version of Christianity in existence and is being preached or stolen every Sunday to vast throngs by Dr. Fosdick. The Federal Council is its own worst impediment to church unity."

"It is my conviction that the 'idea' of the Bible as 'the authoritative and infallible Word of God,' as believed and taught by many churches of the denominations is not only contrary to fact, as indicated by modern scientific knowledge and research, but also (and more serious in result) is actually inimical to the progress of genuine Christian fellowship, and the hoped-for restoration of unity among the churches. These churches 'accept the Bible as authority'; but it is always their own interpretation of the Bible; hence our lamentable divisions in Protestantism. Therefore I would not submit the plastic mind of a child to such mischievous indoctrination. . . .

⁶ See p. 130 f.

"If the Federal Council of Churches of America would be genuinely consistent with the manifest implications of its name and avowed purpose, its influence for good might be greatly increased. As it now operates—actually practising an inconsistent exclusiveness based on creedal or doctrinal ideas—it is naturally open to the criticism of the 'man of the street,' as an organization making pretensions which it cannot or will not live up to. Insincerity in men and institutions of religion is a source of weakness which neither money nor brains can overcome. In my judgment the position of the 'Federal Council' would be much more honest and consistent, and therefore, infinitely stronger, were it consistently labeled, 'The Federal Council of "Orthodox" Churches in America,' or 'The Federal Council of "Evangelical" Churches in America.' Such an organization as the Federal Council evidently desires to be recognized as constituting, cannot, *consistently*, exclude from its active membership any group of people who 'accept the Christian way of life as incumbent upon themselves,' whatever may be their theory of the origin and nature of Jesus. Certainly such an organization as the Federal Council advertises itself to be, is hardly living up to its 'pronouncements' when it excludes (purely on doctrinal grounds) a church which expressly states in its Profession of Faith that its members believe in 'The Spiritual Authority and Leadership of Jesus Christ.' Please understand that the foregoing is offered in no spirit of controversy or captious criticism, nor is the writer in any way unmindful of the real and widespread benefactions of the Federal Council—many of which he gratefully accepts and uses. He simply wishes to express his profound conviction that a God who is as all-embracing as the air we breathe, and who is 'no respecter of persons' (or of churches) can hardly be expected to bless, with its largest possible outreach of usefulness, any organization which has evidently caught a great vision of an absolutely inclusive Christian fellowship, but which—confronted with its implications—retreats murmuring, 'It is high; I cannot attain unto it' . . .

"How can the church hope to continue to command the respect and allegiance of men and women dominated by an increasing passion for reality, so long as their antiquated 'rules of procedure,' and their worship of tradition, create for their ministers such anomalous and unhappy situations as that which confronted the perplexed 'Dr. B.' in your example?"

Sociologically speaking, what has happened is this: the non-creedalists are accustomed to attach qualifications to the fund of common religious ideas whose existence they are presuming upon, but which they profess only in generalities. They dislike to discuss these common ideas, because discussion might reveal less solidarity of belief than, as unionists, they like to assume. The dilemma of this half-way position is this: real creedalists argue from this predicament that one must go farther and have a real creed as a standard and guarantee of the faith. Real non-creedalists argue that to use a general fund of religious ideas as a test, as though it were a creed, has all the vices of the creedal position and none of its virtues.

CREEDAL UNION: ON THE BASIS OF THE HISTORIC CREEDS OF THE
UNDIVIDED CHURCH

The next position to be discussed definitely carries one within the bounds of creedal union. It proposes as a basis for the church that there should be general agreement on an explicit declaration of the Christian faith, and it specifically indicates the ancient creeds, especially the Apostles' and Nicene, as particular formulations for universal adoption.

The special importance of this position for American religious thought lies in the fact that this was the creedal basis proposed in the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888. During the long debates of the succeeding years, relatively little difficulty has developed on this issue.

Adherence to these ancient creeds as the basis of union was restated by the Lausanne World Conference on Faith and Order on the ground that the faith which they express "is continuously confirmed in the spiritual experience of the church of Christ."

Certain participants in the Conference have pointed out that the significance of the agreement represented by the acceptance of this formula might easily be exaggerated. This, moreover, was one of the points on which the representatives of the Eastern Orthodox Church declined to vote.⁷ Furthermore, the great bulk of American rank-and-file opinion does not agree with the Lambeth-Lausanne viewpoint.⁸ In spite of its somewhat equivocal character, and though constituting only a minority opinion in the American church, the notion of union on the basis of the historic creeds must be sympathetically examined.

In appeals for the historic creeds as a basis of union, the demand for absolute creedal unity is commonly qualified; and in the discussions preceding the Lausanne Conference, it was actually qualified in two ways: first, by different assumptions as to the uses to which the creeds were to be put. Some regard them as testimonies of the faith of the church rather than as tests of the competency of any group of believers to be recognized as part of the church or of the status of any individual in the church. Some require subscriptions to the creeds on the part of ministers, while not of laity, and still others assume the individual agreement by all Christians on peril of discipline.

The absoluteness of unity on the basis of the historic creeds, is modified, secondly, by varying interpretations of the proposed normative functions of the creeds apart from their proscriptive uses. As will be seen in the follow-

⁷ Hall, Francis J., *Christian Reunion in Ecumenical Light* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), p. 95.

⁸ P. 237.

ing paragraphs, popular American religious opinion assumes several limitations which, for it, reduces the absolute significance of such a basis of union.

The first limitation, as generally recognized, is that the ancient creeds are incomplete. They were simply historic formulas of certain aspects of faith, especially those which had to be emphasized in their own ages in order to exclude contemporary errors. Thus a Protestant Episcopal theological professor can declare that certain articles "are of purely academic interest in theology today" while "certain vital doctrines of the Christian faith have never been defined in creeds." The most extreme view claims no more than that the ancient creeds "lead the believer on to a full Christian faith."⁹

INADEQUACY OF THE ANCIENT CREEDS

A popular reaction to this question of the sufficient comprehensiveness of the ancient creeds was secured by means of a questionnaire formulating the issue in the following terms: "The ancient creeds of the church are not sufficiently comprehensive; they fail to cover certain aspects of faith to which the Scriptures and Christian experience alike assign great importance." Table LXII shows how the opinion of church leaders on the issue thus raised was divided.

TABLE LXII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—COMPREHENSIVENESS OF THE ANCIENT CREEDS

(624 Church Leaders)

"The ancient creeds of the church are not sufficiently comprehensive: they fail to cover certain aspects of faith to which the Scriptures and Christian experience alike assign great importance."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:						Weighted Score*
	True			False			
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Undecided	Probably	Certainly	
All Denominations...	78.4	50.5	27.9	9.1	6.7	5.8	+1.11
Disciples.....	92.5	72.5	20.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	+1.58
Cong.-Christian.....	88.6	61.5	27.1	6.2	2.1	3.1	+1.42
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	86.9	63.9	23.0	3.3	1.6	8.2	+1.33
Meth. Epis.	81.7	57.3	24.4	8.5	4.9	4.9	+1.24
Reformed.....	80.6	38.7	41.9	9.7	6.5	3.2	+1.06
Meth. Epis., South...	79.3	41.4	37.9	6.9	6.9	6.9	+1.00
Presb., U. S. A.	77.6	47.8	29.8	13.4	6.0	3.0	+1.13
Miscellaneous.....	75.3	48.0	27.3	11.3	8.7	4.7	+1.05
Prot. Epis.	51.4	14.3	37.1	14.3	20.0	14.3	+0.17
Lutheran.....	48.4	24.2	24.2	15.2	18.2	18.2	+0.18

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus .5, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

Four-fifths of all replies asserted that the statement of the insufficiency of the historic creeds as phrased, was true. This judgment was concurred in

⁹ Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

by more than three-fourths of the votes in eight denominations. Protestant Episcopal and Lutheran sentiment, however, was very different. Just about half of the votes of these denominations agreed to the proposition, while the other half denied it or were uncertain. For them the margin of uncertainty was also unusually large.

The effect of this evidence is to identify certain denominations that cherish especial tenderness toward the creeds, in contrast with those that are critical of them. It goes far toward explaining why some regard them hopefully as grounds for church union, while others find them only an added difficulty.

CONTEMPORANEOUS REINTERPRETATIONS

Again, the appeal for unity on the basis of the ancient creeds implies frequently, though not universally, a diminution of their absoluteness by reason of the permission of contemporaneous interpretations. This viewpoint was typically expressed in some of the Lausanne discussions of the church's faith. One prevalent viewpoint is that all verbal statements are inadequate and transient. "The intellectual formulae in which a belief is stated cannot be unreservedly identified with the underlying Christian conviction."¹⁰ A similar view holds that the creeds reflect transient ways of thinking which present-day Christianity has abandoned. "But this faith is partly clothed in words and terms which by many Christians in the present time are understood and must be understood in a different way than they originally were meant. It is combined with metaphysical thoughts which were influenced by the philosophy of the age, on account of which a distinction is to be made between their substance, the great religious truth they really stand for, and their temporary form."¹¹

UNION ON THE BASIS OF HISTORIC CREEDS CONTEMPORANEOUSLY INTERPRETED

A mediating formula expressing the substance of these points of view was submitted to American church leaders in the following terms: "The historic creeds of the early church should be accepted as bases of church unity, in the sense that they are normative expressions of the developing Christian faith, but not as binding either as to their phraseology or the philosophical concepts implied in them, and as subject to interpretation by the contemporary Christian consciousness." The replies, as summarized in Table LXIII, show almost two-thirds approving the statement. Twelve per cent., however, judge it to be completely false, and 13 per cent. are uncertain.

A comparison of denominations shows sharp divergences of opinion with respect to this proposition. Seven denominations favor it by a majority of three-fifths to four-fifths, while in three other denominations less than one-

¹⁰ Professor Dr. Georg Wobbermin, University of Göttingen (Evangelical-Lutheran) in *Proceedings of the World Conference on Faith and Order, Lausanne*, 1927, p. 179.

¹¹ The Rev. Jonas Lindskog, D.D., Rector of Braennkyrka, Stockholm (Lutheran), *Ibid.*, p. 183.

TABLE LXIII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—CONTEMPORANEOUS INTERPRETATION OF HISTORIC CREEDS

(624 Church Leaders)

"The historic creeds of the early church should be accepted as bases of church unity, in the sense that they are normative expressions of the developing Christian faith, but not as binding either as to their phraseology or the philosophical concepts implied in them, and as subject to interpretation by the contemporary Christian consciousness."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:
True False

Denomination	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Weighted Score*
All Denominations...	63.1	35.4	27.7	13.2	11.4	12.3	+0.63
Prot. Epis.	82.8	45.7	37.1	2.9	8.6	5.7	+1.09
Presb., U. S. A.	80.6	38.8	41.8	9.0	6.0	4.4	+1.04
Meth. Epis., South...	75.9	58.6	17.3	20.7	0.0	3.4	+1.28
Reformed.....	74.2	48.4	25.8	12.9	9.7	3.2	+1.06
Meth. Epis.	68.3	36.6	31.7	12.2	12.2	7.3	+0.78
Miscellaneous.....	63.4	34.7	28.7	13.3	10.0	13.3	+0.61
Cong.-Christian.....	61.4	36.4	25.0	11.5	13.6	13.5	+0.57
Lutheran.....	48.5	27.3	21.2	18.2	9.1	24.2	+0.18
Disciples.....	40.0	12.5	27.5	15.0	10.0	35.0	-0.28
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	39.3	26.2	13.1	19.7	26.2	14.8	+0.10

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

half favor it. Very positive dissent is expressed in Lutheran and Disciples quarters. The explanation may be that Lutherans do not favor such an elastic use of the creeds, while Disciples (and in lesser degree, Baptists) are traditionally against creeds altogether.

VARIETY THROUGH SUBSIDIARY CONFESSIONS

Still again the varying attitudes taken toward the multiplicity of creeds which have been developed during the Christian ages reduce the absoluteness of the demand for creedal unity. Numbers of churches, at one time or another, have adopted creeds supplementary to the ancient creeds of the undivided church. Some of these are clearly the reflection of their own ages in a narrow sense, while others have admittedly added significant emphasis to the definition of Christian truth. Each church, of course, values highly such creeds or confessions as it may possess and dislikes to abandon them.

Accordingly, a prime issue of practical politics as related to church unity is whether or not these additional creeds might continue to have use and recognition by subsidiary groups or parties within a united church. The high-church point of view naturally views this suggestion with some alarm, although it found acceptance in one of the Lausanne reports.¹² A test of popular religious opinion in America, on the contrary, revealed virtually

¹² Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

three-fourths of all replies justifying "the use of their own confessions of faith and customs of worship by special societies or distinctive groups within the church."

Of 624 church leaders replying to a question in this form, 71 per cent. thought it probable or certain that such would be the case. The percentage of denominational answers ranged from 48 per cent. for Lutheran replies to 84 per cent. for Congregational-Christian replies and 86 per cent. for Protestant Episcopal. This is shown in Column A of Table LXIV.

TABLE LXIV—PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD ALLOW SPECIAL SOCIETIES OR GROUPS TO USE THEIR OWN CONFESSIONS OF FAITH AND CUSTOMS OF WORSHIP

Denomination	(624 Church Leaders)		C Per Cent. of Those Judging Probable Who Disapprove
	A Per Cent. Judging Probable	Per Cent. Approving	
All Denominations.....	71	74	2.9
Lutheran.....	48	52	25.0
Miscellaneous.....	65	67	3.9
Disciples.....	65	56	3.9
Baptist.....	66	79	2.5
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	70	70	2.1
Methodist Episcopal.....	73	78	3.3
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	76	79	0.0
Reformed.....	77	71	0.0
Congregational-Christian.....	84	90	1.2
Protestant Episcopal.....	86		0.0

A majority of answers from all denominations, except Lutheran, feel that such an arrangement would be probable. Seventy-five per cent. go farther and say that it would be desirable. Nine per cent. call it undesirable, while 17 per cent. were uncertain. The table compares the denominations with respect to the percentage of answers approving the idea in question (Column B) in contrast with the per cent. thinking it probable that it would be carried out in a united church (Column A).

It is noteworthy as an exception to the very general correspondence between Columns A and B that Baptist and, to a smaller degree, Methodist and Congregational, approval of the idea in question is greater than their belief in its probability; while with Disciples and Reformed replies, approval is less than estimated probability. The former group fears that the facts will not come up to the ideal; the latter fears that they will transgress the ideal.¹⁸

¹⁸ It is likely that the low rate of Disciples approval to the idea in question is due to the disinclination of that denomination to recognize any formal confession of faith and its unwillingness to deviate from what is regarded as strictly scriptural.

Column C shows the per cent. of replies which disapprove allowing special groups to use their own confessions of faith and customs of worship, but which still believe that such an outcome would be probable in a united church. The most striking figure of the data on this point is the large number of Lutherans who fear that this would be the case. No other denomination has more than a trace of this feeling, while three do not register it at all.

All told (with the Lutheran denomination furnishing the only radical exception) three-fourths of the church leaders responding to this questionnaire think that it is probable that a united church would allow special societies and groups to use their own confessions of faith and customs of worship, while four-fifths think that a united church ought to do so. This is considerably greater agreement than was found with respect to the twenty-three items of this questionnaire considered as a whole.

INDIVIDUAL VARIETY IN DOCTRINAL INTERPRETATION

Finally, the absoluteness of the demand for creedal unity is greatly qualified by recognition of the right of individual interpretation. This again is not acceptable to the high-church viewpoint.¹⁴ The popular Protestant attitude, however, regards the humble individual Christian as capable of reaching a true understanding of the Bible in such light as God will give him and defends his right to try to reach such an understanding for himself. This viewpoint also was submitted to church leaders in the shape of a query whether a united church would "recognize the rights of its members

TABLE LXV—PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF ITS MEMBERS TO INTERPRET THE CHURCH'S DOCTRINES IN DIFFERENT SENSES

(624 Church Leaders)

Denomination	Per Cent. Judging Probable	Per Cent. Approving	Per Cent. of Those Judging Probable Who Disapprove
All Denominations.....	74.7	79.6	2.8
Reformed Bodies.....	87.1	80.7	3.7
Methodist Episcopal.....	85.4	89.0	0.0
Disciples.....	85.0	90.0	0.0
Congregational-Christian.....	83.3	91.7	0.0
Baptist (Northern Convention).....	77.1	86.9	0.0
Protestant Episcopal.....	77.1	80.0	0.0
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	71.6	80.6	0.0
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	65.5	75.9	5.3
Miscellaneous Denominations.....	63.3	72.7	5.3
Lutheran.....	57.6	27.3	31.6

¹⁴ Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

to interpret the church's doctrines in different senses." Replies from this questionnaire are summarized in Table LXV.

The outstanding result of this showing is that three-fourths of those replying said that a united church would recognize the right of individual interpretation. Reformed, Methodist, Disciples and Congregational opinion was especially clear on this point, while Methodist Episcopal, South, opinion was more doubtful and Lutheran especially so.

That individual variety of doctrinal interpretation was more desirable than it was probable was asserted by all denominations except the Lutheran, but generally by a rather narrow margin. In contrast with all the rest, one-third of the Lutherans who think such an outcome probable do not think that it would be desirable. The same opinion is slightly in evidence in three other denominations.

All told, the evidence that a united church would be expected to let its members interpret the church's doctrines in different senses is very strong.

SUMMARY OF QUALIFICATIONS

It is with such implied qualifications as these that most of the strictly official proposals for union on the basis of the ancient creeds have been made. As already noted, a concessive attitude has prevailed, and, actually, the major difficulties found by most denominations with respect to church union have not been located here. Nevertheless, as already seen, the great majority of American Christians do not approve creedal unity, even of this easy-going type. Either it does not go far enough for them because they are non-concessive creedalists (whose contentions must next be examined), or else it goes too far for them, because they are individualists or because they suspect that a concessive attitude toward church order, within which the thus limited creeds would be used, would be just as dangerous to Christian liberty as authoritative creeds would be.

EXTREME CREEDAL UNITY

The position now to be discussed goes a stage beyond the proposal for union on the basis of historic creeds. It may be described briefly as an effort to set forth and fix the entire sum of faith in creedal form and to secure union on that basis.

The grounds alleged by those who maintain this position, as popularly expressed, are that "the Bible as a basis of union with a very broad conception cannot be accepted by a large group who demand the sound foundation for the union of Christians in an infallible Bible and a divine atoning Saviour."¹⁵ The further charge is made that as matters now stand:

¹⁵ Editorial, "Unity of All Creeds," *The Presbyterian*, June 29, 1930.

"There is no standard by which a denomination may be judged. Under the conditions prevailing in the Protestant churches today, any two churches of the same faith may be teaching a totally different doctrine. Knowing this condition to be true, how could a conscientious parent send a child to a Sunday school of any denomination, without he had previously checked on their doctrine, to his own satisfaction? . . .

"Any group which would do any good and have any real lasting benefit, must have at least some basic standard. This [the present Protestant] group with all its conflicting thoughts and ideas, reminds me of a jelly fish, spineless and worthless, possessing the name of a church, but having none of the characteristics which should make up such a body."

The sources of the proposal for extreme creedal unity lie largely in the realm of religious presuppositions, such as were discussed in chapter vi. They involve conceptions of revelation and authority. "What is required is that Christians should have one mind as to what has been once for all revealed to the church."¹⁶ It is assumed that this is authoritatively covered by definitions of religious values in terms of philosophical concepts formulated into a "rule of faith."

According to this view the familiar demand for unity in essentials is expanded to include a system of doctrine.

"I will set down here [writes an ex-Baptist who describes himself as "not now a church-member"], the things which must be settled before any church unity can even be considered. Before the fundamental church world will even sit down at a round table conference on this subject, these premises must be the basis of our meeting:

1. The infallibility of the Bible
2. The virgin birth of Christ
3. The vicarious atonement
4. The acknowledgment of universal sin in the human race (New Birth)
5. Bodily resurrection of Christ
6. The imminent appearing of Christ a second time

"I am aware that the above conditions of church unity are severe and will not meet with the approval of a large portion of the church world today, but at the same time, I *know* these are the real fundamental differences in the church."

As has been pointed out, the evangelical may be quite as insistent on a dogmatic interpretation of the Bible in a form not creedally expressed, as others are on creeds.¹⁷ The more systematic of the fundamentalists, however, are creedalists.

Of denominations which try to maintain authoritative uniform positions,

¹⁶ Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

¹⁷ P. 184.

the various American Lutheran bodies go farthest in the demand for a strictly creedal basis of union.

"We believe," reads the Declaration of Principles of the United Lutheran Church in America adopted in 1920, "that a permanent and valid union of Churches must be based upon positive agreements concerning the truth for which the united Church Body is to stand. The Churches cannot unite as mere Protestant, but only as confessors."

A strict interpretation of this position was relentlessly reiterated by Lutheran correspondents throughout the course of the present study. The more consistent of Anglo-Catholic minds, as well, in spite of their tendency to rely upon uniformity in order to secure uniformity in faith, go on to exalt creedal unity more than the general position of their communion requires. Thus a representative statement intended to be crucial reads, "The reunion of Christendom plainly depends upon a common faith, upon agreement as to doctrines regarded as vital to true religion."¹⁸

In consequence of such views, many of the attitudes taken by those who propose to unite on the ancient creeds are regarded as equivocal if not dishonest. Extreme creedalists often become rather violent against compromises which they think suppress the full expression of their own faith:

"A person who holds to historic faith believes that he perjures his Christ should he hold organic fellowship with those who are more liberal, rationalistic, and refusers of supernaturalism. Those that have held to the Faith will no more temporize with Evangelical doctrines than the Liberal will accept those things."

It is from this source that the renewed threat of division in the church on theological grounds is chiefly heard. Expressions to this effect, supplementing those already cited in chapter vi, follow:

"If there are those in the church who have become so liberalized or modernized that they cannot unite upon this unifying Evangelical principle, the writer would urge in all honor and honesty that they go out from the Evangelical church and form a new body, perhaps along the line Dr. Eliot of Harvard advocated, a religion that uses some of the old forms and rituals simply for the sake of sentiment and of the traditional past, but having no creedal subscription, and allowing its individual members to think or believe as they will so long as they are actuated by a recognition of God and high ethical ideals."

"I maintain that since Congregational history from the beginning has been evangelical, conservative, those who do not agree with its historic attitude are in decency bound to seek other fellowship and not to practise ecclesiastical Bolshevism in the ranks of our churches."

"There should be a general exodus of all modernists for the purpose of forming a denomination of their own, preferably with the name Christian omitted.

¹⁸ Hall, *op. cit.* p. 99.

They should lay no claim to existing church buildings unless such were paid for by people with similar modernistic views. Our fathers and grandfathers who paid for these beautiful buildings would turn over in their graves if they knew that they were being handed to people who deny the very fundamentals of the Christian faith. Frankly, I can see no ground for compromise between those who accept the authority of the Bible and those who deny it."

Similar feelings rather more moderately expressed from the liberal standpoint are also recorded.

"Among the varying forms of religious faith and practice of the day, there is one distinct and deep line of cleavage, which it is useless to try to remove. This is the line between so-called 'Fundamentalism' and 'Modernism'—between the old belief in supernatural revelation and the new acceptance of modern science.

"I should be glad to have my church unite with other churches on a broad platform rejecting supernaturalism, accepting science, and taking for its aim the good of humanity here and now.

"I do not know how free Fosdick actually is in his present affiliations, but I do feel that, whatever degree of freedom a man of his strength may be able to obtain under a supernaturalistic creed, it were not safe for the modernist movement as a whole to allow itself to become absorbed by religious bodies which, if not actively opposed to the essentials for which it stands, at the best have not sufficient independence to come out for those vital things."

"I have sometimes thought that a clear-cut division between 'modernists' and 'fundamentalists' would be of value. Personally I know I can worship more deeply and work better with the modernist group of any denomination than with the fundamentalists of my own."

A COMMON CREED

The general disposition of the American religious public to deny the necessity of creedal union has repeatedly been evidenced. A direct test of the issue was made in a questionnaire addressed to church leaders with the following results: Fifteen per cent. only thought it probable that a united church would impose a common creed upon all adherents, while only 10 per cent. judged this desirable. Thirty-nine per cent. of those who thought it probable thought it undesirable. The denominational returns on this point are compared in Table LXVI.

Protestant Episcopal and Lutheran sentiment shows much more than average expectancy of a common creed, and Disciples and Congregational sentiment a much less than average expectancy.

Presbyterian and Lutheran sentiment, furthermore, judges a common creed as more desirable than likely. All the rest think it more likely than desirable. In short, there is a wide margin of discrepancy between expecta-

TABLE LXVI—PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD IMPOSE A COMMON CREED UPON ALL ADHERENTS

(624 Church Leaders)

Denomination	Per Cent. Judging Probable	Per Cent. Approving	Per Cent. of Those Judging Probable Who Disapprove
All Denominations.....	15.5	10.4	39.2
Protestant Episcopal.....	37.1	45.7	
Lutheran.....	30.3	42.4	50.0
Reformed Bodies.....	19.4	6.5	50.0
Miscellaneous Denominations.....	18.7	8.7	35.7
Baptist (Northern Convention).....	18.0	4.9	63.6
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	14.9	10.5	40.0
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	13.8	10.3	25.0
Methodist Episcopal.....	11.0	4.9	44.4
Disciples.....	5.0	2.5	50.0
Congregational-Christian.....	4.2	2.1	75.0

tion and desirability in all denominations, except the Episcopal, beginning at 25 per cent. and reaching 75 per cent. with Congregational-Christian. All told, then, a common creed is not expected nor thought desirable by the replies of the group, but there is much fear that union either logically or practically implies such a creed.¹⁹

TRANSCENDENCE AND SUBLIMATION OF THEOLOGICAL ISSUES

An alternative to attitudes for or against creeds of any sort or degree is presented by those who propose rather to transcend them on directly religious grounds. This position is regarded not as the mere reiteration of the naïve stage of religion present in the primitive church before the earliest creeds were evolved, but as an achievement which involves looking theological issues in the face and still getting beyond them. It finds its beginning in the reflection that the underlying verities to which the creeds testify are spiritual. A solution of credal difficulties on this line was suggested in the Lausanne Report on the church's common confession of faith in the following words: "Finally, we desire to leave on record our solemn and unanimous testimony that no external and written standards can suffice without an inward and personal experience of union with God in Christ." A test of the judgment of American church leaders on this issue was made by means of a questionnaire.

The issue involved was phrased as follows: "Whatever value may be assigned to creeds as external written standards of faith, the essential reality to which faith witnesses is an inward and personal experience of union with

¹⁹ Creedalists are just as much afraid of the revolt against "metaphysical creeds" as non-creedalists are of their imposition. See Bishop Gore, in "Faith and Order," *Proceedings of the Lausanne Conference*, p. 13.

God in Christ." Returns from this questionnaire are summarized in Table LXVII.

TABLE LXVII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—TRANSCENDENCE OF THEOLOGICAL ISSUES

(624 Church Leaders)

"Whatever value may be assigned to creeds as external written standards of faith, the essential reality to which faith witnesses is an inward and personal experience of union with God in Christ."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:						Weighted Score*
	True			False			
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Undecided	Probably	Certainly	
All Denominations...	93.8	81.3	12.5	3.2	1.3	1.7	+1.70
Meth. Epis., South...	100.0	82.8	17.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	+1.83
Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	98.4	86.9	11.5	0.0	0.0	1.6	+1.82
Presb., U. S. A.	97.0	79.1	17.9	3.0	0.0	0.0	+1.74
Reformed	96.8	83.9	12.9	3.2	0.0	0.0	+1.81
Meth. Epis.	96.4	86.6	9.8	2.4	1.2	0.0	+1.82
Cong.-Christian.....	94.8	86.5	8.3	3.1	1.1	1.0	+1.78
Prot. Epis.	94.3	85.7	8.6	5.7	0.0	0.0	+1.80
Disciples	92.5	77.5	15.0	0.0	7.5	0.0	+1.63
Miscellaneous.....	90.0	76.0	14.0	4.7	0.6	4.7	+1.56
Lutheran	78.8	66.7	12.1	9.1	6.1	6.0	+1.27

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

So overwhelming a percentage of all denominations except the Lutheran agree on this proposition that the particular rankings are of little significance. Even Lutheran support is relatively strong. An appreciable percentage of Lutheran opinion, however, holds that the proposition is certainly false and there is a much larger margin of indecision than in the case of any other denomination. This result registers Lutheran sensitiveness over any departure from objective creedal standards.

The proposal to transcend creedal issues finds support in the argument from the limitation of verbal symbols discussed in an earlier paragraph. As advanced by those who would use the historic creeds subject to broad interpretations, this argument holds that the terms and concepts employed in them are accidental and transient, though their common meanings may be permanent.

The position now under discussion goes farther in that it holds that the actual and vital method of defining common meanings is by means of common practices and experiences. The processes of living together in Christian activity and service—under the slogan, "unity in life and work"—is assumed to establish meanings in ways that transcend theologizing.

The attempt to transcend creedal issues finds still further support in the

idea already presented of controlling variations in belief, not by authority but by fellowship. Creedalists are accustomed to oppose the "spirit-guided doctrinal tradition of the church" to the "spiritually enlightened private judgment" of individual Christians.²⁰ But a third view is possible, namely, that it is group thinking that actually controls belief and keeps it within the limits of normal variation, especially since such thinking has an ever-renewed factual basis in common experience. Instead of opening the flood-gates to error, free intercommunication between representatives of varying points of view in the church tends to ultimate homogeneity of belief and keeps the faith true to the common type.

This general viewpoint, which seeks to transcend and sublimate theological issues, rests its conclusion on what it regards as the demonstrated congruity of faith under varied expressions. It would assert that it is not merely falling back on the undifferentiated stock of religious ideas in order to escape the necessity of appealing to some official rule of faith. On the contrary, those who hold this position feel assured that in the test of coöperative service and in the persisting sense of fraternal experience in spite of intellectual differences, theological considerations are being genuinely sublimated and brought within a larger spiritual process.

This proposed solution, then, maintains that it is not a mere childish return to the lyric mood of the primitive church before it had been caught in the net of strict theologizing, but that it is rather the creative utterance of a triumphant new song, inspired by the facing and transcending of theological issues. This position falls in with the popular lack of interest in creeds as alleged expressions of objective truth or as methods of controlling variations in belief. The popular mood helps to make the non-creedal basis of union the more acceptable. But the position itself is not negative, but rather positive. It comes not to destroy creeds but to fulfill them by a common experience of the realities to which they testify.

To convinced creedalists the foregoing exposition of the prevailingly lax attitude toward creeds will throw rather discouraging light upon the prospects of valid union. Those who defend variety, on the contrary, may feel that present tendencies are much as they should be. Both ways of thinking have still to confront the problem of unity in order, to which the next chapter turns.

²⁰ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

CHAPTER XII

Unity in Order

Of those who believe that the church's unity should be carried beyond that practical and sentimental unity described in chapter x as "unity in life and work," there are, as has been shown, two major divisions: (1) those who would make the further unity concern faith primarily or only, and (2) those who would make it extend both to faith and to order. Unity in faith was considered in the last chapter. This chapter, accordingly, limits itself to unity in order.

More adequately defined, unity in order means unity in ministry, sacraments, worship and discipline.¹ Anything like uniformity in these matters, as previous chapters have shown, is strongly repudiated by the great mass of American religious thought, and any unity which would be acceptable to this body of opinion must leave large room for variation in all these realms. All varieties of views as to unity in order must nevertheless be examined on their merits.

The present chapter, accordingly, follows out in detail the reactions of popular American religious thinking to the major questions of unity in order as defined by theologians. Since, however, some of these questions are abstruse and complicated, it seems necessary to preface the presentation of evidence by a brief analysis and exposition of the problem. It is hoped that any private bias of the author's which may enter into this exposition will be submerged in the great bulk of objective evidence to follow.

ANALYSIS AND EXPOSITION OF THE PROBLEM

NATURE OF THE ISSUE

From the religious viewpoint the order of the church cannot be defined as having to do merely with relations between men in religious societies. Rather must it be traced back to the relations of man and God in a supramundane order. It cannot, therefore, be identified with a set of forms and arrangements for worship, with a system of setting up and fixing the status and functioning of the ministers in the church, nor with a scheme of church organization and administration even when it embodies such generally accepted values as fraternity, equality, freedom, democracy or efficiency.

¹ Hall, Francis J., *Christian Reunion in Ecumenical Light* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930), p. 9.

Neither can order be made dependent upon the social cohesiveness of the group, its homogeneity, agreement in beliefs or possession of common religious customs.

The church's order, on the contrary, originates in the communion of God and man. It asserts a generalized Christian scheme of corporate intercourse between the divine and the human realized in the church. The extreme Catholic view sees this scheme embodied in an official and definitely fixed and relatively closed system of repetitive transactions between God and man, necessary to make efficacious the one unique and supreme act of the redemptive Sacrifice of Christ. The extreme Protestant view is that the redemptive relations of God and man consequent upon the sacrifice of Christ, while universal in terms, are essentially individual and unmediated in application; so that the church is their consequence rather than their condition. A great variety of intermediate views have actually been held.

One of these mediating views holds that the church as the body of Christ is "essential to human salvation", but attempts to take rigidity out of the system of corporate relations with God by locating its significant expression in the local church as a microcosm; on the theory that, "If it is Christ's presence in and with believers which constitutes His church, then whenever He is present, His church, not in parts but as a whole, is present."² In this way, religion remains corporate rather than merely individual, while at the same time any degree of variety and freedom of worship which originates in face-to-face groups of Christians finds place within the corporate formula. No cut and dried universal scheme of grace can then be clamped down upon the whole of Christendom.

From another angle it is maintained that Christ provided no system for the church (if indeed He conceived a church at all). Hence all Christian usages have evolved historically. The New Testament church began experimentally on a trial and error basis, and the church has gone forward on this basis ever since. Nevertheless, all the church's experience in worship, ministry and government has been providential and has occurred under the leadership of the Holy Spirit operating corporately. According to this view, the question of order is that of the selection, for symbolizing in common custom and worship, of the most adequate and tenable of historic Christian conceptions of the relation between God and man, and the most acceptable of church usages, in the light of present religious thought and life; each being allowed to have such authority as the devout spirit of any group gives it at any given time. Greater unity of appreciation and understanding—still under the guidance of the Spirit—is expected as the result of the experi-

² Garvie, "The Free Churches in England" in Marchant, *The Reunion of Christendom*. (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1929), pp. 138, f.

mental adjustment to one another of such divergent views as may then develop.

From such different views divergent consequences obviously will be drawn. If there is a closed system of the church's order, and if intercourse between God and man is on the basis of a method divinely arranged in permanent detail, then the restoration of this system as the heart of the church's life is necessary. The adjustment of ecclesiastical organizations to one another cannot be allowed to affect the established channels of supernatural grace. Any modifications of the church's order to meet variations in human conditions, as exemplified in races of unequal development or on the foreign-mission field, must be limited to non-essentials. There can be no compromise which might break the established connection in the church between the Christian and his God. On the contrary, on the extreme theory of the present control by the Spirit of the church as localized, virtually anything which a congregation of Christians undertakes conscientiously to do must be identified with the divine ordering of the church.

The origin of such discrepant views is obviously found in presuppositions relating to revelation, authority and Christian history. If the fixed and closed system of intercourse between God and man is accepted as a revealed idea, or as actually ordained by Christ or by the Apostles acting under His direct spiritual authority, there is no appeal from this order for those who so believe. If it is held that while the historic evidence is not absolute, still God is the kind of a God who would naturally under such circumstances make divine arrangements in detail, then one may appeal to antiquity and seek to put the burden of proof on any who would depart from the Catholic tradition. If other conceptions of revelation, authority, historic evidence and the rôle of traditions are held, the question of the church's order remains endlessly open for reasonable adjustment to be matched with the changing conceptions of Christians from age to age.

Presuppositions also determine the assumed relations of faith and order. Order is something to be accepted and obeyed. Faith at least involves the intelligence, and holds open the possibility of questioning and criticism. But it is sometimes subsumed under order; so that the rule of faith becomes something ordained which in obedience must be believed, just as an ordained observance must in obedience be followed. The kind of a God who *in this sense* sets up faith and order as a basis of unity, is a vastly different God from one who sets up faith as the primary ground and makes order subordinate. Which kind of a God is actually to be assumed depends upon metaphysical presuppositions reaching too far back for the present study to follow.

It is with reference to theological conceptions and viewpoints of these

sorts that popular reactions to different aspects of the problem of order are now to be traced, beginning with the sacramental system and the sacraments.

ASPECTS OF ORDER: SACRAMENTS AND THE SACRAMENTAL SYSTEM

Although theologians differ as to the number and form of the sacraments, the really crucial issues which have arisen between churches with respect to union do not concern individual sacraments but rather the sacramental system itself as related to salvation.

SUBORDINATE ISSUE OF SACRAMENTAL FORMS

The question of sacramental forms, nevertheless, does arise as a subordinate issue in the cases of denominations like Baptists and Disciples who historically insist upon loyalty to a specific mode of baptism, because it is believed to be the one prescribed by Christ. They take this position, however, without erecting a full-blown sacramental scheme as a basis for the Christian order. In other words, a characteristically individualistic version of the relations between man and God may go along with the acceptance of a particular divine edict which is not elaborated into a whole system of grace.⁸

The general attitude of American church leaders would permit wide latitude as to religious forms, including modes of administering the sacraments. This is demonstrated by responses to a questionnaire summarized in Table LXVIII, on the next page.

While the difference between denominations on this test as shown in Table LXVIII, is quite appreciable, the outstanding result is that variety in modes of sacramental observance in a united church is expected by virtually eight out of every ten answers, and approved by even more.

CLOSE COMMUNION

In spite of the foregoing revelation of attitudes upon the generalized issue of sacramental forms, the matter of intercommunion involves more concrete issues and often constitutes a barrier to union of churches as it relates to admission to the sacrament.

As is well known, the Christian denominations have varied historically in the limitations which they have put upon admission to the communion. All have assumed that participation in the rite is limited to Christians; some have held that participation is also limited by a particular prescribed form of baptism as the sole means of initiation into external Christian fellowship;

⁸ Anciently the Disciples were assumed to attach greater efficacy to the obedient use of the appointed sacraments than Baptists, and this distinction was successfully appealed to as a barrier to a recent plan of unity between these denominations. Most commentators on the incident, however, regard the distinction as obsolete and the issue as between the two denominations, as spurious.

TABLE LXVIII—PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD ALLOW VARIOUS MODES OF WORSHIP AND OF OBSERVING THE SACRAMENTS, DEPENDING UPON THE PREFERENCE OF ADHERENTS

(624 Church Leaders)

Denomination	Per Cent. Judging Probable	Per Cent. Approving	Per Cent. of Those Judging Probable Who Disapprove
All Denominations.	79.1	84.3	1.8
Baptist	75.4	83.6	2.2
Congregational-Christian	89.6	93.7	1.2
Disciples of Christ	75.0	70.0	3.3
Lutheran	72.7	72.7	8.3
Methodist Episcopal	82.9	90.3	1.5
Methodist Episcopal, South	79.3	89.6	0.0
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	80.6	88.1	0.0
Protestant Episcopal	71.4	71.4	4.0
Reformed Bodies	80.6	90.3	0.0
Miscellaneous Denominations	75.3	80.7	1.8

and that unless this form has been followed, participation cannot be allowed. It is a well-recognized fact that the strictness of the latter position has suffered much modification.

Since, however, this issue of "close communion" remains, in certain quarters, a vital one in its bearing upon church union, the attitudes of a representative cross-section of the religious public was explored by means of a questionnaire, in which those responding were asked to indicate their preferences as between five judgments based upon an actual incident bearing upon the issue.

The incident was stated as follows: "Reverend Dr. B. is a 'close communionist;' that is to say, he believes that a Christian who has not been baptized according to a certain form must not be admitted to the communion in his church. His daughter's husband was baptized into an 'open-communion church.' When the young couple comes home to visit, the daughter receives communion from her father's hands, but the husband is not allowed to do so." The distribution of judgments upon this incident appears in Table LXIX.

A strong preponderance of judgments condemns the practice of close communion described in the above incident. The majority rationalizes its position on the theory that since the person excluded was recognized as a Christian, he should not have been excluded from a rite symbolizing that fact. Nearly one-third of the judgments frankly repudiate such exclusion in vigorous terms. The depreciatory answer that the matter was merely technical was resorted to by only 12 per cent. of those replying, while only 10 per cent. thought that the excluded person should have been admitted as an exception though not as a rule. Finally, the judgment that the exclusion

TABLE LXIX—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—THE QUESTION OF "CLOSE" AND "OPEN" COMMUNION

(General Church Constituency)

"Reverend Dr. B. is a 'Close Communionist,' that is to say, he believes that a Christian who has not been baptized according to a certain form must not be admitted to a communion in his church. His daughter's husband was baptized into an 'Open-Communion Church.' When the young couple comes home to visit, the daughter receives communion from her father's hands, but the husband is not allowed to do so."

Judgments	Per Cent. Choosing as 1st or 2nd Best, By Status in the Church				
	Total	Min- isters	Lay Church Officers	Mem- bers	Non- Mem- bers
Since the father does not deny that the son-in-law is a Christian and in spiritual communion with Christ, he ought not to exclude him from a rite which symbolizes this fact. (5)	41	42	42	41	39
This just shows how awfully narrow some denominations still are. (1)	31	29	31	31	32
The situation as described sounds rather strained, but the issue is really merely technical, because the husband can feel spiritually admitted to the communion although he is externally excluded. (3)	12	10	12	14	13
If the son-in-law could not conveniently find an open-communion church in which to receive the sacrament, the father ought to stretch a point and admit him as an exception. (4) . .	10	11	10	9	11
The father is right in observing the scriptural condition attached to the Sacrament of Baptism as he understands it, no matter how it affects his own family. (2)	6	8	5	5	5
Total (25,305 choices, 13,159 persons answering)	100	100	100	100	100

was justified because of the sincere belief that it was according to scriptural requirement appealed to only 6 per cent. of all replies.

Little difference appears on this point between the attitudes of ministers and laymen.

Comparing denominations, however, by means of Appendix Table 32, one finds an extreme position in favor of close communion taken by the Dunker (German Baptist), Missouri Synod Lutheran, Latter Day Saints and Roman Catholic bodies. All strongly disapprove the thesis that being a Christian is enough to admit to communion and that, this being granted, refusal on any ground is narrow.

But the four differ strikingly as to the degree of rigidity with which each holds its own opinion. The Dunkers would make no exception, while Latter Day Saints and Roman Catholics stand near to the average on this point. All the denominations of this group are extreme in holding that the

scriptural conditions understood to attach to baptism must be observed, the Roman Catholics least so, and the Missouri Synod most.

While the rank and file shows large agreement in position with regard to close communion, its most extreme condemnations come from Reformed, U. S., Federated Church and Methodist Protestant replies. These, however, go little beyond the average in position.

Considering individually the five judgments relating to this incident, the most strongly controverted is the one which raises the question whether scriptural conditions as they are understood must be strictly observed. Southern Baptist, Fundamentalist and Negro opinion take extreme positions in affirming this particular judgment, though on the incident as a whole they stand relatively close to the average.

The effect of the total returns on this point is, however, to show that the issue of close communion as an occasion of denominational division has very largely passed away, even for the bodies which formerly found it a central difficulty.

THE PRIMARY ISSUE

It is not, therefore, the forms of the sacraments nor the conditions attached to the observance of any single sacrament that constitute the barrier to church union, but rather the sacramental system as such.

On this point, the clash of views is very extreme. The typical sacramentalist assumes that God has sovereignly chosen to make His grace toward men distinctively efficacious by sacramental means. Through these divinely appointed observances, he bestows upon Christians the inward qualities necessary to their salvation and spiritual life. In the sacraments, God is supernaturally present and active; so that they have objective and inherent efficacy. God, to be sure, is not limited to His own sacraments; He does in a secondary sense deal directly with individuals.

Neither are the sacraments the only vehicles of God's grace. Conjoined with them is always the proclamation of the Word—the Gospel; but the Word may not take the place of or minimize the central value of the sacramental order. The chief channel of intercourse is the established sacramental system.

The contrasting radically Protestant position minimizes the whole conception of an external system in God's dealings with men. His essential operations are held to be individual and inward. The sacraments have nevertheless authentic and permanent religious values. Whether or not they were literally ordained for perpetual observance on the personal authority of Christ, the historic forms of the sacraments most fittingly symbolize the central facts of inner experience. Besides having historically acquired this high symbolic value in the church, individuals continuously testify to their

very great religious significance. For these reasons, they do and should remain the assured corporate forms of the church's common worship.⁴

BEARING ON UNION

Whether one accepts the sacramental system or merely asserts the high symbolic value of the sacraments, sacramental forms are almost universally accepted as the central symbols of the church; and it is commonly assumed that some agreement as to sacraments is prerequisite to a united church. The most comprehensive solution proposed is to observe the common form, but to allow the broadest variety of interpretation as to its meaning.

But this obviously necessitates the facing of a psychological problem. Differing in their meanings as widely as they are conscious of doing, men have sometimes come to question the possible sincerity of the use of a common form. At one extreme stands a Pennsylvania Methodist minister, for example, who registers most tolerant convictions as follows:

"My view on Christian unity is: that union or federation is a merely formal difference; real, spiritual unity consists in each recognizing the other as a welcome Christian brother, the others' ministers as true ministers of Christ, and *the Lord's Table as our common meeting place*. Recently, when I held a Communion service, I invited the pastors of other churches to send fraternal visitors to our Table; and many did so. They were introduced to the congregation, as guests of Jesus; and partook at the first table. *I believe that this is all that is vital.*"

At the other extreme, naturally, stands the Pope, who cannot find any common ground for union in the diversity of meaning attached to a common form. "How," asked his Encyclical of 1928, "can men with opposite convictions belong to one and the same federation of the faith . . . those who adore Christ really present in the Most Holy Eucharist through that wonderful conversion of the bread and wine, transubstantiation, and those who assert that the body of Christ is there only by faith or by the significance and virtue of the sacrament; those who in the Eucharist recognize both sacrament and sacrifice, and those who say that it is nothing more than the memorial of the Lord's Supper."⁵

Is there a middle ground between extremes? May a worshiper attach any meaning to a sacrament which generally rises from his own religious experience, taking also appreciative account of what the sacraments have historically meant to the church? Those who insist on uniformity in faith find it difficult to tolerate even such variety of opinion as to the sacraments.⁶

⁴ There is, of course, a still more extreme view, represented by the Quaker position, which denies the necessity and value of all external sacraments.

⁵ Papal Encyclical, in Marchant, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁶ See Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 69 and ff.

On the other hand, however, the sacramentalist's profound conviction of the objectivity of the divine operation in the sacrament and of its completeness so far as God is concerned, apart even from man's faith, makes it easy for him to regard its efficacy also as independent of man's thinking. God gives efficacy to the sacraments because He has appointed them, so that differences in devout interpretation do not affect the significance of the observance as a vehicle of grace.

Conflicting views as to the meaning of the sacraments, accordingly, have not appeared so insurmountable as barriers to union as conflicting views with respect to the priesthood. This fact made possible the rather sketchy treatment of the sacraments at the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order and the convergence of the Conference's discussion on other issues.

Such conflict as occurs, moreover, sometimes turns out to lie in the realm of taste rather than in that of conviction. A Protestant Episcopal minister, for example, writes to say that he can find full satisfaction in a service conducted in a non-episcopal church, if the liturgy is well carried out, but not in a sloppy service.

INTERCOMMUNION

Whatever turns out to be the acceptable ground of unity as related to the meaning of the sacraments, it is agreed in all quarters that actual intercommunion between all branches of the church has a highly important bearing upon union and would constitute an inevitable consequence of its authentic unity. If Christians cannot celebrate the climactic symbol of their oneness in such a way as will proclaim their oneness throughout the church, there obviously is and can be no unity in fact.

On this crucial issue, accordingly, three tests of popular Christian attitudes were made. Two were particular, and one general. The particular tests related (1) to exceptions permitting intercommunion in the case of strangers, and (2) to experiments looking toward intercommunion. The general test raised the question of intercommunion as one of principle.

The results of these three tests follow.

THE STRANGER AT THE LORD'S TABLE

One of the problems which the church has taken most to heart is that of affording opportunity to receive the sacraments to travelers or strangers who are temporarily cut off from the ministries of their own churches.⁷

This problem was explored by means of a popular questionnaire presenting the hypothetical case of a man accustomed to worship in a wide variety of churches. The case was stated as follows: "A Christian man, whose

⁷ See *The Lambeth Conference—1930, Report on the Unity of the Church*, p. 117.

duties require him to travel constantly, makes it a habit wherever he may be to attend public worship in the most accessible Protestant church; but finds that some of these churches do not invite him to the communion of the Lord's Supper." Reactions to the case as thus stated were given by 11,328 persons representing a fair cross-section of the American religious public. These persons indicated which of five judgments most nearly coincided with their own. The results and distribution of replies are given in Table LXX.

TABLE LXX—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—RECEPTION OF STRANGERS AT COMMUNION

(General Church Constituency)

"A Christian man, whose duties require him to travel constantly, makes it a habit wherever he may be to attend public worship in the most accessible Protestant church; but finds that some of these churches do not invite him to the communion of the Lord's Supper."

Judgments	Per Cent. Choosing As 1st or 2nd Best
The obligation to admit fellow Christians to the sacrament is based upon the fact that they are in spiritual communion with Christ whose sacrament it is; and the privilege of communing cannot rightfully be denied them by any church. (2).....	40
The fact that this man can find religious satisfaction in the worship of so many different denominations shows that others could do as well, if their churches did not unnecessarily limit them to a set of particular forms. (3).....	27
Christ established the proper way of securing membership in the church. The limitation of the communion to those who have secured membership in this proper way is a limitation of Christ's own appointment; and no church can open the doors wider than it believes He has done. (4).....	14
This man could generally find a church of his own denomination if he would try. (5)	10
Churches which do not ordinarily admit members of certain other churches to the communion ought to make exceptions in favor of travelers. (1).....	9
Total (21,584 choices, 11,328 persons answering).....	100

The five judgments gave those replying an opportunity to show their attitudes for or against an exclusive policy with respect to admission to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and also to reflect upon other implications of the situation as described. The replies showed a very strong concentration of approval upon the general judgment that the church is under obligation to admit all Christians to the sacrament, because of their spiritual relation with Christ. Secondary emphasis fixed upon the reflection that a man going from place to place and finding religious satisfaction in many denominations shows what might be done by many other men under other circumstances except for limitations imposed by denominational forms. A justification for exclusion of such a man from the sacrament was, however, found by 14 per cent. of those replying in the argument that Christ had set up limitations to

participation in the sacrament, based upon proper induction into the church. Ten per cent. of the replies minimized the issue by asserting that the man could doubtless find a church of his own denomination if he would try, while only 9 per cent. based their conclusions upon the bare claim of hospitality to travelers.⁸

The answers of the group on the above issue are characterized by directness rather than by evasion. In spite of opportunity to minimize the issue or to treat it as involving an exception, the majority of answers go straight to general principles. There are three times as many votes for liberality in admission to the sacrament as for strictness; and strong approval for the attitude of a man who could worship in many kinds of churches and find religious satisfaction in all.

EXPERIMENTS LOOKING TOWARD INTERCOMMUNION

Those who regard regular intercommunion as going too far have sometimes been ready to consider a second exception, namely, that of general intercommunion on special occasions.

The Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order recorded sentiment in favor of experiments in common worship in order to discover how far the spiritual union thus expressed might carry Christians in the direction of permanent intercommunion. A good many voluntary comments received in the course of the study, favored such exceptional experimentation. A typical qualification reads, "in addition to, not as a substitute for" the regulation services. "We have a responsibility to our people who are already receiving grace through the traditional channels." Even in extremely high-church circles, willingness has sometimes been expressed to extend "the privilege of our altars to others, on extraordinary occasions, not involving any doctrinal aspect."⁹

Recent American experience, moreover, includes a number of rather noteworthy experiments in intercommunion on such special occasions. These, on the one hand, have drawn violent repudiation from those whose sentiments of reality and regularity were outraged. Others have hailed the exceptions as tending to establish a rule. In view of this situation, a conservatively drawn proposition was included in the questionnaires submitted to American church leaders in order to discover the distribution of their sentiment on this point. Its statement was as follows: "Churches which differ as to their theories and traditions of worship ought to be willing to relax their customs in order to try experiments in common worship and to

⁸ For denominational comparison, see Appendix Table 33.

⁹ See Dibble, "The Religion of the Prayer Book and Christian Unity," in *The Living Church*, September 13, 1932.

discover how far the spiritual union thus created will carry them in the direction of intercommunion." The results of this questionnaire are shown in Table LXXI.

TABLE LXXI—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—EXPERIMENTS IN COMMON WORSHIP
(624 Church Leaders)

"Churches which differ as to their theories and traditions of worship ought to be willing to relax their customs in order to try experiments in common worship and to discover how far the spiritual union thus created will carry them in the direction of intercommunion."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:						Weighted Score*
	True			False			
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	
All Denominations...	87.0	54.3	32.7	7.9	3.3	1.8	+1.34
Prot. Epis.	94.3	51.4	42.9	2.9	0.0	2.8	+1.40
Presb., U. S. A.	94.0	50.7	43.3	4.5	1.5	0.0	+1.43
Meth. Epis., South...	93.1	55.2	37.9	6.9	0.0	0.0	+1.48
Cong.-Christian.....	92.7	57.3	35.4	4.2	3.1	0.0	+1.47
Disciples.	92.5	67.5	25.0	2.5	5.0	0.0	+1.55
Meth. Epis.	89.0	68.3	20.7	9.8	1.2	0.0	+1.56
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	88.5	55.7	32.8	4.9	6.6	0.0	+1.38
Miscellaneous.....	84.0	50.7	33.3	12.0	1.3	2.7	+1.28
Reformed.....	83.8	54.8	29.0	6.5	6.5	3.2	+1.26
Lutheran.....	45.5	18.2	27.3	21.2	18.2	15.1	+0.15

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

It is highly significant that nearly nine out of ten answers approved the proposition. Protestant Episcopal replies ranked first in ratio of approval, but nine out of ten denominations separately distinguished showed only 10 per cent. variation in attitude. Only the Lutheran replies declined to accept the proposition and that by a rather small margin.

The evidence thus seems to point hopefully to the method of experimental common worship leading up to intercommunion. Its probable educational value is assumed. While this theoretical conclusion is challenged by the difficulties actually experienced where such experiments have been made, the showing warrants the further attempt to try out the method, and especially to find out under what conditions an idea so widely approved can find actual acceptance.

INTERCOMMUNION IN PRINCIPLE

Churches which decline to practise intercommunion with others are thus newly challenged to meet the charge of exclusiveness. Their defense is generally offered in terms of alleged principles. The central practical prob-

lem for union is what shall be done when such alleged principles conflict with other principles, as on the point in question.

Accordingly the issue was posed for answer by representatives of the more competent religious public in the following form: "Does fidelity to prin-

TABLE LXXII—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS ON ISSUES—THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERCOMMUNION

(Select Church Constituency)

"Does fidelity to principle preclude the joint celebration of the Lord's Supper by the ministers of all communions, and the admission of members of all churches to the communion table?"

Arguments	Per Cent. of Replies Rating as:		Per Cent. Distribution of Weighted Score*
	Strong	Weak	
Christian ministers who have conscientious doubt as to the validity of non-episcopal ordination cannot share the celebration of the Lord's Supper with ministers who lack episcopal ordination, and Christian laymen who have similar doubts cannot conscientiously receive communion at the hands of such ministers. (5).....	3	27	— 13
Christians cannot unite, without disloyalty, in worship with others whose ways of worship one does not believe to be according to Christ's appointment, even though they acknowledge such persons to be sincere according to their own consciences. (2).....	6	40	— 27
As in any case of apparently conflicting loyalties, the lesser should be subordinated to the greater. If one sincerely feels that his obligation to limit the celebration of and participation in the Communion is weightier than his obligation to "open communion" as an expression of Christian comprehension and fraternity, he must act accordingly, taking pains to show his inclusive Christian temper in some other way. (6)	12	6	+ 3
All Christians are equal before God and all ecclesiastical observances and relations should be adjusted on this basis. (1)	[42]	3	+ 37
If churches differing as to the meaning and method of the sacrament would hold joint communions on formal occasions, which were fully understood to be exceptional, they might thus continue to witness to what they believe to be essential principles and at the same time show that the lack of free communion is not due to pride or a sense of superiority. (3)	[25]	6	+ 14
Church union will never come through the gradual evolution of union out of existing denominations. Individuals must defy the proscriptions of denominationalism and undertake the direct practice of complete ecclesiastical brotherliness toward all Christians. This involves a moral adventure like the breaking away of a heathen from his old faith, but it is immediately incumbent upon all true Christians irrespective of any change in the attitudes or actions of their churches. (4)....	12	18	— 6
Total.....	100	100	
Number of choices.....	4,982	2,162	

Bracketed figures indicate arguments most frequently paired as strong.

* Arrived at by weighting for variability and subtracting "weak" from "strong" replies.

ciple preclude the joint celebration of the Lord's Supper by the ministers of all communions, and the admission of members of all churches to the communion table?"

Choosing among six considerations presented by the questionnaire as bearing upon this issue, a strong plurality of replies (42 per cent.) rated as strongest the consideration that "All Christians are equal before God and all ecclesiastical observances and relations should be adjusted on this basis." The next most frequent choice fell to the judgment that joint communions

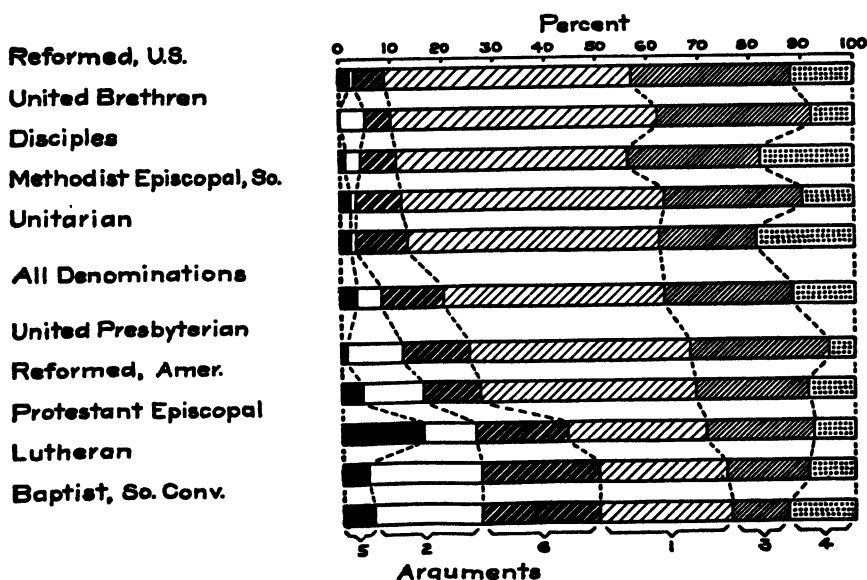


CHART XXIII—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE ISSUE: DOES FIDELITY TO PRINCIPLE PRECLUDE THE JOINT CELEBRATION OF THE COMMUNION BY MINISTERS OF ALL COMMUNIONS?

For select constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table LXXII)

of denominations should be held at least on exceptional occasions. This got 25 per cent. of the choices; and these two considerations were most frequently paired together as "strong."

All six arguments are stated in Table LXXII, which shows the distribution of the constituent replies.

The arrangement of arguments in Table LXXII puts opposing ideas at opposite ends of the series with mediating ones between. Analyzing the arguments individually, one notes that the first two in the list justify ministers in refusing to participate in the joint celebration of the communion on the explicit and fundamental grounds that the validity of the ministries of

non-episcopal ministers is open to conscientious doubt. If this ground is admitted as final, joint celebrations are clearly impossible. This issue is further discussed in a later paragraph in this chapter.¹⁰

Similarly, uniting with other denominations in forms of worship other than those of one's own church, may be held to be a recognition of ways contrary to Christ's appointment, and hence as disloyal. Some such attitude is at the bottom of the condemnation by certain Lutheran groups of engaging in common religious exercises with "heterodox theists", and it is explicitly the subject of Papal condemnation in the 1928 Encyclical, which explains why the Catholic church "has never permitted its subjects to take part in the assemblies of non-Catholics."¹¹

Third in order is an argument less rigid than the preceding two, which, while admitting that there are two sides to be considered, nevertheless conditionally justifies the refusal of ministers to share with others in the administration of the communion, on the basis of a distinction drawn between superior and inferior obligations. If the obligation to limit the administration of the communion is believed superior to that of fraternal obligation, the former must be obeyed. This is to introduce psychological and ethical considerations, such as are often actually appealed to by ministers who feel the pull of divided impulses.

The fourth argument shifts the consideration to directly ethical grounds: "All Christians are equal before God." This, the slogan of the Christian Unity League,¹² illustrates the familiar attempt to solve moral difficulties by appealing to a higher court. It has the advantage of not being associated with either of the conflicting ecclesiastical traditions and, as has been seen, was actually the first choice of a very strong plurality of those replying to the questionnaire.

The fifth argument also admits that the issue is two-sided, but proceeds conditionally to justify joint communion as an occasional practice with the understanding that it is exceptional. This course is presumed to maintain the general principle and at the same time to show that no one is lacking in fraternal disposition. It reflects the practice by certain movements for unity of the occasional joint celebrations of communion, as a symbol and as an experimental means of advance.¹³

The final argument justifies joint communion on grounds equally fundamental with those on which the first argument denied it. It asserts that alleged principles or ecclesiastical regulations which limit brotherliness must be defied by the direct independent action of individuals. In certain quar-

¹⁰ P. 369.

¹¹ Marchant, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff.

¹² P. 225.

¹³ P. 226.

ters, this conclusion has already been appealed to as the necessary corollary of the equality of all Christians before God,¹⁴ but the small favor with which the select constituency regards it shows that the two ideas are by no means identical.

Emerging from the total series of arguments is this significant result: that chief approval goes to the effort to lift the issue to a new ethical level and to the exceptional use of joint communions as symbolic of the church's desired unity. (Arguments 1 and 3.)

It is to be noted in the table that the weighting of the weak judgments shifts the net attitude from one of scant approval to one of opposition toward the first two and the last arguments and that it emphasizes the concentration of affirmative choices upon the fourth and fifth arguments.

As a means of comparing denominational attitudes toward this issue, the distribution of strong arguments is given for each denomination in Appendix Table 34. This table should be studied argument by argument by the familiar means of arranging the denominations in ranking order, so as to note the habitual place of each and any radical deviations from the average.

The lower portion of Chart XXIII shows the distribution of replies to the six arguments on the part of those denominations which deviate from the average on the side of asserting that joint celebrations of the communion are precluded by principle.

The three denominations whose opinions deviate most radically in this direction are the Protestant Episcopal, Southern Baptist and Lutheran. In each case, the reason is fairly obvious. The Protestant Episcopal is the chief representative in the United States of the non-Roman Catholic tradition which finds difficulty with sacraments celebrated by a non-episcopal ministry. The Southern Baptist tends to hold a rigid position with respect to the limitations of the communion to those properly baptized. Lutheran opinion conditions common worship upon creedal agreement.

A study of the chart shows that the distribution of Southern Baptist and Lutheran replies is very similar. In contrast, Protestant Episcopal replies, though sensitive beyond all others on the point of episcopal ordination, are not nearly so certain that the common worship of Christians must involve disloyalty, and are at the same time considerably more willing to allow exceptions. This doubtless reflects the long-continued efforts of this communion to find acceptable grounds of concession on these points.

In contrast with the denominations just mentioned, those most often found at the other extreme of the ranking order are Methodist Episcopal, Disciples, Congregational-Christian and Reformed in the United States, United Brethren and Unitarian. Methodist Episcopal, South, also lean to

¹⁴ See p. 229.

this side. These go much beyond the average in denying the necessity of episcopal ordination or the disloyalty of common worship, and stand above the average in stressing the equality of all Christians. However, the tendency of the select constituency as a whole is so strongly at the tolerant end of the scale that none of these denominations shows distinctly conspicuous variations from the average.

Still other denominations which are not habitually out of line with the average show striking variations on special items. The Friends, for example, probably because they are in opposition to the sacraments as such, are not impressed with the argument for exceptions in order to show fraternity. Disciples are only half as ready as the average to subordinate the lesser to the greater loyalty. The Evangelical Synod is only half as willing as the average to defy tradition for the sake of fraternity, while the Reformed in America is twice as ready as the average to hold that common worship along unauthorized lines is disloyal.

These denominational comparisons should be read in the light of the unwillingness of the group as a whole to allow any denomination to take refuge behind the plea of conscientious conviction as an excuse for sacramental exclusiveness. These results also confirm evidence, secured on another issue,¹⁵ to the effect that the majority feels that alleged principles are rather the reflection of the temper of those who hold them than truly objective grounds, and therefore legitimate obstacles to unity. Stated positively, the select constituency proposes to act directly upon the ethical implications of Christian fraternity, believing that unity is possible along these lines if denominations will make reasonable concessions of reasonable convictions.

All told, then, the plea of fidelity to principle, as precluding intercommunion, was not regarded as valid, though patience in working out the practice of intercommunion, once the principle is admitted, was preferred to any violent break with the ways of the past. These dominating views are in extreme contrast with the attitude of the high-church party in the Protestant Episcopal Church, representatives of which have recently adopted the following protest to the house of bishops:

"If celebrations of the Lord's Supper by ministers not episcopally ordained are permitted in our churches this will precipitate a crisis in our own church, will break the fellowship of our church with the Anglican communion and will endanger the present hopes of Christian reunion."¹⁶

THE MINISTRY

The working Catholic view of the ministry hinges upon the conception of a sacerdotal system, and this in turn validates or invalidates the administration of the sacraments.

¹⁵ P. 196.

¹⁶ *New York Times*, January 6, 1933.

For the operation of the sacerdotal system, God (according to this view) has ordained three orders of ministers, namely, bishops, priests and deacons. To bishops is delegated the authority to ordain priests. Bishops properly appointed have received and transmitted this authority from age to age in unbroken succession. Ordination inwardly confers upon the priest the grace necessary for the exercise of his office, including authority to grant absolution and to administer the sacraments. Only under such conditions are their operations objectively effective. Other ministries than those of priests are to be recognized in the church. There are ministers of the Word, preachers and teachers. But, however religiously gifted and useful, they are not priests unless they have become such by valid ordination; and they cannot function in connection with the sacramental system which constitutes the main channel of intercourse between God and man.

The contrasting Protestant conception of the ministry recognizes only one order of ministers, pertaining both to the Word and to the sacraments. Differentiated administrative functions, as between bishop and ordinary minister, do not imply an hierarchy with respect to the essential office. Ministers become such by the divine call inwardly conveyed. This call the church recognizes, but ordination merely affirms the prior act of God.

Some churches, moreover, lay still greater emphasis upon the essentially lay character of the ministry. The minister merely functions in a representative capacity in behalf of the people—priesthood being invested in all believers. The minister is endowed with no special grace, but only grace of the sort which every layman receives for the fulfillment of his particular place and calling in life.

Between these major contrasts fall a good many variations. The real difference as concerns church union is, however, directly derived from the major positions. From the Catholic side the chief barrier to union is presented by the doubt whether ministers not episcopally ordained are genuine ministers and their functioning valid.

The Protestant position that the minister is the church's representative man may, for example, be so distorted as virtually to base ministerial efficacy upon the individuality of the minister. Thus a Protestant Episcopal priest complains:

"The lack of visible authority is the curse of Protestantism. Now it is possible for Christian ministers to preach one thing one Sunday and the opposite the next. The modern church's success (not my denomination so much) depends on the personality of the minister—hence congregations never see above the ministers. The minister is the whole church in Protestantism."

Unquestionably the tendency to exalt the ministerial office *per se* implies a certain suppression of the individual, while stress upon the inalienably

prophetic character of the ministry leaves open the way to individualistic abuse.

DIFFICULTIES FROM THE PROTESTANT SIDE

With respect to the ministry, the chief barrier to union from the Protestant side is the deep-seated objection to a priestly ministry. This is held to be derogatory to the believer's own priesthood, and an interference with his direct relations with God. This very widespread feeling is voiced by a Methodist Episcopal woman who writes: "I could not work congenially with any sect that must have some medium other than Christ between self and God."

Whether these unresolved difficulties necessarily prevent unity in the church obviously depends upon what sort of unity is assumed. In view of the strong inclination of American religious thinking to deny uniformity and uphold diversity in principle, it is necessary to raise the special question whether a common ministry is essential to a united church. The Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order has asserted that it is. The problem was consequently submitted to American church leaders by means of a questionnaire.

The question put was whether a common ministry is to be expected as a necessary consequence of union. Would a united church "recognize a single ministry with equal authority and full standing throughout the whole church?"

As shown by Table LXXIII, of 624 replies, nearly two-thirds thought that such a consequence would be probable or certain.

TABLE LXXIII—PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD RECOGNIZE A SINGLE MINISTRY WITH EQUAL AUTHORITY AND FULL STANDING THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE CHURCH

(624 Church Leaders)

Denomination	Per Cent. Judging Probable	Per Cent. Approving	Per Cent. of Those Judging Probable Who Disapprove
All Denominations.....	66.0	78.1	1.7
Reformed Bodies.....	87.1	87.1	7.4
Disciples of Christ.....	77.5	90.0	0.0
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	75.9	79.3	0.0
Lutheran.....	69.7	66.7	4.4
Methodist Episcopal.....	67.1	79.3	0.0
Miscellaneous Denominations.....	65.3	72.0	3.1
Protestant Episcopal.....	62.9	77.1	4.6
Congregational-Christian.....	62.5	71.1	3.3
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	59.7	80.6	0.0
Baptist (Northern Convention).....	55.7	82.0	0.0

The first surprise of this showing is that while only 66 per cent. of those replying thought a common ministry probable, 78 per cent. thought that such a ministry ought to exist in the united church. This rather wide discrepancy between ideal and expectancy runs through all denominations except Lutheran and Reformed.

On the other hand, in five denominations a small but appreciable fraction of those who think a common ministry probable disapprove of it.

This result shows that a large minority of American church leaders are unable to believe in the possibility of a common ministry. It indicates a sense of special difficulty at this point.

ATTEMPTS TO HARMONIZE DIVERGENT VIEWS OF THE MINISTRY

Similar tests cover more specific points at issue between Catholic and Protestant viewpoints with respect to the ministry. As was inevitable, in view of the strong preponderance of Protestant elements, the general result is a vigorous assertion of Protestant positions.

As previously noted, the leaders of the American church generally repudiated the Roman Catholic doctrine of Petrine authority.¹⁷ But the necessity of episcopal ordination for valid standing in the ministry was repudiated with almost equal vigor.

This is shown in Table LXXIV, which presents the responses of 624 church leaders with respect to the probability and desirability that a united church would "compel all ministers to be ordained by bishops receiving their authority in historic succession from the Apostles."

TABLE LXXIV—PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD COMPEL ALL MINISTERS TO BE ORDAINED BY BISHOPS RECEIVING THEIR AUTHORITY IN HISTORIC SUCCESSION FROM THE APOSTLES

(624 Church Leaders)

Denomination	Per Cent. Judging Probable	Per Cent. Approving	Per Cent. of Those Judging Probable Who Disapprove
All Denominations.....	10.1	5.9	49.2
Protestant Episcopal.....	45.7	62.9	0.0
Baptist (Northern Convention).....	18.0	0.0	90.9
Miscellaneous.....	13.3	2.7	65.0
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	10.5	4.5	42.9
Lutheran.....	6.1	6.1	50.0
Methodist Episcopal.....	3.7	2.4	66.7
Reformed Bodies.....	3.2	3.2	100.0
Congregational-Christian.....	3.1	2.1	33.3
Disciples of Christ.....	0.0	0.0	0.0
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	0.0	3.5	0.0

¹⁷ P. 188.

The group as a whole gives this suggestion of required episcopal ordination only a 10 per cent. probability. Of the denominations, only the Protestant Episcopal regards the requirement as highly probable.

Likewise, only the Protestant Episcopal group approves the idea. The group as a whole concedes it only 6 per cent. approval.

The startling feature of this showing, moreover, is its evidence of colossal fears. In spite of the slight approval of universal Episcopal ordination, an appreciable proportion of Lutheran, Presbyterian and Baptist replies holds it probable that a united church would require such ordination. Conversely, a very high per cent. of all who think this probable disapproves it.

This presents an interesting problem for the study. Will other data justify this expectation as to what would be likely in a united church, or have too many minds merely set up a straw man in order to have something to oppose?

ORDERS IN THE MINISTRY

The more general issue of the effect of valid ordination in conferring authority and of the existence of the ministry as a distinct order in the church was submitted to leaders in a different type of questionnaire. The historic controversy over the specific effects of ordination had been summarized in the Lausanne Conference report as follows:

"One representative view includes the following: (a) that there have always been various grades of the ministry each with its own function; (b) that ordination is a sacramental act of divine institution and therefore indispensable and conveying special charisma for the particular ministry. . . . On the other hand it is held by many churches (a) that essentially there is only one ministry; (b) that the grace which fits men for the ministry is immediately given by God and is recognized, not conferred, in ordination."¹⁸

The issue thus formulated was sharpened and put before church leaders in the form standing at the head of Table LXXV, on the next page.

Only seven out of thirty representative propositions passed on by church leaders were less favorably received than this one. Fifty-seven per cent. of those replying deny the truth of the proposition, while 12 per cent. are uncertain. Of denominations, the Protestant Episcopal alone affirms its truth, and in this denomination only a bare majority is absolutely certain of it. The proposition is most strongly repudiated by Baptist opinion, next by Methodist Episcopal, but also by more than six out of ten of Lutheran, Congregational-Christian, Disciples and Methodist Episcopal, South, replies. Presbyterian, U.S.A., and Reformed replies, however, deny it by only a small majority. This doubtless reflects the more exalted Presbyterian doctrine of the ministry.

¹⁸ *Reports of the World Conference on Faith and Order*, No. 55, January, 1928, p. 14.

TABLE LXXV—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—THE SACRAMENTAL VIEW OF THE MINISTRY

(624 Church Leaders)

"In ordination, Christ inwardly confers upon ministers specific authority by virtue of which they exercise their ministries and which constitutes them a distinct order in the church."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:						Weighted Score*
	False			True			
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	
All Denominations...	56.9	34.4	22.5	11.7	17.5	13.9	-0.46
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	77.0	47.5	29.5	6.5	11.6	4.9	-1.03
Meth. Epis.	69.5	47.6	21.9	9.8	13.4	7.3	-0.89
Lutheran.....	63.6	39.4	24.2	9.1	9.1	18.2	-0.61
Cong.-Christian.....	62.5	35.4	27.1	11.5	17.7	8.3	-0.64
Disciples.....	60.0	42.5	17.5	17.5	17.5	5.0	-0.75
Meth. Epis., South...	58.6	31.0	27.6	6.9	24.2	10.3	-0.45
Miscellaneous.....	53.3	34.7	18.6	14.0	16.0	16.7	-0.39
Reformed.....	45.2	32.3	12.9	16.1	29.0	9.7	-0.29
Presb., U. S. A.	43.3	16.4	26.9	14.9	22.4	19.4	+0.01
Prot. Epis.	17.2	2.9	14.3	5.7	25.7	51.4	+1.07

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

The consequences of this showing for church union are obvious. Here is a position on which the Protestant Episcopal communion stands alone against all the rest. A large majority in the leadership of the American church does not regard the ministry of the church as a distinct order. Attempts at union on the assumption that it is a distinct order are not in line with prevailing conviction and will have to win more intellectual assent if they are to get much practical support.

These tendencies of judgment on the part of the leaders were supported by the rank and file whose views were secured by still a different form of questionnaire. The opinions strongly defended the validity of non-episcopally ordained ministries.

AUTHORITY AND VALIDITY OF THE NON-EPISCOPAL MINISTRY

A totally contradictory view, and one which, where held, necessarily constitutes an extreme obstacle to union, is founded on the conviction of some churches that the ministries of other than episcopal churches are not authorized to perform the central function of celebrating the sacraments, because not properly ordained for this purpose. This issue was put before the leaders of the American church in realistic fashion as a direct quotation from the late Dr. Caleb Stetson, Rector of Trinity Church, New York. In commenting upon a controversial incident, involving the validity of the sacraments as ministered by non-episcopally ordained ministers, Dr. Stetson

had written: "The ascended and reigning Christ still rules His church; He has communicated authority to the officers of His church, and only those who are ordained by this authority can validly celebrate the Lord's Supper and administer the Sacraments with the fulness and richness of our Lord's intention, commission and command."¹⁹

Reacting to this statement, two-thirds of the 624 church leaders replying to the Institute's questionnaire denied its truth, while only 12 per cent. held that it was certainly true and 12 per cent. were uncertain.

TABLE LXXVI—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—AUTHORITY OF THE MINISTRY TO ADMINISTER THE SACRAMENTS

(624 Church Leaders)

"The ascended and reigning Christ still rules His church; He has communicated authority to the officers of His church, and only those who are ordained by this authority can validly celebrate the Lord's Supper and administer the sacraments with the fulness and richness of our Lord's intention, commission and command."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:

Denomination	False			True			Weighted Score*
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Undecided	Probably	Certainly	
All Denominations...	64.4	46.3	18.1	11.9	12.2	11.5	-0.75
Disciples.....	87.5	55.0	32.5	12.5	0.0	0.0	-1.43
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	85.2	67.2	18.0	6.6	4.9	3.3	-1.41
Cong.-Christian.....	78.1	65.6	12.5	12.5	7.3	2.1	-1.32
Meth. Epis.	70.7	51.2	19.5	11.0	12.2	6.1	-0.97
Meth. Epis., South...	62.1	37.9	24.2	20.7	10.3	6.9	-0.76
Miscellaneous.....	62.0	45.3	16.7	9.3	14.7	14.0	-0.65
Lutheran.....	48.5	27.3	21.2	6.1	18.1	27.3	-0.03
Reformed.....	48.4	35.5	12.9	22.6	22.6	6.4	-0.48
Presb., U. S. A.	47.8	28.4	19.4	14.9	17.9	19.4	-0.19
Prot. Epis.	22.9	8.6	14.3	14.3	17.1	45.7	+0.77

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus .5, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

The congregationally organized churches were especially strong in their denial of the Stetson statement, while the two Methodist bodies and approximately two-thirds of the group of miscellaneous denominations opposed it. The Presbyterian and Reformed churches, on the other hand, denied it by a much narrower margin than the average, while Lutherans were almost equally divided in opinion and Protestant Episcopal replies were very much for the proposition. An inspection of the distribution of opinion thus shows four groupings of denominations whose tendencies are separated from tendencies of others by a wide percentage interval.

All told, only three out of thirty propositions submitted to church leaders were voted down more decisively than this. The leaders of the American

¹⁹ *Yearbook of Trinity Parish, New York, 1930.*

church as a group do not believe that authority in the church was committed to a peculiar order and that the right to administer the ordinances of the church can be communicated only by the authority of that order. This result, as one must continuously reiterate, simply reflects the predominantly Protestant character of the group.

THE EQUALITY OF MINISTRIES

As the foregoing analysis has shown, issues relating to the sacraments derive their most serious difficulties from the theory of a closed sacramental system validly operated only by a properly authorized ministry. According to this point of view non-episcopally ordained ministers lack something of validity, and equality cannot be accorded to them. A situation setting forth this issue was presented to the rank and file in the form shown in Table LXXVII (see next page), with results as set forth in the table, in Appendix Table 35 and in Chart XXIV.

As shown by the middle bar in the chart, the distribution of opinion is very strongly against discrimination. Arguments in favor of the equality of ministries both in the pulpit and at the altar get two-thirds of all votes.

Comparing denominations for extreme deviations from the average, one finds Pentecostal, Presbyterian, U.S., Evangelical, United Brethren and Reformed, U.S., constituencies taking the most pronounced stand for equality, and Latter Day Saints, Roman Catholic, Protestant Episcopal, Unitarian and Missouri Synod Lutheran taking the most pronounced stand against it.

The most unexpected characteristic of this general insistence upon equality of ministries is that it is accompanied by an unusually strong tendency to depreciate the issue. Christian Scientist, Latter Day Saints, Missouri Synod Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Jewish and Unitarian replies show much less than average willingness to rest the argument for equality of ministries upon the ground of the "manifest blessing of God upon their work." This pious argument is particularly unacceptable to those who assert inequality upon dogmatic grounds.

Denominations which thus defend inequality of ministries depend, however, less upon the flat demand for episcopal ordination and apostolic succession than upon the distinction between the preaching and the priestly ministry. They incline to accept the genuineness of the non-episcopally ordained minister in the first capacity, but not in the second. Even so, Protestant Episcopal opinion goes somewhat beyond the average in favor of occasional joint celebration of the communion. On this point Dunkers, United Presbyterian and United Brethren replies, together with those of minor officials, take a stronger stand than the average in favor of occasional intercommunion; while Negro Baptist, Latter Day Saints, Missouri Synod Lutheran, Presbyterian, U.S., and Universalist are unusually strong against it.

TABLE LXXVII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—
EQUALITY OF MINISTRIES

(General Church Constituency)

"The ministers of an important denomination in America frequently appear in the pulpit along with those of other denominations, but do not recognize the right of these other ministers to celebrate the communion, and will not join with them in such a service."

Judgments	Per Cent. Choosing as 1st or 2nd Best, By Status in the Church				
	Total	Min- isters	Lay Church Officers	Mem- bers	Non- Mem- bers
It is ridiculous that those who recognize each other as properly authorized to preach a common gospel, should not also be willing to recognize one another as properly authorized to celebrate a common rite. (1).....	35	31	34	35	35
Churches and ministries which sincerely intend to follow Christ and are approved by the manifest blessing of God upon their work over long periods of time, should be accepted as fully authorized to perform the entire ministry of the church, even by those who hold to some other form of ordination for themselves (5)...	32	34	33	32	27
On special interdenominational occasions there might advantageously be joint celebrations of the communion by ministers of churches in which this is not the ordinary practice. (3).	11	14			
Even a genuine minister of Christ may not have been properly authorized to perform all the functions belonging to the ministry in general. If some of his brethren have conscientious scruples about his right to celebrate the communion and not about his right to preach, they are under obligations to make the distinction even though it appears unfraternal to do so. (2).....	8	8			
In order to have right to administer the sacraments, a minister must have been ordained by a bishop whose authority came by direct succession from the apostles. Others, no matter how good they are, have not this right. (6)	1	2			
Although issues like this may look big to clergymen, sensible people will disregard such fine-spun distinctions and take no sides with respect to them. (4).....	13	11			16
Total (20,060 choices, 10,543 persons answering).....	100	100			

On only three incidents of the eighteen is sentiment more concentrated than upon this one. The distinction between the preaching and the priestly ministry is overwhelmingly opposed, and the consequent inequality of ministry not admitted.

VALIDITY

To the Catholic mind, the proper exercise of the priestly office depends upon the validity of the priest's ordination. As has been amply evidenced, this is not the attitude of most religiously-minded Americans. From the standpoint of Christendom as a whole, however, American religious thinking is very non-representative. A consideration of the situation on a world scale finds the church making much of the issue of validity. Not only must

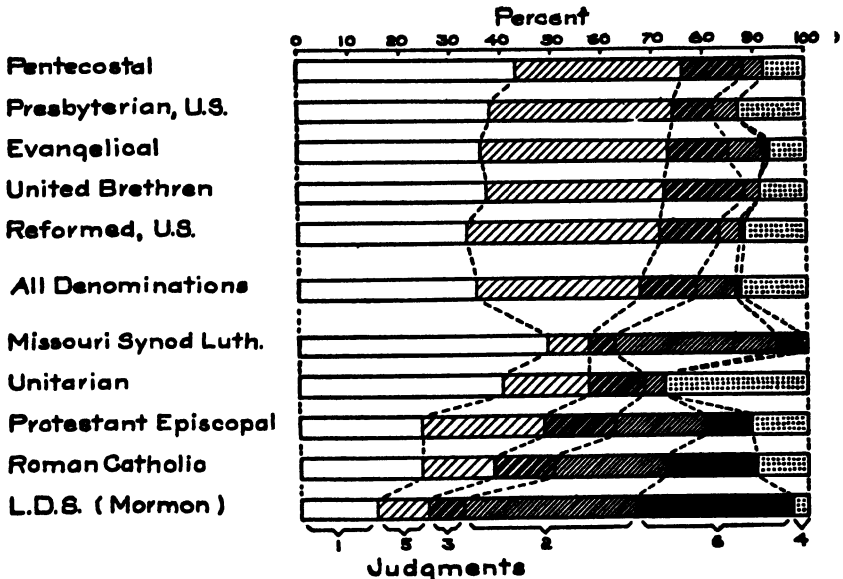


CHART XXIV—DISTRIBUTION OF JUDGMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE WILLINGNESS OF MINISTERS OF AN IMPORTANT DENOMINATION TO APPEAR IN THE PULPIT WITH OTHERS BUT NOT TO JOIN WITH THEM IN THE CELEBRATION OF THE COMMUNION

For total rank and file constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for judgments numbered to correspond with key, see Table LXXVII)

there be a valid ministry to maintain a sacramental system, but it is widely held that a Christian body that does not possess such a ministry cannot perform its distinctive work nor strictly claim to be an authentic church, since it cannot certainly assure the objective operation of God in the sacraments. Actual and profound scruples on this point continue to divide the major sections of the Christian world. The difficulty is inherent under any assumed sacramental system; so that it is natural to find a New York member of the Latter Day Saints writing, "I believe communion can be truly administered only by one holding the priesthood of the Latter Day Saints Church."

In view of this assumed importance of a valid ministry, conversations and suggestions for smoothing the way for Catholics and Protestants have largely dealt with validating devices. Interesting proposals for adjustments have appeared, based generally on the conception that two parties may retain their separate opinions, and yet unite in an accepted validating act which would objectively give their ministries a common basis.

The foundation for such a method of adjustment is generally sought first in the appreciative recognition of the non-episcopal churches—as genuine though imperfect. This is put first upon historic grounds.

Thus the report of Section V of the World's Conference on Faith and Order declared: "Within the many Christian communions into which in the course of history Christendom has been divided, various forms of ministry have grown up. . . . These communions have been in God's providence, manifestly and abundantly used by the Holy Spirit in His work of enlightening the world, converting sinners and perfecting saints."

The *de facto* genuineness of the ministries of the non-episcopal churches is also admitted. A typical statement on this issue asserts: "Ministries which imply a sincere intention to preach Christ's word and administer the Sacraments as Christ has ordained, and to which authority so to do has been solemnly given by the Church concerned, are real ministries of Christ's work and Sacraments in the Universal Church. Yet ministries, even when so regarded, may be in varying degrees irregular and defective."²⁰

The main points of the genuineness of the non-episcopal ministry being thus conceded, it seems easy to the high-churchman to suggest that remaining difficulties and scruples be met by a reordination of such ministers by bishops. This is represented as merely intended to correct a secondary deficiency in the non-episcopal minister's standing. It may even be rationalized as a mutual act and as a widening of one's commission as a minister. This is expected to overcome the feeling that reordination implies a certain repudiation of the sufficiency of Christ to make one a minister and of his past ministry as validated for him by the manifest blessing of God upon it. Finally, mutual exchange of commission between churches has sometimes been proposed whereby the ministries of one church should be authorized to officiate in the other.

The pending South India scheme of union,²¹ which concerns Anglican as well as non-episcopal churches, has gone far along these lines. It provides that the present generation of non-episcopally ordained ministers shall receive full standing as ministers in the united church, and that the church at the same time shall be recognized as in unimpaired fellowship with the

²⁰ From Church of England "Memorandum on the Status of the Existing Free Church Ministry," quoted in Slosser, *Christian Unity*, (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1929), p. 331.

²¹ P. 235.

Anglican communion—though not a member of that communion. A further provision is that future ministers shall be episcopally ordained but without being required to assent to any particular theory of such ordination. In their 1930 Lambeth Conference the bishops of the Anglican communion assented broadly to the South India scheme.

ATTEMPT AT AGREEMENT ON APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION

When, however, the sentiment of American religious leaders was canvassed, it was found highly unfavorable to adjustments of this sort; and specifically to the idea of Apostolic succession in fact, in spite of the offered concession that no particular theory as to the meaning or importance of such succession need be held.

The issue was presented as one of validity in the following form: "While in order to be valid the Christian ministry must represent unbroken succession from the apostles, this need not involve the official adoption by the church of any particular theory of the significance of apostolic succession." The results of the leaders' responses appear in Table LXXVIII.

TABLE LXXVIII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION

(624 Church Leaders)

"While in order to be valid the Christian ministry must represent unbroken succession from the apostles, this need not involve the official adoption by the church of any particular theory of the significance of apostolic succession."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:
True False

Denomination	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Weighted Score*
All Denominations...	31.1	17.6	13.5	21.3	18.1	29.5	-0.28
Prot. Epis.	57.2	31.5	25.7	17.1	20.0	5.7	+0.57
Reformed.....	45.2	25.8	19.4	19.3	16.1	19.4	+0.16
Lutheran.....	42.4	30.3	12.1	12.1	9.1	36.4	-0.09
Miscellaneous.....	34.7	18.0	16.7	20.0	16.0	29.3	-0.22
Presb., U. S. A.	32.8	16.4	16.4	26.9	16.4	23.9	-0.15
Disciples.....	30.0	12.5	17.5	17.5	17.5	35.0	-0.45
Meth. Epis., South...	27.6	20.7	6.9	17.2	27.6	27.6	-0.34
Meth. Epis.	25.6	15.9	9.7	17.1	23.2	34.1	-0.50
Cong.-Christian.....	23.9	13.5	10.4	29.2	15.6	31.3	-0.41
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	13.1	9.8	3.3	24.6	23.0	39.3	-0.79

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

The two opinions that the proposition is probably or certainly true and that it is positively false get almost equal support and the percentage of indecision is unusually high. In brief, here is an issue on which there is almost the maximum of conflict of opinion.

As shown by the table, churches of the Lutheran and Presbyterian types are somewhat inclined to the idea of accepting Apostolic succession in a modified sense, as Episcopal opinion strongly urges them to do. Churches of the congregational type, on the contrary, are strongly in opposition to this; but these latter also show large indecision in the matter.

In a body of returns from sources so predominantly Protestant, the presence of so large an undecided minority (whose views are capable of being shifted) probably indicates a more tolerant attitude toward the notion of Apostolic succession today than that cherished by Protestants in the past.

THE DELIBERATE CHALLENGE OF INTERCOMMUNION

As already noted, recent American unity movements have been marked by a direct attack on ethical grounds upon the claim of superior validity in the ministry of one church over those of another. The issue has been forced by the holding of a series of joint communions in different parts of the United States, under the auspices of the Christian Unity League, which have called forth vigorous protest from those who hold a strict conception of the priestly ministry.

Because the issue has thus been raised deliberately, and has had full public discussion, it seems proper to consider it by reference to a particular incident growing out of one of the meetings of the Church Unity League in New York in 1930.

The incident was stated as follows: "The laymen of an important Episcopal church in New Jersey conducted a poll of its members who almost unanimously condemned the action of a New York bishop in refusing to allow a distinguished Presbyterian minister to officiate at a union communion service which was to have been held in an Episcopal church in the Bishop's diocese." This incident was submitted to the judgment of a representative cross-section of American religious opinion by means of a questionnaire. Replies were secured from 12,567 persons, who indicated which of the six judgments on this incident most nearly coincided with their own. The statement of the judgments and the distribution of replies follow in Table LXXIX and are shown in detail in Appendix Table 36.

The general opinion of those replying concentrated strongly on Judgment 5 which asserts the principle that the ministers of all churches approved by their fruits are genuine ministers and that their administration of the sacraments accordingly is valid. The second most favored judgment held that the bishop should at least have made an exception in fraternal recognition of the other Christian bodies uniting in the proposed service.

It is further noteworthy that very few held the issue to be of little consequence. The distinction urged at the time of the controversy over the incident, namely, that the service was not under the auspices of the Protes-

TABLE LXXIX—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—THE QUESTION OF INTERCOMMUNION

(General Church Constituency)

"The laymen of an important Episcopal church in New Jersey conducted a poll of its members who almost unanimously condemned the action of a New York bishop in refusing to allow a distinguished Presbyterian minister to officiate at a union communion service which was to have been held in an Episcopal church in the bishop's diocese."

Judgments	Per Cent. Choosing as 1st or 2nd Best, By Status in the Church				
	Total	Min- isters	Lay Church Officers	Mem- bers	Non- Mem- bers
The bishop should have recognized that ministries of all churches, which have been used and blessed by God and approved by their fruits, are genuine ministries, and that the sacraments as administered by them are valid. (5)	34	34	36	34	28
Even though the proposal was contrary to his personal convictions, Bishop Manning should have made an exception in this case as an act of fraternal recognition of the other Christian bodies involved in the proposed service. (6)	25	20	26	25	25
Such a narrow ruling puts the Episcopal communion in a very bad light before the Christian world. (3).....	16	18	15	16	19
If it were made plain that the communion service in question was not under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church, but merely held by permission in one of its buildings, the service should not have been forbidden. (4)...	12	13	11	12	12
The bishop should not have been condemned because he sincerely believes that only a minister ordained by a bishop whose authority came in direct historic succession from the Apostles has a right to administer the communion. (1).....	8	10	7	8	9
The incident was of little consequence because the communion service was actually held without inconvenience by simply being transferred to another church. (2).....	5	5	5	5	7
Total (24,186 choices, 12,567 persons answering).....	100	100	100	100	100

tant Episcopal Church but merely held in one of its buildings, did not seem determinative to most of those replying. Only 8 per cent. of all answers justified the bishop's refusal because he sincerely believed that the only valid ministry is one episcopally ordained.

Protestant Episcopal opinion, as shown by 768 replies, stood close to that of the majority as to the first two and the last judgments and varied chiefly in that there was relatively nearly twice the average approval of the bishop's conduct on the ground of the sincerity of its belief.

The Missouri Synod Lutheran replies, together with Mormon, Fundamentalist and Roman Catholic, found themselves in most radical opposition to those in the majority, though Southern Baptist, Christian Scientist, Moravian, Reformed in America and "no Denomination" replies were also appreciably less certain than the group as a whole of the validity of the ministries of all churches.

The most general significance of the returns appears in the fact that other "high-church" groups tend to agree with the Episcopal in justifying the

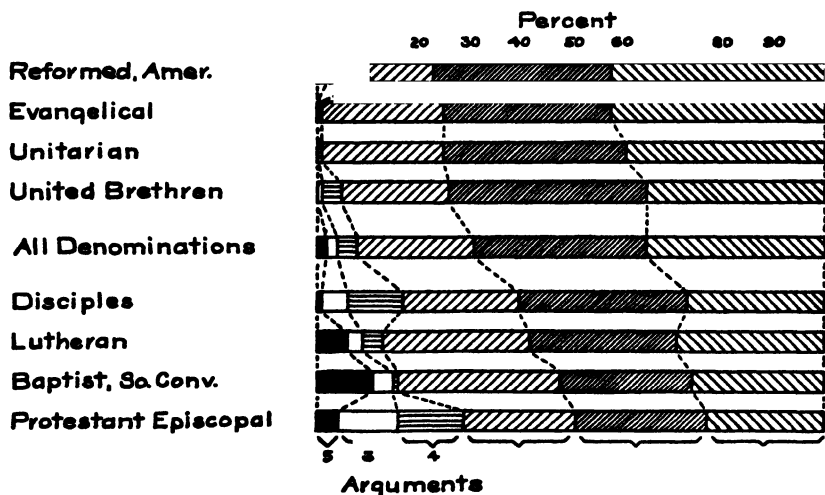


CHART XXV—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE ISSUE: IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR CHURCH UNION, IS IT TO BE ASSUMED THAT ALL RECOGNIZED DENOMINATIONS HAVE EQUAL STATUS WITH RESPECT TO THEIR GENUINENESS AS BRANCHES OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST?

For select constituency and denominations showing greatest variation from the total (for arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table LXXX)

bishop's refusal and to go much farther in that direction than the bishop's own denomination. The vast majority of replies, however, directly defend the legitimacy of the non-episcopal ministries and do not see a justification of the bishop's refusal even in his sincere belief that episcopal ordination is necessary for the proper celebration of the sacraments.

EQUAL STATUS AND GENUINENESS OF CHURCHES

Besides the issue of the valid functioning of all ministries, the issue of validity arises chiefly in connection with specific negotiations for union between churches.

The Roman Catholic Church will not negotiate with other religious bodies, holding that they are not real churches.

This constitutes also a burning issue as between other bodies which regard themselves as possessing peculiar Apostolic origin and authority in contrast with churches of later origin, which they believe to be imperfect and consequently inferior. The former incline to demand that the latter admit this deficiency as the condition of negotiation. This the latter are not willing to do. Negotiations for union, they hold, must assume the equal genuineness and status of the negotiating bodies.

This issue was brought directly to the judgment of an especially competent body of constituents of the churches, in the following form: "In negotiations for church union, is it to be assumed that all recognized denominations have equal status in respect to their genuineness as branches of the church of Christ?"

Replies from 2,512 constituents are summarized in Table LXXX.

TABLE LXXX—DISTRIBUTION OF ARGUMENTS ON ISSUES—EQUAL STATUS AND GENUINENESS OF CHURCHES

(Select Church Constituency)

"In negotiations for church union, is it to be assumed that all recognized denominations have equal status in respect to their genuineness as branches of the church of Christ?"

Arguments	Per Cent. of Replies Rating as:		Per Cent. Distribution of Weighted Score*
	Strong	Weak	
Only one church can be right; other religious bodies calling themselves churches, though composed of sincere Christians, are nevertheless mistaken and consequently not true churches. (5).....	2	66	— 16
The separate denominations and communions originated in illegitimate secessions from the church as authoritatively established by Christ, and constitute a dismemberment of His visible body. (3).....	2	25	— 9
Though the divided branches of the one church are true churches, yet the fact of their division makes them all equally imperfect. This condition can only be overcome by organic union. (4).....	4	5	— 2
In the sense that some churches have proved themselves more effective and adaptable than others, and more significant as vehicles of Christianity for the world of today, not all churches are equal; but as ecclesiastical organizations all should be accorded parity. (1).....	23	1	+ 17
Churches of all bodies acknowledged to be Christian should put aside claims that one is better than another, and recognize each other as having equal status before God. (2).....	[34]	1	+ 23
Whatever the merits of the issues over which they originated, all churches which have survived and functioned as such over considerable periods of time have proved their religious value and spiritual vitality in such fashion that one cannot be rated as more genuine than another. (6).....	[35]	2	+ 13
Total.....	100	100	100
Number of choices.....	5,206	2,373	

Bracketed figures indicate arguments most frequently paired as strong.

* Arrived at by weighting for variability and subtracting "weak" from "strong" replies.

As the table and chart show, nearly all replies fix upon three judgments which assert the ecclesiastical equality of all churches as a basis of negotiations for union. This is much more one-sided than the reaction to most of the other issues belonging to the same questionnaire. Here are representatives chiefly of the Protestant bodies reflecting what must be regarded as a normal American viewpoint. The denominations are conscious of their full warrant as churches and show no inclination to yield superiority in status to any other.

SECONDARY ASPECTS OF ORDER

With respect to the church's order, the distinction between essentials and non-essentials is variously drawn. By common consent of ecclesiastics the central issues concern the sacramental system, the ministerial priesthood and validity—topics which have just been discussed. In contrast with these essentials, which involve the basic terms of intercourse between God and man, stand the secondary problems of the institutional structure and organization of the church, and of more detailed arrangements for its actual government. These are generally recognized as falling within an area of more or less elastic adjustment in which arrangements which work well may be considered on their merits. In other words, here are matters to be determined by considerations of the church's well-being rather than by theories as to what is necessary for its very existence.

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION

Conflicts over polity, though not of infrequent occurrence, are relatively mild compared with those over faith and order. It must nevertheless be confessed that general trends of thinking in this realm are strongly influenced by conflicting views on essentials. Thus, to high-church theory, a system objectively guaranteeing the right relations between God and man is very likely to imply a demand for "ecumenical machinery" commensurate with the version of unity implied. If the church is to be visibly one flock, some unity of authority co-extensive with the whole of religious society seems indicated. It follows from this logic that there must be an ecumenical authority which is visibly supreme and the possibility of ecumenical legislation which will bind all.²² In point of fact, such views have very often gone with a certain tender-heartedness toward the dream of a reformed papacy, accepted as providentially providing a medium for the administration of the church on a world scale.

The contrasting Protestant view, interpreted by the results of the ballot, while it holds separate denominations permissible, goes with an actual

²² See Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 115.

desire for some form of union, most frequently envisaged as federal, which shall preserve variety and possibly the perpetuation of denominations within a united church.²³

DIVERSITY IN GOVERNMENT

A set of mediating proposals with respect to polity have developed in the successive Lambeth Conferences and were explored at the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order. These involve, first of all, the recognition of the permanent place in a united church of the three historic types of polity.

Thus the Lausanne Conference declared:

"In view of (1) the place which the Episcopate, the Councils of Presbyters, and the Congregation of the faithful, respectively, had in the constitution of the early church, and (2) the fact that episcopal, presbyterial and congregational systems of government are each today, and have been for centuries, accepted by great communions in Christendom, and (3) the fact that episcopal, presbyterial and congregational systems are each believed by many to be essential to the good order of the Church, we therefore recognize that these several elements must all, under conditions which require further study, have an appropriate place in the order of life of a reunited Church."²⁴

In order to get a direct reaction on this issue from American sources, this finding was summarized in questionnaires circulated among Christian leaders in the following proposition: "The three principal elements of church government had place in the Apostolic church, namely the episcopal, presbyterian and congregational, and all three should be included in the plan of government for a united church." Results of replies from 624 church leaders are found in Table LXXXI, on the next page.

Slightly less than one-half of the total replies approve this proposition as true, but there is much indecision on the issue. Five denominations out of ten reported do not think it is true, and approximately 10 per cent. of replies from two other denominations hold that it is positively false.

An examination of the ranking of denominations on this issue indicates that churches maintaining episcopal or strongly centralized forms of government are willing to accept this formula as a ground of agreement, but that the congregationally organized churches—Disciples, Congregational-Christian and Baptist—oppose or doubt it by appreciable majorities. It is especially noteworthy that their margin of uncertainty is very high. Their final decision has not been reached.

In other words, as a successful concession and ground of agreement the formula is not notably acceptable in America. A formula of inclusiveness which does not define the relations of elements to be included is obviously

²³ P. 294.

²⁴ *Reports of the World Conference on Faith and Order*, No. 55, January, 1928, p. 12.

TABLE LXXXI—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—INCLUSION OF THREE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT IN A UNITED CHURCH

(624 Church Leaders)

"The three principal elements of church government had place in the apostolic church, namely the episcopal, presbyterian and congregational, and all three should be included in the plan of government for a united church."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:
True False

Denomination	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Weighted Score*
All Denominations...	49.0	21.8	27.2	28.4	13.1	9.5	+0.39
Prot. Epis.	85.7	57.1	28.6	14.3	0.0	0.0	+1.43
Meth. Epis., South...	75.9	41.4	34.5	10.3	10.4	3.4	+1.00
Presb., U. S. A.	58.2	23.9	34.3	26.9	14.9	0.0	+0.67
Reformed.....	51.6	19.3	32.3	32.3	6.4	9.7	+0.45
Meth. Epis.	50.0	18.3	31.7	29.3	13.4	7.3	+0.40
Lutheran.....	45.5	27.3	18.2	21.2	15.1	18.2	+0.21
Disciples.....	45.0	12.5	32.5	20.0	17.5	17.5	+0.05
Cong.-Christian.....	42.7	14.6	28.1	37.5	12.5	7.3	+0.30
Miscellaneous.....	40.6	18.0	22.6	30.7	14.0	14.7	+0.15
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	37.7	19.7	18.0	32.8	18.0	11.5	+0.16

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

equivocal; and the real issue is which of the three elements of the church order included is to have primacy. The congregationally organized churches appear to believe that episcopacy implies the primacy of one order of ministry over other ministries, and over the church; and that this point is obviously not yet sufficiently safeguarded in current proposals.

A CONSTITUTIONAL EPISCOPATE

A second mediating proposal specifically suggests a constitutional episcopate, associated with presbyterial and congregational elements of authority, but not based on any particular theory of the episcopate as necessary for the validity of the church. Numerous denominations maintain officials called bishops. Some value them as bearers and symbols of the continuity of authority in the church; others merely as effective agents of administration. Most of the other denominations are coming to strengthen their central supervisory authority. A test of the attitude of American religious leaders toward agreement upon an episcopate thus freely interpreted and corresponding to this evolution produced the results shown in Table LXXXII.

While 43.4 per cent. of the church leaders replying admit the truth of the proposition in this form, two-thirds of them are not positive about it, and those not approving register less opposition to it than indecision. Indecision is greater than on any other proposition—a third of those answering did not know what they thought. The net result is that when the thirty

TABLE LXXXII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—THE CONSTITUTIONAL EPISCOPATE

(624 Church Leaders)

"The most suitable form of church government for the modern church would be a constitutional episcopate in connection with which congregational and democratic elements of polity should be included and duly emphasized."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:
True False

Denomination	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Weighted Score*
All Denominations...	43.4	14.9	28.5	32.9	14.4	9.3	+0.25
Prot. Epis.	94.3	62.9	31.4	5.7	0.0	0.0	+1.57
Meth. Epis., South...	62.1	24.1	38.0	27.6	6.9	3.4	+0.72
Meth. Epis.	61.0	24.4	36.6	26.8	7.3	4.9	+0.68
Lutheran.....	45.5	15.2	30.3	30.3	9.1	15.1	+0.21
Presb., U. S. A.	40.3	10.4	29.9	35.8	20.9	3.0	+0.24
Reformed.....	38.7	6.5	32.2	29.0	25.8	6.5	+0.06
Miscellaneous.....	38.0	10.0	28.0	36.7	14.0	11.3	+0.11
Cong.-Christian.....	33.3	9.4	23.9	40.6	16.7	9.4	+0.07
Disciples.....	27.5	2.5	25.0	30.0	22.5	20.0	-0.33
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	26.2	8.2	18.0	39.4	18.0	16.4	-0.16

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

propositions are ranked by weighted scores this one ranks twenty-eighth, or second from the bottom, as to degree of agreement.

Naturally episcopacy was most favored by the episcopally organized denominations. Except for a handful who were undecided, Protestant Episcopal replies were almost solidly for the proposition. Methodist replies, both from the northern and from the southern branches of the church, showed little opposition, but much less positiveness, and approximately 25 per cent. of indecision. Obviously the episcopacy is not taken permanently for granted by a considerable minority in these churches.

The congregationally organized denominations, on the contrary, Baptist, Disciples and Congregational, particularly, think poorly of the episcopacy, as they naturally would in view of their historic positions. The most notable feature of their attitudes, however, is the high percentage of indecision registered. That they are not totally fixed in opposition to the episcopate is the high point of the evidence.

The proposition has a large minority of Lutheran, Presbyterian and Reformed replies in its favor. All told, opinion is very much divided—and consistently so in most denominations. It appears, then, that the question of the episcopate on suitable terms is being balanced in the minds of a large proportion of the American religious constituency, but that a clear-cut decision has been reached only by the Protestant Episcopal Church.

the proposition, bringing Lutherans into second place with reference to approval.

A conclusion very positively justified by these data is that church union, as understood by American Christians, should not be represented as involving uniformity in government or even allegiance to one central authority. This, as will be shown later, is not asked or expected; and those most insistent upon union in faith and worship are most willing to consider variety in government. The issue, however, will bear additional explanation so as to locate exact points of agreement or disagreement. What is most strongly proved is that uniformity is not judged necessary here.

It is apparently obvious that these mediating suggestions, namely, provision in a united church for all polities, the possibility of a constitutional episcopate if desired, and the autonomy of national churches, are most congruous with a federal type of church union which might or might not involve an exacting version of unity in faith and order.

ACTUAL CHURCH GOVERNMENT

Numerous individual communications received during the present study expressed the widespread fear that a united church would be so large as to be unwieldy; or assumed the probability or inevitability of a concentration of administrative responsibility in a united church on a world-wide or nation-wide scale. In view of actual expectations with respect to the government of a united church, this is one of the most gratuitous and mistaken of assumptions. It is not advocated even by the extreme Roman Catholic theory of union.

A series of tests on such issues of actual church government serve to develop the limits within which actual thinking ranges. They show, first, a great unwillingness on the part of American Christians to belong to a church primarily identified with some other country.

FEAR OF FOREIGN DOMINANCE OF A UNITED CHURCH

Church leaders were asked to state whether they conceived of it as a consequence of church union that it "would make the churches of the United States parts of a church with headquarters in some foreign country." The replies to the question as thus raised are summarized in Table LXXXIV.

Only 4 per cent. of those replying answered "yes" to the question of the probability of foreign dominance. This was most strongly registered in Baptist, Lutheran, Reformed and Presbyterian replies. Again, only 4 per cent. of those replying thought that such a situation would be desirable. The small minority which judged it probable were divided almost equally between denominations registering strong fears in the matter and those

TABLE LXXXIV—PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD MAKE THE CHURCHES OF THE U. S. PARTS OF A CHURCH WITH HEAD-QUARTERS IN SOME FOREIGN COUNTRY

(624 Church Leaders)

Denomination	Per Cent. Judging Probable	Per Cent. Approving	Per Cent. of Those Judging Probable Who Disapprove
All Denominations.....	3.9	4.0	33.3
Baptist (Northern Convention).....	8.2	8.2	20.0
Reformed Bodies.....	6.5	3.2	50.0
Lutheran.....	6.1	0.0	100.0
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	6.0	4.5	0.0
Miscellaneous Denominations.....	3.3	3.2	60.0
Congregational-Christian.....	3.1	6.3	33.3
Disciples of Christ.....	2.5	2.5	0.0
Methodist Episcopal.....	2.4	2.4	0.0
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	0.0	3.5	0.0
Protestant Episcopal.....	0.0	0.0	0.0

registering none at all. In the former case, while the percentage of disapproval is high, the numbers concerned are small.

Summarizing the point: one must conclude that very few American religious leaders expect or approve of a union which would make the church of this nation a section of a foreign-dominated church. Such an outcome is perhaps a reflection of well-recognized American fear of foreign entanglements along all lines. It may suggest also considerable lack of clarity in American thinking as to the probable world organization of a united church.

INTERNAL ADAPTATION

The actual government of a united church would have to consider whether to permit of a large measure of internal adaptation with respect to the more distinct elements of its membership. An earlier consideration of this issue, as related to the more variant racial groups, has shown a strong majority of opinion favoring wide latitude of adaptation to the peculiarities of such groups²⁵

CHURCH DISCIPLINE

Another concrete problem of actual church government concerns the degree of uniformity or variety to be expected in disciplinary standards and methods.

Of 624 church leaders circularized on this point, only about one-third think that a united church would "require a single code of discipline for the moral offenses of the members," while two-thirds do not think it likely.

²⁵ See p. 288.

One-third of the replies say that such an action would be desirable. Table LXXXV shows denominational variation on this issue.

TABLE LXXXV—PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD REQUIRE A SINGLE CODE OF DISCIPLINE FOR THE MORAL OFFENSES OF MEMBERS

(624 Church Leaders)

Denomination	Per Cent. Judging Probable	Per Cent. Approving	Per Cent. of Those Judging Probable Who Disapprove
All Denominations.....	32.5	33.6	8.9
Reformed Bodies.....	48.4	45.2	6.7
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	48.3	58.6	0.0
Lutheran.....	39.4	51.5	23.1
Baptist (Northern Convention).....	36.1	32.8	13.6
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	32.9	35.8	4.5
Miscellaneous Denominations.....	32.7	33.3	12.2
Protestant Episcopal.....	31.4	28.6	0.0
Methodist Episcopal.....	30.5	35.4	8.0
Congregational-Christian.....	25.0	19.8	8.3
Disciples of Christ.....	20.0	25.0	0.0

In studying the table, one immediately notes how close to the average are the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Protestant Episcopal and miscellaneous groups. Methodist Episcopal, South, and Lutheran opinions judge common discipline more likely, while Congregational and Disciples opinions think it decidedly less likely than the majority.

Lutheran and Methodist Episcopal, South, think common discipline considerably more desirable than probable, while nearly one-fourth of the Lutherans who say it is probable brand it as undesirable. For the group as a whole, however, there is not much discrepancy between expectancy and approval.

All told, two-thirds of those replying do not expect a common discipline to be a feature of a united church. The terms of union implicit in the imagination of the religious constituency do not make this an essential factor.

CENTRALIZATION VS. DECENTRALIZATION

Finally, the abstract issues of centralization or decentralization in the government of the church have to be considered. These were tested by means of two questions.

The first, as presented to church leaders, involved the issue of the freedom of subdivisions within a united church. Opinion was asked as to the probability that a united church would "allow subdivisions (state, district and local) to adopt their own policies without consideration of the central body."

Naturally, the replies brought out the strong differences which already exist as to church polity. This is shown in Table LXXXVI.

TABLE LXXXVI—PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD ALLOW THE SUBDIVISIONS OF THE CHURCH (STATE, DISTRICT AND LOCAL) TO ADOPT THEIR OWN POLICIES WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE CENTRAL BODY
(624 Church Leaders)

Denomination	Per Cent. Judging Probable	Per Cent. Approving	Per Cent. of Those Judging Probable Who Disapprove
All Denominations.....	28.0	33.5	7.4
Disciples of Christ.....	60.0	52.5	12.5
Congregational-Christian.....	38.5	53.1	2.7
Baptist (Northern Convention).....	34.4	44.3	4.8
Methodist Episcopal.....	25.6	29.3	4.8
Miscellaneous Denominations.....	24.7	32.0	5.4
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	24.1	27.6	0.0
Lutheran.....	21.2	21.2	57.1
Reformed Bodies.....	19.4	19.4	0.0
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	14.9	19.4	0.0
Protestant Episcopal.....	14.3	11.4	20.0

It should be observed that the denominations fall into three strongly marked groups. The Disciples are very sure and the two other congregationally organized denominations rather sure that extreme decentralization, as marked by the independence of local subdivisions, would characterize a united church. Churches of the Presbyterian type and the Episcopal Church are very sure that such liberty would not be allowed; while the Lutheran, Methodist and miscellaneous groups occupy a mediating position.

All told, only 28 per cent. of replies think that such decentralization as the question describes is probable; but some 5 per cent. more think that it would be a good thing if it could be realized. This judgment appears not only in the replies of two congregationally organized churches, but in the two Methodist groups and the Presbyterian, U. S. A., as well. Turning to the fourth column, one notes that of the many Disciples and of the relatively few Lutherans and Episcopalians who expect decentralization, very considerable numbers disapprove of it.

CENTRALIZED AUTHORITY IN A UNITED CHURCH

The foregoing test makes it doubtful whether the majority of those who are thinking about church union actually incline to identify it with increased centralization. A further question was accordingly submitted to church leaders, namely, whether, in their opinion, a united church would "centralize authority more than any of the leading denominations centralize it at present." The distribution of opinion is shown in Table LXXXVII.

Nearly one-fifth of those replying to this question expected centralization to increase beyond that now current; but only little more than one-tenth regarded increased centralization as desirable. Very many more Lutheran

TABLE LXXXVII—PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD CENTRALIZE AUTHORITY MORE THAN ANY OF THE LEADING PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS CENTRALIZE IT AT PRESENT

(624 Church Leaders)

Denomination	Per Cent. Judging Probable	Per Cent. Approving	Per Cent. of Those Judging Probable Who Disapprove
All Denominations.....	21.5	11.4	40.3
Lutheran.....	39.4	12.1	53.9
Protestant Episcopal.....	34.3	8.3	34.3
Baptist (Northern Convention).....	26.2	13.1	50.0
Miscellaneous Denominations.....	26.0	10.0	46.2
Reformed Bodies.....	25.8	16.1	50.0
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	20.9	12.0	21.4
Methodist Episcopal.....	15.9	8.5	30.8
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	13.8	10.3	75.0
Congregational-Christian.....	11.5	8.3	36.4
Disciples of Christ.....	10.0	2.5	50.0

and Episcopal replies thought it likely than the average, while many fewer Methodists and very many fewer Disciples and Congregationalists thought it likely. Baptist replies, though coming from a congregationally organized church, confessed more than average expectation of increased centralization.

Reformed Church replies gave most approval, and Disciple replies least approval to the idea of increased centralization, which, however, found appreciable sentiment in its favor in nearly all churches. But the most striking feature of the returns—discovered also in the previous test—is the evidence of widespread dread of increased centralization on the part of those who expect it. This dread is expressed by as high as 40 per cent. of this group. Those who see increased centralization coming, but disapprove of it, run as high as 75 per cent. with Methodist Episcopal, South, beyond 50 per cent. with Disciples, Baptist and Reformed, and beyond 30 per cent. with Congregational, Methodist and Protestant Episcopal. In short, this fear is strong in all denominations. Here, then, is clearly an issue that needs to be resolved if possible by those who are interested in clear thinking on church union issues. Does union necessarily imply centralization? If so, why? If not, should the misapprehensions be allowed to remain as a barrier to unity movements?

SUMMARY

The foregoing series of tests registering opinion upon actual church government indicates a strong tendency to favor variety in contrast with uniformity in this sphere also.

Such a finding merely reiterates the evidence of the entire series of tests relating to the church's order. Popular American thinking is consistently

at odds with high-church attitudes. Even churches that take Christ's "command" very literally with respect to the sacraments, or that exalt the ministry as constituting in a sense a distinct order in the church, do not support the Catholic view of church government in detail.

On the contrary, the prevailing view assumes a pragmatic basis for arrangements with respect to the organization and functioning of the church, as well as with respect to its ordinances and ministry. Whatever has providentially evolved, whatever is now believed to be to the church's advantage, is accepted as receiving religious authentication by reason of the leadership of the divine spirit within the contemporary church.

While considerable value is recognized by many in the preservation of symbols of continuity in the church, no really concessive spirit is manifested with respect to differences in basic philosophy. The most that can be asserted is a certain willingness of many leaders to give piecemeal consideration to suggested measures of accommodation. But this willingness has as yet scarcely begun to be communicated to the rank and file.

An independent evolution, not based upon theoretical considerations, and not regarded as touching "essentials", is, however, going on, which inclines most churches to adopt stronger administrative organization and makes the idea of a properly safeguarded episcopacy less obnoxious than formerly to many even of the congregationally organized groups.

Finally, there is widespread fear, though logically unwarranted, that unity inevitably means centralization. Great uncertainty prevails as to the degree to which decentralization might be preserved either by the continuance of the present denominations as units within a united church or by measures assuring local autonomy.

In view of these divergent and uncertain tendencies that have been shown both as to life and work and as to faith and order, it is important to recall the strong objective movement of integration, the actual movements and proposals for unity which have currency today, and the trend of popular thinking. It is clear that if the rather stark conflicts discovered in the realm of ecclesiastical thinking are to be composed, a much greater degree of mutual concession is going to be necessary; or else this entire range of issues must be decisively counterbalanced by common-sense attitudes or sublimated by more profound and compelling considerations.

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CHAPTER XIII

Agreement and Disagreement on Theologically Formulated Issues

[Note: Numbered references will be found at the end of this chapter.]

One who, in the several preceding chapters, has sailed the floods of topical discussion of church unity issues as theologically formulated, will surely desire at length to reach solid ground. Once outside the safe harbor of objective fact, he has been buffeted by the diverse winds of opinion—about underlying assumptions, about the church and its unity, about the degree and form of external or corporate union of religious bodies essential or desirable in life and work, faith and order. If he has survived the ordeal he has perhaps been rewarded by the illumination of this or that particular question which may help him in case he ever gets to land.

But the very mass of the piecemeal evidence adduced has made it difficult for one to keep any sense of general direction. Our voyager may have gained the impression that on the whole agreement considerably outweighs disagreement. This is true. When tested, many bitterly contested issues have shown that extremists are few and the opinions of the majority not far apart. Yet many and serious differences have also been revealed. What is left up to this point is perplexity.

To such perplexed but persistent inquirers the present chapter offers at least an olive leaf, an harbinger of land. Using the categories and in general the order of treatment in Part II, it undertakes to review and summarize the evidence as topically presented; and to show the degree of agreement or disagreement discovered, point by point. This review throws some preliminary light at least upon the actual prospects of union.

It is, however, to be noted that the various strands of evidence did not measure differences with equal definiteness. Certain of the tests which earlier chapters presented got statistical precision from "yes" and "no" answers, while others deliberately sought merely to show the general direction of the drift of inarticulate opinion.¹ Consequently, to get the exact bearings of the evidence which the present chapter gives in naked summary, it is necessary to refer back to the earlier tests. The reader is urged to do this by faithful use of the numbered references which have been provided at pertinent points in the text and which are listed together on the last page of the chapter. Appendix Tables 38 and 39 statistically summarize the

results of the leaders' questionnaire, and define "great", "little" and "moderate" agreement and disagreement in terms of weighted scores.

POINTS OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ISSUE

The summary now follows in twelve main divisions, beginning with the significance of the issue of church unity. With respect to this first point, the opinion of the rank and file agrees in showing very slight tendency to depreciate any of the 108 specific issues in terms of which the larger issue was presented.² The judgment of a more select constituency strongly tends to approve the value of discussions of unity, and to deny, on the one hand, that there are any differences in principle which cannot properly be discussed, and, on the other, that discussion merely tends to fix stubborn people in their own previous opinions.³

PRIOR ASSUMPTIONS

With respect to the prior assumptions with which religious people approach such a problem as that of unity, there is obviously more room for difference, since assumptions open up the whole universe to quarrel about. The select constituency, however, finds large agreement on the conviction that it is not necessary to wait for more spiritual unity in the church before attempting its corporate integration. This view is held against the extreme views that the matter of unity is to be settled by the sheer acceptance of some predetermined form of church arrangements, on the one hand, or delayed till God is ready to give the movement a special emotional impulse.⁴ There is similarly a strong tendency to believe that the concessions necessary to achieve unity can be made without sacrifice of real principle.⁵

Prior assumptions, however, also reveal striking disagreements. Leaders are in moderate conflict as to the legitimacy of the distinction between essentials and non-essentials by which religious people seek at once to justify tolerance and inflexibility.⁶ Leaders, as will be shown, are in rather extreme conflict as to whether Protestant and Catholic principles of the church and religion are reconcilable;⁷ also as to whether revelation furnishes a fixed body of religious truth which must be unquestionably accepted and followed.⁸

THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH

With respect to the nature of the church, leaders are in large agreement that it is both a spiritual and a corporate society,⁹ and that its identifying marks are preëminently spiritual rather than organizational;¹⁰ but they find themselves in moderate conflict over the proposal to define the church as essentially an invisible society,¹¹ and in extreme conflict as to whether

the separate denominations all taken together can be looked upon as satisfying the conception of the unity of the church.¹²

THE CHURCH'S UNITY

This problem constitutes the formal center of the study. The opinion of a select constituency is strong for what it thinks of as "vital" unity in the church, in contrast with division; but, on the other hand, as not necessarily requiring corporate union.¹³ The leaders largely agree in demanding such unity as will convince the world that the church is not really divided.¹⁴ Select opinion stands for a broad variety within this desired unity provided essentials are safeguarded. By this they mean no slavish following of a prescribed pattern of the church, and yet something more than a loose confederation of churches which leaves unity ineffective.¹⁵ The leaders are in apparent agreement with this viewpoint: they affirm the old philosophical formula of unity in diversity.¹⁶ The rank and file do not feel that the existence of parties or wings within many denominations necessarily contradicts the degree and kind of unity that they desire. Select opinion, however, regards many existing denominations as no longer justified in existing, not because they were wrong at the beginning or because Christianity requires that the church shall be united into a single group body, but on practical grounds and because they have ceased to have meaning for the present day.¹⁷

On a popular ballot nearly everybody advocated the union of related denominations.¹⁸ Popular opinion, too, is strong for union on foreign-mission fields.¹⁹ The final and largest evidence as to unity is that two-thirds of those responding to an extensive ballot propose some form of union, either federal or organic, as a substitute for the existing denominational order.

As a basis for negotiations for union, popular thinking strongly tends to assert the equal validity and status as churches of the existing denominations.²⁰

The chief conflicts as to the church's unity, so far as the data have measured them formally, relate (a) to the form of union;²¹ (b) to the possible continuance of the existing denominations as subordinate units in a united church (the leaders being uncertain on this point and select opinion being satisfied with the formula that the values of the existing denominations must be perpetuated, not necessarily their organization);²² and (c) to the adequacy of the federal principle as an ultimate basis of union.²³

Leaders' judgments are less certain than popular opinion is as to the merits of union on the foreign field.²⁴ These differences are all moderate. The only extreme difference with respect to the theory of unity is over the abstract formula: "As there is but one Christ, and one life in Him, and one Holy Spirit who guides into all truth, so there is and can be but one Church, holy, catholic and apostolic."²⁵ In the Lausanne Conference this

statement was received without dissent, but a good many American church leaders do not feel that its logic is conclusive.

THE CHURCH'S FAITH

With respect to the church's faith as related to the problem of union, leaders are strongly against the idea that a common creed would be required in a united church.²⁶ Rank and file opinion approves the non-creedal basis of the Federal Council and the example of the recent creedless union of the Congregational-Christian denominations on the basis of "Christianity as a way of life";²⁷ and they repudiate the demand for a creedal basis.²⁸ Commenting on the example of a community church comprehending people of many varieties of belief in which the basis of union is not prescribed, rank and file opinion inclines to the view that "The church exists for the very purpose of showing that, because they have a common spiritual Head, all sorts of Christians can unite harmoniously in a single inclusive body."²⁹ Such unity, it is widely held, is deeper than that of the intelligence with which creeds deal.³⁰ Leaders agree in assigning primary value to the spiritual reality behind the creeds,³¹ and incline to allow large individual liberty of doctrinal interpretation.³² They, furthermore, largely agree that undesirable variations in belief, which the church once called heresy, should be controlled through fellowship rather than by resort to authority.³³

Leaders, however, are in moderate disagreement as to the sense in which the New Testament is a rule of faith and practice,³⁴ as to the adequacy of the ancient creeds,³⁵ and as to the propriety of allowing special groups within the church to keep and use their own confessions and rites.³⁶ The only points of extreme difference in the opinion of the leaders concerns the extent to which the ancient creeds are legitimately subject to present-day reinterpretation.³⁷

THE MINISTRY

With respect to the ministry, the opinion of church leaders is in strong agreement against the Roman Catholic assertion that authority to rule the church is communicated to Peter and his successors,³⁸ and also against the necessity of episcopal ordination.³⁹ Popular opinion condemns the unwillingness of the ministers of certain churches to recognize the equal validity of other ministries,⁴⁰ and the refusal to join with others in celebration of the sacraments.⁴¹ Select opinion denies that fidelity to principle necessitates any such refusal and will not admit such a plea in extenuation. On the other hand it is not inclined to advocate an unnecessary defiance of tradition.⁴²

The issue of episcopal ordination bobs up in another connection as a point of moderate difference. Meanwhile wide divergencies of viewpoint appear

with respect to the necessity for the realization of unity of a ministry recognized through the whole church,⁴³ orders in the ministry,⁴⁴ and apostolic succession.⁴⁵

THE SACRAMENTS

With respect to the sacraments, popular opinion is strong for the right of all Christians to participate in them without ecclesiastical proscription;⁴⁶ and the preponderant opinion of leaders would allow the use of varied forms in worship.⁴⁷ It would also favor an experimental approach through common worship to the issue of intercommunion.⁴⁸ The tests of the study did not, however, cover other differences known to exist within this realm.

ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT

With respect to the church's organization and government, American leaders are in strong opposition to such a type of unity as might locate the "headquarters" of the American church in a foreign land;⁴⁹ also to a degree of centralization which goes beyond the present usage of leading American denominations.⁵⁰ They would freely adapt governmental arrangements so as to meet the special needs of distinct racial groups in the United States and of native churches on foreign-mission fields.⁵¹ However, as to the use of a common discipline through the united church,⁵² and the degree of autonomy to be accorded its territorial divisions,⁵³ leaders are in moderate disagreement.

As to the relation of national churches within a world church,⁵⁴ its possible organization under a constitutional episcopate,⁵⁵ and the combination of episcopal, presbyterian, and congregational elements of polity,⁵⁶ they are in great disagreement.

SIGNIFICANCE OF CURRENT MOVEMENTS

With respect to the significance of current integrative movements in the church, nearly everyone who balloted on union favored at least partial unions through the merger of related denominations;⁵⁷ this in spite of the fact that the experience of certain uniting churches had had a seamy side.⁵⁸ Local union in non-denominational or federated community churches is generally approved by popular sentiment as natural and sensible,⁵⁹ and when local initiative and interest clash with denominational claims, the former are generally preferred, though not without recognition of the importance of larger relationships.⁶⁰

The church federation movement is highly approved by the leaders as an expression of the fraternal spirit,⁶¹ and is regarded by the body of select opinion as a step toward organic union.⁶² The further development of the function of the Federal Council of Churches is generally expected.⁶³

Interchurch coöperation in evangelism and service is strongly favored by church leaders. But their attitudes differ moderately when confronted by the flat-footed assertion of the desirability of non-coöperation,⁶⁴ and they differ sharply as to the possible significance of present coöperation for ultimate unity.⁶⁵

LAY ATTITUDES

Popular opinion agrees in stressing the unsatisfactoriness of ecclesiastical formulations of the issues of church unity,⁶⁶ and gives somewhat qualified approval to the efforts of business men to call a halt upon the wastes of competitive religious organization.⁶⁷ The clerical viewpoint naturally varies somewhat sharply from the lay viewpoint on these issues.

DISTANCE FEELING AND PROSELYTING

With respect to the feelings of distance, distinctiveness and superiority which exist between certain denominations and which may lead one communion to attempt to proselyte members from another, the popular verdict is not altogether consistent. The sentiment of the rank and file agrees in approving a religious experiment in an American university combining Protestant, Catholic and Jewish elements, and defends the students from the charge of disloyalty to their respective faiths.⁶⁸ But it also conditionally approves the proselyting of members of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Near East and of the Roman Catholic in the United States,⁶⁹ on the basis of an obvious rationalization of the situation. Popular opinion, on the contrary, does not attempt to surround the adherents of its own churches with barriers which will keep out reasonable influence from others. It is willing to take the risk of having them become familiar with radically different viewpoints.⁷⁰

This willingness, however, is not without limits. The central core of American churches that regard themselves as evangelical draws fairly strict and definite lines of feeling against bodies which they regard as essentially different in doctrine or practice,⁷¹ and would exclude the more extreme variants from a united Christian church.⁷²

There is, however, much greater sensitiveness as to association with other churches on some points than on others. It is the more significant rites of the church and the more intimate relationships of Christian fellowship that create the real problem.

SPECIFIC CHURCH FUNCTIONS

With respect to specific functions which might be performed by a united church, only the opinion of leaders was consulted. Its verdict strongly

agrees that a united church would and should maintain a general system of philanthropies and a system of religious education, and should promote legislation favorable to morals. It agrees that a united church would not try to decide officially whether or not to support a war, or to dictate how members should vote. Two-thirds of the leaders would conduct home and foreign missions through single boards or systems of administration, and favor authoritative pronouncements on current moral issues in behalf of the Christian public.⁷⁸ But less than half of them assert the desirability of a single church system of schools and colleges, and only one-third expect or approve the maintenance by a united church of a single code of discipline.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing review of the entire series of data confirms the impression that agreement far exceeds disagreement. Generally speaking, the area of agreement furnishes a broad ground for unity. Extreme difference appears at only a few points. There is, however, a good deal of variation as to completeness of agreement between one field of interest and another. Agreement is strongest with respect to the more general notions of the church's unity, and weakest on particular aspects of unity in the fields of faith and order. In short, the more issues are sharpened the more differences appear.

The actual bearing of these results upon the prospects of church unity in the United States consequently remains blind. The indefiniteness of the terms in which most of the tests were made, the variety of publics consulted, the fact that probabilities, certainties and complete indecision cannot be accurately equated, make it impossible to add up points, plus and minus, and get a strictly measured result.

Still further difficulty for interpretation lies in the fact that the various points of agreement and disagreement vary greatly in weight. How much actual tendency to integration or division is represented by any point cannot be told unless its relative value is determined. This, of course, is beyond mere statistics.

CAN CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT PRINCIPLES BE HARMONIZED?

The evidence, then, cannot at this point be sufficiently sharpened to yield a final conclusion. It is, nevertheless, highly suggestive to discover what church leaders think of the prospects of unity in terms of an issue which, by common consent, yields the maximum of difficulty. This issue is the theoretical contradiction between Catholic and Protestant principles.

Influential leaders like Bishop Manning, of New York, are ready to affirm that "the divisions among Christians . . . were caused more by human pas-

sion and prejudice . . . than by any irreconcilable differences between opposed positions." Expanding this judgment, Bishop Manning writes:

"While the Episcopal Church is fundamentally and essentially Catholic, she is also truly Protestant in the original and historic meaning of that word. . . . The great spiritual truths which Protestantism has emphasized and vindicated will never be lost or obscured, but it is coming more and more to be realized that the principles which Catholicism emphasizes are not contradictory, but balancing and complementary. . . . It is not that one of these principles is true and the other false, but that both are true, both represent vital elements of the Gospel, both are needed for the full life and power of the Church of God."⁷⁴

A proposition expressing this conviction and reading as follows was inserted in a questionnaire to American church leaders: "The basis of church union must be looked for in the combination of Catholic and Protestant principles which in large measure are complementary, rather than contradictory, since both reflect the experience and consciousness of bodies admittedly Christian." Returns from this questionnaire are summarized in Table LXXXVIII and in Chart XXVI.

TABLE LXXXVIII—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT PRINCIPLES COMPLEMENTARY, NOT CONTRADICTORY

(624 Church Leaders)

"The basis of church union must be looked for in the combination of Catholic and Protestant principles which in large measure are complementary, rather than contradictory, since both reflect the experience and consciousness of bodies admittedly Christian."

Denomination	Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:						Weighted Score*
	True			False			
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Undecided	Probably	Certainly	
All Denominations...	42.9	14.7	28.2	25.0	18.8	13.3	+0.12
Prot. Epis.	94.3	62.9	31.4	2.9	2.8	0.0	+1.54
Meth. Epis., South...	51.7	24.1	27.6	34.5	13.8	0.0	+0.62
Reformed.....	45.2	6.5	38.7	22.6	16.1	16.1	+0.03
Disciples.....	42.5	15.0	27.5	20.0	17.5	20.0	0.00
Miscellaneous.....	42.0	10.0	32.0	28.0	15.3	14.7	+0.73
Meth. Epis.	40.2	11.0	29.2	30.5	13.4	15.9	+0.06
Cong.-Christian.....	39.6	14.6	25.0	22.9	27.1	10.4	+0.06
Presb., U. S. A.	35.8	8.9	26.9	31.4	22.4	10.4	+0.02
Lutheran.....	33.3	12.1	21.2	12.1	27.3	27.3	-0.36
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	32.8	11.5	21.3	26.2	26.2	14.8	-0.11

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 1, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

If the decision as to church union were primarily to be made on rational grounds, the Protestant-Catholic issue would represent the last ditch of con-

flict. Even here, however, a very large plurality of replies (43 per cent.) held that Protestant and Catholic principles are not irreconcilable, while only 13.3 per cent. branded the proposition that they are complementary as certainly false.

A still more striking feature of the result was the large area of indecision, 25 per cent. on the average, and considerable in the case of all denominations save the Episcopal. In this area future opinion may later be turned to one side or the other. At least, then, the evidence gives no suggestion of finality. On the whole, the time is not ripe in the opinion of American church leaders to adopt a formula of Protestant-Catholic agree-

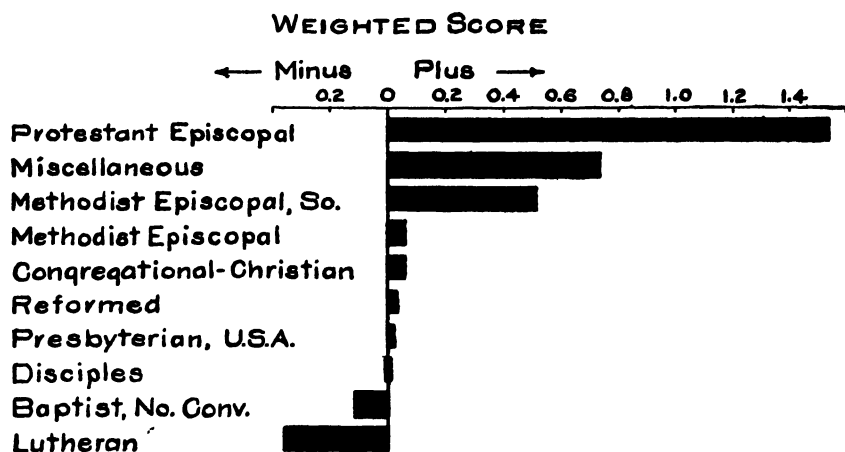


CHART XXVI—OPINION OF CHURCH LEADERS WITH RESPECT TO THE PROPOSITION THAT CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT PRINCIPLES ARE COMPLEMENTARY RATHER THAN CONTRADICTORY, BY DENOMINATIONS

ment; but the way is still open and there is enough approval to justify those who believe in the proposition in making further effort to bring such agreement to pass.

Is one permanently shut up, then, to the vague and unsatisfactory answer that there is more evidence for union than for disunion? Can this prolonged inquiry into church union yield no more decisive result? Apparently not, so long as one remains at the stage of merely aggregating unweighted evidence on either side. To get beyond this stage, one must find new categories more clearly defining the several directions in which the evidence points, and devise a method of combining data of greater and less importance so that their unequal weights will average up within fairly comparable wholes. One must also determine criteria of probability showing why one

thinks a given piece of evidence improves or impedes the chance of unity. These necessities it becomes the first task of Part III to supply.

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| ¹ P. xxxvii. | ² P. 415. | ³ P. xxii. | ⁴ P. 176. | ⁵ P. 198. | ⁶ P. 194. | ⁷ P. 394. | ⁸ P. 189. |
| ⁹ P. 258. | ¹⁰ P. 260. | ¹¹ P. 257. | ¹² P. 276. | ¹³ P. 264. | ¹⁴ P. 277. | ¹⁵ P. 267. | ¹⁶ P. 272. |
| ¹⁷ P. 284. | ¹⁸ P. 72. | ¹⁹ P. 280. | ²⁰ P. 375. | ²¹ P. 268. | ²² P. 294. | ²³ P. 298. | ²⁴ P. 279. |
| ²⁵ P. 262. | ²⁶ P. 341. | ²⁷ Pp. 306 and 74. | ²⁸ P. 286. | ²⁹ P. 286. | ³⁰ P. 333. | ³¹ P. 342. | |
| ³² P. 336. | ³³ P. 327. | ³⁴ P. 190. | ³⁵ P. 332. | ³⁶ P. 335. | ³⁷ P. 334. | ³⁸ P. 188. | ³⁹ P. 363. |
| ⁴⁰ P. 368. | ⁴¹ P. 366. | ⁴² P. 356. | ⁴³ P. 362. | ⁴⁴ P. 365. | ⁴⁵ P. 371. | ⁴⁶ P. 349. | ⁴⁷ P. 348. |
| ⁴⁸ P. 355. | ⁴⁹ P. 382. | ⁵⁰ P. 385. | ⁵¹ P. 380. | ⁵² P. 383. | ⁵³ P. 384. | ⁵⁴ P. 380. | ⁵⁵ P. 379. |
| ⁵⁶ P. 378. | ⁵⁷ P. 72. | ⁵⁸ P. 76. | ⁵⁹ P. 106. | ⁶⁰ P. 108. | ⁶¹ P. 305. | ⁶² P. 316. | ⁶³ P. 313. |
| ⁶⁴ P. 252. | ⁶⁵ P. 320. | ⁶⁶ P. 429. | ⁶⁷ P. 441. | ⁶⁸ P. 142. | ⁶⁹ Pp. 136 and 140. | ⁷⁰ P. 134. | |
| ⁷¹ P. 14. | ⁷² P. 20. | ⁷³ P. 309. | ⁷⁴ Manning, "The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and Its Relation to the Movement for Christian Reunion," in Marchant, <i>The Reunion of Christendom</i> (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929), pp. 220-221. | | | | |

PART THREE

PROSPECTS OF CHURCH UNION

CHAPTER XIV

The Probability of Church Union in the United States

The purpose of this, the concluding part of the study of church unity movements, is to reach conclusions as to the prospects of church union in the United States. In the light of the data presented in Parts I and II, how good are these prospects and what are the more demonstrable probabilities?

To ask any social inquiry to estimate the prospects of any complex set of social ideals and movements when they have passed over into the phase of practical politics and every-day application, is to propose a large contract. Organized religion presents one of the most profound and complicated of social phenomena. Any answer, then, which is not wholly governed by religious presuppositions, involves a large element of prediction with the manifest risks of being wrong. Nevertheless, the projection into the future of those trends which are well-rooted in the past and whose magnitude and momentum have been more or less accurately measured, is surely legitimate. At any rate, no one can have any more convincing a basis for conviction concerning the future.

In the present case, moreover, the wealth of description and exposition of church unity issues which previous chapters have furnished will get a certain illumination from any venture at conclusion, even for those who may not be convinced. The conclusions themselves, of course, can only be finally validated by their ability to stand up under criticism and by extensive practical attempts to use them.

The first step toward a conclusion is obviously to establish criteria of probability. How does one know whether a given piece of evidence indicates the probability of union or not? What are the kinds of things which, if they are found on the side of union, increase its chances of success, or which themselves directly aid in bringing union about?

Some implicit decision on these questions was necessarily involved in the choice of the data gathered for this study and in their organization and presentation. Can the choice and the methods employed be now justified? Upon examination, after the event, the unacknowledged criteria appear to have had two sources: social analysis and common-sense. The factors which accelerate or retard social change are fairly recognizable, and their presence and operation for or against church union, as partially measured, were accepted as valid grounds of judgment as to the prospects of

the movement. Other assumptions merely mirrored general human experience.

SEVEN CRITERIA

Upon reflection and analysis a battery of seven working criteria were brought to light which appeared to have been implicit in the assumptions and consequent method of the study. Briefly stated, it had been assumed that: (1) if a favorable historic trend toward unity could be established as having existed over a long period of time; (2) if this trend could be shown to be in harmony with deep-rooted traits of the American people; (3) if—and so far as—it could be proved that the antipathies which union would have to overcome are relatively slight and diminishing; (4) if convergence of strong contemporary movements in behalf of union could be discovered; (5) if there were convincing evidence of favorable practical attitudes on the part of the religious constituency in general; (6) if it could be established that agreement greatly outweighs disagreement in theological and ecclesiastical thinking; and finally (7) if these favorable factors did not stand singly, each alone, but rather were proved to belong to a system of favorable conviction and attitude—then the prospects of union would be accounted good. So far as these conditions were not met, they would be accounted poor or doubtful.

The writer submits that these seven criteria furnish a sound basis of judgment with respect to the data under review. This chapter proceeds, therefore, to their consideration as tests of the probability of church union in the United States.

With respect to the first four of the enumerated criteria, which apply especially to data presented in Part I, this consideration can be direct and brief. No barriers to the immediate drawing of conclusions have been discovered. With respect to the other three criteria,—those relating more closely to the data of Part II—the case is different. At the end of Part II the necessity appeared of discovering new categories with which to define the direction in which the evidence points, and of devising a method of combining evidence of unequal weight into comparable results. Such means of generalization must be found before the last three criteria can be applied to the data.

These criteria are, consequently, first presented merely in outline. The chapter then pauses to explain the method of generalization adopted and the most general results, as throwing light—with some qualifications—upon the kind of union that is probable. The consequent restating of the generalized evidence in terms of denominational differences and differences of age, sex and status then follows in succeeding chapters. It is left then for the final chapter of the book to indicate something of the strategy required to make probable union actual.

THE SEVEN CRITERIA CONSIDERED

I. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HISTORIC MOMENTUM AND PROFUNDITY OF THE MOVEMENT OF RELIGIOUS INTEGRATION

Applied to church union, this first criterion means that if a favorable historical trend of a well-authenticated sort is established over a considerable period of time, and if sociological analysis recognizes and understands it as a symptom of social change in a given direction, the prospects of the continuance of such a change must be considered good. In so far as these conditions are not met, its prospects are poor.

On this ground church union in the United States is probable. The momentum of a deep-running historic movement is in its favor, beneath which is going on an even more profound process of social integration.

In the long view which the history of the American church makes possible,¹ our nation is well into an era of religious development in which integrative tendencies have the upper hand as they have not had it for at least a hundred years. The church's bitterest conflicts of the present day rarely result in schisms. The mere list of integrative movements and events is lengthy and impressive. These movements are demonstrably going forward at an accelerated pace. The epidemic sectarianism of the frontier began to wane immediately upon the emergence of the nation into the period of settled homes and towns. But living men have only to appeal to their own memories in order to testify to the church's passage from an era of characteristic competition, through one of thin and spasmodic coöperation, to an era of mutual accommodation based on a recognition of the substantial equality of the well-established churches. This movement has culminated in a vast and ever-increasing number of loose combinations,² and in numerous beginnings of corporate mergers. In some of these the formerly separated churches fuse themselves into a complete organic unit; in others they maintain some degree of identity within the new whole.³ A strong movement of local church union matches these movements at the top.⁴ Sociological analysis adds sanction to these tendencies and movements.⁵

Moreover, this entire movement of religious integration falls within a larger assimilative process which is making the American nation one, and which is already so far along as to lay it open to the charge of excessive uniformity. But, as is increasingly recognized, this unity is not coming through a melting-pot process which reduces all elements to complete fluidity and

¹ Chapter ii.

² Chapter ii.

³ Chapter iii.

⁴ Chapter ii.

⁵ Chapter vi.

permanently loses the distinctiveness of every part in the whole. It is coming rather by the creation of a higher unity of inclusion which conserves and balances the permanent values of each part within a common culture and civilization. The attainment of such a unity is the supreme art of human society. It is being partially realized in America; and by all one's anticipations of a unified nation, one has a similar right to expect a united church.

II. SIGNIFICANCE OF POPULAR THINKING AND ATTITUDES

This criterion means that if general church union, or some particular type of union, is in harmony with and backed by popular attitudes which are recognized as expressing some of the profounder traits of the American people, the probability of this sort of union must be rated high. In proportion as these conditions do not exist, it must be rated low.

Church union in America is probable on this ground also. It is backed by the deep-rooted traits and tendencies of the American people. These underlying folk characteristics and moods come to the surface in popular thinking and attitudes about the church which are favorable to its union. The majority of American Christians want to overcome the recognized evils of denominationally organized church life, the jealous sectarianism which divides communities, the rival and competitive ministries, the waste and general incompetence. The man in the street feels substantial unity with the great masses of his fellow Christians and wants a church to correspond to his feelings. As it is, his conscience is uneasy; not so much because he doubts whether the divine purpose is being realized through a denominationally divided church, as because the organized religious situation often compels him to act contrary to his own better religious instincts.

This does not mean that popular American instincts are all on one side. Traces of pioneer individualism survive. Fears for the religious principles of the conscientious dissenter have deep roots; yet both the emotional and the practical drive of the common man's intelligence are for church union in some ill-defined form. He wants much greater and closer corporate association of the present separate denominations. He has no strong convictions as to the exact terms of union, except that they shall be elastic and permit wide diversity within the united church. He does not know how to defend these positions ecclesiastically, and is thoroughly alive to the difficulties of actual union. Nevertheless, union is what he hopes for and what he justifies by appeal to his own limited experience. He does not expect union to be achieved all at once, but he is ready for some version of it now. This generalization is substantiated by volunteered expressions of sentiment from several thousands of people as set forth in chapters iv and v and most impressively reinforced by the church union ballot which resulted in a two-thirds vote for union.

A general lack of education, either through popular discussion or by means of the curricula of religious education, and an almost total absence of channels of expression available to the religious public in behalf of union have been demonstrated.⁶ Very likely, then, a very much stronger reinforcement of unity movements by popular sentiment only waits on the release of the damned-up current. The mere opening of systematic opportunity for expression might bring unmeasured reinforcement to the movement for union.

III. ABSENCE OR INFREQUENCY OF DEEP-SEATED PREJUDICE

If in the United States the barriers of antipathy felt between religious groups embracing large numbers of the people are found to be slight, so that those separated into different churches appear to differ in name more than in reality, and if such antipathy is decreasing, the prospects of union within these limits are to be accounted good. However, if the barriers are generally high and strong, the prospects of union would be poor; indeed so far as these barriers exist, the prospects are relatively poor.

Church union in America is probable for this third reason. Millions of Christians recognize no substantial difference in feeling between members of their own denomination and others, and make very little practical distinction in their use of denominations. They would think themselves just as well served religiously, would be just as happy and contented in religious fellowship, and just as assured of the validity of the church's ministries and the efficacy of its version of its faith and life in other denominations as in their own. This is the evidence of the religious distance test exhibited in chapter i.

Moreover, this attitude reflects the actual experience of millions who have already used the denominations interchangeably during the course of their own lives, and in this attitude the bulk of the working parish ministry sympathizes to an amazing degree.⁷

True, there are very definite limits to these feelings of oneness across denominational lines. Beyond these limits an increasing scale of sundering prejudice is registered. But, on a fairly searching test of religious distance, the difference in feeling between members of three-fourths of American denominations appears to be fairly negligible. This is true of ten out of the twelve largest denominations.

Every rational consideration, then, either from the practical standpoint, or from that of the spiritual power and impressiveness of the church in the world, urges that Christians who are so close together in feeling should

⁶ P. xxviii.

⁷ P. 61.

actually draw together in some larger and more effective version of corporate union.

IV. SIGNIFICANCE OF CONVERGING MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

If the actual unity movements established under Criterion I are strong and convincing, especially in their contemporary phases, and point toward or converge in a common direction, the prospects of union must rate strong; if not, they are weak.

Church union in America is probable on this test also. The paths of numerous unity movements do converge, and the influence of these movements upon one another is cumulative and reinforcing.

It is not merely the long and lengthening list of these movements that makes them important, but rather the fact that they fit together. Thus, the movement of the local community church, springing up as it has in widely scattered quarters and operating from the bottom up, challenges and supports the movement of union from the top down, operating by the negotiations and agreements of the central organs of the denominations. Inter-church coöperation is increasingly recognized as a step toward union and is accordingly feared or favored. When, for prudential reasons, any agency avoids the confession of its commonly recognized relation to church union, as is the case with the Federal Council, the relationship is made the more significant for being suppressed. The issue is magnified by always being discussed behind closed doors.⁸

It is just because the convergence of various unity movements is so obvious (and so dangerous to the particular fortunes of slower movements) that union is hopeful. The deepest convictions of the rank and file, as revealed in the data, identify unity movements as parts of a whole, links in a chain, and steps toward a goal.⁹

V. SIGNIFICANCE OF DIRECT TESTS OF PRACTICAL ATTITUDE

If there is specific evidence of favorable attitudes relating not so much to theory as to judgment on concrete church situations and adjustments, the prospects of union must be accounted good in proportion to the adequacy of the evidence. If the evidence is unfavorable, its prospects are proportionately reduced.

Church union in America is probable on this score, too. Direct tests of the attitudes of large and representative religious constituencies with respect to the adjustments of church relations show that union is generally favored. On the church union ballot two-thirds of those voting approved some form of union and were opposed to the continuance of the present denominational

⁸ P. 320.

⁹ P. 101.

order, while more than nine-tenths advocated the union of related denominations. Similar results have obtained from other more limited ballots, for example, one widely circulated in the Methodist Episcopal Church.¹⁰

On the battery of eighteen incidents and situations covering a varied set of practical adjustments between churches and denominations, which have been presented separately in previous chapters, the replies were strongly dominated by willingness to change the *status quo*. This progressive attitude contrasts sharply with the lack of conservative responses.

POINTS OF AGREEMENT IN RANK AND FILE OPINION

A ranking of the 108 judgments attached to the eighteen incidents and situations according to the degree of approval accorded each, is not strictly justified, since the judgments were attached to incidents and were not the subject of independent verdicts. A comparison, however, of those receiving the largest proportion of approval with those receiving the smallest has some general significance.

It is obvious that, of the three publics to which questionnaires were addressed, the rank and file stands closest to that undifferentiated constituency the characteristics of whose popular opinion were exhibited in Part I. It is no surprise, accordingly, to find the same general tendencies appearing as in that constituency.

The most highly favored of the 108 judgments are those which express the progressive popular attitude. They are lay judgments revealing common-sense reactions and assuming that adjustments of relations between churches should vary according to circumstances. They are tolerant judgments in contrast with the rigor of ecclesiastical distinctions. They base their decisions on broadly fraternal grounds and are liberal in making exceptions. They apply the pragmatic test.¹¹

Again, the judgments of the rank and file are religiously motivated in contrast with preoccupation with theological considerations; and they are correspondingly informal. They value spiritual unity, unity in "life and work," and the sense of contemporary divine leadership above ecclesiastical tradition, and they incline to make the relation of the individual to Christ determinative of his ecclesiastical relationships.¹²

The principles most frequently assumed by the rank and file are that unity is compatible with wide variety, that fundamentals should be preserved

¹⁰ P. xxi.

¹¹ See Tables XVII (Incident IX-7); XCIV (Incident X-5); LVI (Incident XII-4); XXIII (Incident IV-6); LXXVII (Incident XVII-1); LXXIX (Incident VI-3); XXVI (Incident I-4); LXXXIX (Incident VI-6); XLVIII (Incident III-1); XXIV (Incident XVI-5); LXXXIX (Incident VI-5).

¹² See Tables LVI (Incident XII-5); XIII (Incident II-2); XXVI (Incident I-6); LXX (Incident XIII-2); LXIX (Incident V-1); LXIX (Incident V-5).

and that lack of religious freedom within a church vitiates its formal claims as lack of orthodoxy or regularity does not.¹³

The rank and file are particularly sensitive to the special appeal of the mind of youth and the needs of the non-Christian world.¹⁴

Nearly all of these themes are presented in two or more judgments per incident, and uniformly get high ranking whatever the incident in connection with which they appear.

All the judgments enumerated in the previous footnotes fall in the upper quartile when ranked by percentage of approval. They stand for the body of popular attitudes on which there is largest possible agreement.

Judgments standing in the lower quartile of the ranking scale with respect to degree of approval are almost without exception depreciatory or else extremely reactionary judgments from the standpoint of the classification on p. 415. These are the attitudes which got the least support from the rank and file.

Over three-fourths of the denominations showed this common trend toward progressiveness which reflects common-sense attitudes and the preponderant lay viewpoint of the rank and file of the church. The extreme views were rarely far apart.

Again, out of twenty-three assumed consequences of church unity, church leaders register 75 per cent. agreement or more with respect to more than half, while on only three was there less than two-thirds agreement. With respect to the approval of the expected consequences, there was more than two-thirds agreement in all twenty-three cases.

These canvasses of opinion were themselves educative and tended to carry popular attitudes over from vagueness into definiteness and from the contemplation of a remote possibility into the consideration of the immediate prospects of union. Such progressive reactions to this relatively slender educational process indicate that the constituency is in process of making up its mind. The creation of a definite Christian public opinion in behalf of union is under way, in contrast with the mere diffusion of sentiment of the past.

VI. SIGNIFICANCE OF AGREEMENT IN ECCLESIASTICAL THINKING

If board agreement is found in the theological and ecclesiastical thinking of the leaders of the religious groups and their constituencies, the prospects of union are to be rated good; if not, they are poor.

Church union in America is probable for this sixth reason. Strange as it may seem, differences, even between ecclesiastics and theologians on theo-

¹³ See Tables XLVIII (Incident III-6); XLVII (Incident XI-5); LXX (Incident XIII-2); XLVII (Incident XI-2); XXV (Incident XIV-2); LXXVII (Incident XVII-2).

¹⁴ See Tables XCIV (Incident X-4); XXVI (Incident I-5); XLVI (Incident VIII-7).

retical issues—the precise issues which are supposed to divide the church and to require separate denominations—are on the whole surprisingly slight with the vast majority of churches.

Furthermore, such difference as there is is massed in a few quarters rather than scattered throughout a body of opinion. Thus, in the leaders' questionnaire, opinion on the thirty propositions yields a total of 154 deviations from the average of one or more standard deviation units. Except for a third denomination which deviates on one issue, all of the three- or four-step deviations are accounted for by two denominations. Moreover, these two account for all the two-step deviations, except that five other denominations deviate in one case each.

Still again, measured by the opinions of church leaders on thirty propositions covering the major areas of church unity, more than 75 per cent. agreement for or against the propositions was shown in seventeen of the thirty cases.

On the battery of current church unity issues responded to by a more competent church constituency, one selected on the basis of their having some special contact with the problem of unity, a strong modal tendency toward a mediating position as between unity and diversity was characteristic, but with a moderate secondary trend in the direction of diversity as opposed to uniformity. Three-fourths of the denominations united in these trends in opposition to extreme positions at either end of the scale.

As chapter xv will show, age and sex deviations, though appreciable, are not excessive on any of the practical issues judged by the rank and file, and even between ministers and laymen the difference in this field is surprisingly slight.

Aside, then, from limited exceptions the actual theoretical positions of the various branches of American Christianity are not far apart. Obviously the exceptions are entirely disproportionate to the manifold divisions for which they have been made the excuse.

VII. SIGNIFICANCE OF COHERENCE OF PHENOMENA FAVORABLE TO UNION

Finally, if there is proof that the conditions described above as tests of strength or weakness in the movement for union do not stand alone but tend rather to coincide and cohere within an interrelated system of tendency and attitude, a final basis is established for the prospects of the movement. Without this evidence of coherence, even highly favorable evidence on each criterion separately considered remains much less conclusive.

Church union in America is probable because the phenomena favorable to union do give evidence of arising within a coherent system of thinking and attitude, by virtue of which a favorable tendency at one point is rooted in and interwoven with a multitude of favorable tendencies. This goes

beyond the convergence of organized movements and finds its basis in the deeper aspects of human personality. Its most convincing evidence is statistical. In this matter statistics show the tendency of thought, feeling and action to agree. When tested repeatedly and on a wide variety of criteria, people of all ages, of both sexes and of varying status in the church, throughout most denominations, incline strongly to occupy the same relative position over and over again. Located on a ranking scale they appear habitually at the right or the left of the middle of the scale. In short, forces favorable to union are systematic, not casual. They tend to hold all along the line. Of this correlation one example has already been given.¹⁵ Comparison of the church union ballot with the religious distance test shows that those voting in favor of the present denominational order characteristically feel more antipathy toward other Christians than those who vote for union. The ballot is a genuine reflection of the inner attitude and vice versa. Extensive statistical proof of similar correlations on a wide variety of points will be shown in chapter xvi.

THE PROBABLE KIND OF UNION

So much in evidence that church union of some kind is probable. But of what kind? In summarizing the evidence under Criteria V and VI a step toward an answer to this question has been anticipated without explanation of what it is or how it is taken. It has been announced that the rank and file are strongly "progressive," and that the select constituency shows a "mediating tendency" as between unity and diversity and a secondary tendency toward diversity in contrast with unity as measured by a scale. These are familiar terms of generalization. But how progressiveness is identified and defined, how evidence of a mediating tendency has been derived from the data, what scale is implied and how it is used—none of these has been revealed.

The explanation now to be offered is relatively simple. Progressiveness as contrasted with conservatism, and a mediating tendency as opposed to extremes are obviously terms of position. The more general meaning of the scattered evidence from thinking and attitudes becomes intelligible when it is identified with clearly distinguishable and coherent positions.

Now a series of ecclesiastical positions relative to unity has already been discussed in chapter viii. But before listing the ten actual positions there discriminated, the logical parts of a series were noted. A series always has two ends and a middle. If one adds a position between the middle and the extreme right and another between the middle and the extreme left he gets a series of five positions. As applied to church union, these serve as a

¹⁵ P. 116.

rough classification of existing tendencies or schools of thought. At one end is the extreme Protestant position, practising and defending denominational division, at the other the extreme Catholic, asserting the essential corporate unity of the church. The study of actual movements discovered a mediating position evenly balanced between union and non-union. To the left is a concessive Protestant position tending more to the approval of diversity than of unity, but not holding to extreme divisiveness. To the right is a similar concessive Catholic position not going to the extreme lengths of the Catholic position. Any idea or judgment with respect to church union may be classified with respect to these five positions.

This process of classifying was actually carried out for the thirty propositions of the senior questionnaire, the seventy-eight arguments of the intermediate questionnaire, and the 108 judgments of the junior questionnaire—which supplied the greater bulk of the data of the study.

DISTRIBUTION OF OPINION OF CHURCH LEADERS ACCORDING TO POSITION

The general method may be illustrated with reference to thirty propositions comprising the senior questionnaire answered by 624 church leaders. These propositions were sorted into five groups intended to represent respectively: (1) the positive advocacy of diversity, essentially the ground of the most extreme Protestant position; (2) a trend toward diversity, representing the concessive Protestant position; (3) a mediating position; (4) a trend toward unity, representing the concessive Catholic position; and (5) the positive advocacy of unity, essentially the ground of the extreme Catholic position. The list of propositions as thus classified appears in Appendix D, which states in full the criteria by which the sorting was made. It is consequently sufficient at this point to illustrate the process. Thus the statement, "The true visible expression of the church on earth is found in the existing denominations and communions all taken together," clearly asserts diversity. It justifies the present divisions of the church, a condition to which the Catholic viewpoint is inherently opposed. It represents an extreme Protestant position.

The contrary statement that, "Christ has communicated authority to the officers of His church and only those who are ordained by this authority can validly celebrate the Lord's Supper with the fulness and richness of our Lord's intention, commission and command," demands unity through a valid ministry. It obviously expresses the Catholic position. The former statement actually originated in the apologetics of certain sectarian groups; the latter is a direct quotation from a leading Anglo-Catholic authority.

The concessive Protestant position maintains the trend toward diversity but not in extreme form. The concessive Catholic position similarly maintains the trend toward unity. Both represent willingness to find a basis

of adjustment between the less stubborn elements in the contrasting parties. Finally, there is a mediating position not tinged by any tendency toward either extreme and generally characterized by an attempt to shift the discussion to fresh or "higher" ground.

Each of the thirty propositions was grouped under one of these five positions and the distribution of the sentiment of 624 church leaders with respect to each group noted. As between the five positions sensational variations in sentiment were discovered. Whereas 60 per cent. of a total of 11,237 replies had affirmed the probable or certain truth of the thirty propositions as a whole, the per cent. so affirming rose to 88 on the group of propositions reflecting the concessive Protestant position (the "diversity trend"), but sank to 22 on the group of propositions reflecting the extreme Catholic position.

Variations from the average for all five positions are shown in Table LXXXIX.

TABLE LXXXIX—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—REPLIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO FIVE POSITIONS IN A UNITY-DIVERSITY SERIES

(624 Church Leaders)							
Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:							
	True			False			
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Weighted Score*
Total—Number	11,237	6,992	4,245	2,469	2,059	2,955	
—Per Cent.	60.0	37.3	22.7	13.2	11.0	15.8	
I—Positive Unity	21.7	12.0	9.7	12.7	17.1	48.5	-4.82
II—Unity Trend	47.8	22.7	25.1	22.8	15.8	13.6	+1.93
III—Mediating	83.8	55.7	28.1	9.1	4.7	2.4	+7.79
IV—Diversity Trend	88.4	64.0	24.4	6.1	3.6	1.9	+7.25
V—Positive Diversity	65.2	39.2	26.0	12.4	11.7	10.7	+4.29

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

Summarizing the showing of Table LXXXIX, one notes that the concessive Protestant and mediating positions are strongly favored, the extreme Protestant favored slightly beyond the average, the concessive Catholic position much less favored, and the extreme Catholic position very strongly repudiated. This appears particularly in the column giving weighted scores by means of which the values of the plus and minus votes are generalized into a single index figure.

The same phenomena are shown in another way by a comparison of the actual distribution of answers from church leaders on the thirty propositions with what the distribution would be if favorable sentiment (judgments asserting that they were probably or certainly true) were proportionately divided between all five positions. If proportionate division existed, opinion

would fall on the zero line with respect to each position. There would be neither plus nor minus variation. The variation of the actual distribution of sentiment from the proportionate distribution is shown by the heavier continuous line in Chart XXVII.

The heavier continuous line in the chart represents the distribution of answers favoring the thirty propositions as probably or certainly true. It

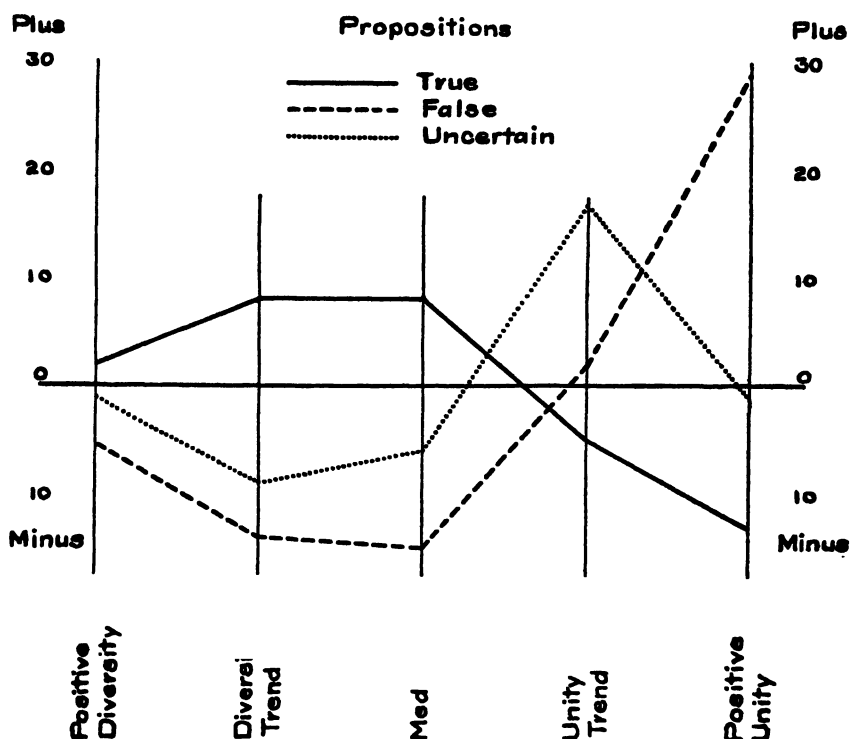


CHART XXVII—VARIATION OF CHURCH LEADERS' OPINION WITH RESPECT TO 30 PROPOSITIONS FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF OPINION AMONG FIVE POSITIONS IN A UNITY-DIVERSITY SERIES

shows that in the opinion of American religious leaders as represented by 624 cases, propositions representing the mediating and the concessive Protestant positions each got much more approval than their proportionate share if sentiment were evenly divided, while propositions representing the extreme Catholic position got very much less than their share. It also shows the slight trend toward the extreme Protestant position, and the considerable tendency against the concessive Catholic position which had already appeared in the previous comparison of weighted scores. The overwhelming

tendency against the extreme Catholic position is the outstanding fact of both comparisons.

In the chart the answers rating the same thirty propositions as probably or certainly false naturally show a reverse trend (as shown by a secondary discontinuous line in the graph); but on this comparison there is an even stronger opposition to the extreme Catholic position.

The questionnaire also gave opportunity for those answering to express a neutral or uncertain position, one neither for nor against the propositions. The distribution of these uncertain replies shows still greater variation. This is represented by the dotted line in the chart. Their deviation from proportionate distribution is very slight with respect to the extreme positions. On the out-and-out Protestant position, as on out-and-out Catholic positions, men know with average certainty where they stand. Here are areas in which the mind works with almost complete certainty. Attitudes are very sure of themselves and few questions are raised. On the concessive Protestant and mediating positions, on the contrary, which represent the major trends of the replies, very much less certainty is registered.

In really striking contrast is the extreme uncertainty attaching to propositions reflecting the "unity trend" or concessive Catholic position. These in general represent a set of proposals expressing the conciliatory trend of the Lambeth and Lausanne thinking and declarations.¹⁶ They originated primarily with religious groups inheriting the Catholic position, which now seek to find common ground between it and the more radical versions of Protestantism. From the above showing it appears that the prevalent mood of American religious leadership is one of extreme indecision in this field. Ordinary Protestantism does not yet feel at home with many of the concessive ideas offered it. It does not register strong opposition to them but does show a high degree of uncertainty.

All told, both in what they assert and in what they deny, the direction of the leaders' opinion bears strongly to the left of the middle position, in the Protestant direction. This is an obvious consequence of the fact that the great majority of non-Roman Christians in the country are Protestants. Sentiment in the main, therefore, registers as Protestant; yet not as extremely Protestant. Particularly it remains in a mood of doubt rather than in a mood of opposition toward the concessions by means of which adjustment is sought by the Catholic wing of the church.

The value of this method of generalization is thus twofold: it locates the measure of agreement which already exists, and points out the most hopeful area for further conference and negotiation. It also adds positively to the church's stock of useful knowledge; for no one knew before just how stub-

¹⁶ P. 229 f.

born or concessive a representative cross-section of the church's leadership would prove to be.

ATTITUDES OF THE SELECT CONSTITUENCY

The method used in measuring the direction of the opinion of church leaders was also applied to the returns from the intermediate questionnaire representing a larger but still a highly select constituency.¹⁷ This questionnaire consisted of seventy-eight arguments or considerations bearing upon twelve central church unity issues. Twelve of the arguments proved to be equivocal and were set aside. The remaining sixty-six were sorted into five groups corresponding to those already used to classify leaders' convictions, and representing respectively: (1) an extreme position in favor of diversity; (2) a trend in favor of diversity, but less extreme; (3) a mediating position; (4) a trend in favor of unity, but not extreme; and (5) extreme position in favor of unity. The exact criteria used in determining the distribution of arguments among these positions, together with the classified list, appear in Appendix D.

Many of the arguments wore their classifications directly upon their faces. Thus, the judgment that division of the church into denominations does not contradict unity,¹⁸ is obviously a strong statement in behalf of diversity, while the argument that Christ intended the church to be an undivided body,¹⁹ is the polar opposite representing an extreme demand for unity. Less extreme arguments expressed qualified or conditional trends toward diversity or unity, and were classified accordingly; while arguments not looking in either direction were placed at the logical middle of the scale. All statements included in the questionnaire represented arguments in actual discussions of opposing groups or in the attempt to mediate between them.

The sixty-six arguments of the intermediate questionnaire being thus grouped under these five positions, regarded as steps in a series, the actual distribution of favorable answers was compared with what the distribution would be if sentiment were proportionately divided between all five positions. If such equal distribution existed there would be no plus or minus deviation. The very different results in the case of the sixty-six arguments are shown in Chart XXVIII.

The chart shows that the opinion of this widely representative constituency corresponds quite strikingly to that of religious leaders as previously ascertained. Its major tendency is even more strongly toward the mediating position; and its secondary tendency is to the left of this position in agreement with the more moderate diversity trend. The select constituency is

¹⁷ For basis for distinction, see p. xxxi.

¹⁸ P. 276.

¹⁹ P. 264.

distinctly against extreme diversity, slightly against the unity trend and very much opposed to the extreme unity position.

Superimposing a line showing this distribution of sentiment upon the graph showing the distribution of leaders' sentiment with respect to analogous positions (as shown in Chart XXVII), one gets the secondary line of Chart XXVIII.

This comparison reveals a similar curve in the attitudes for the two constituencies. The larger constituency, however, is even more against extreme

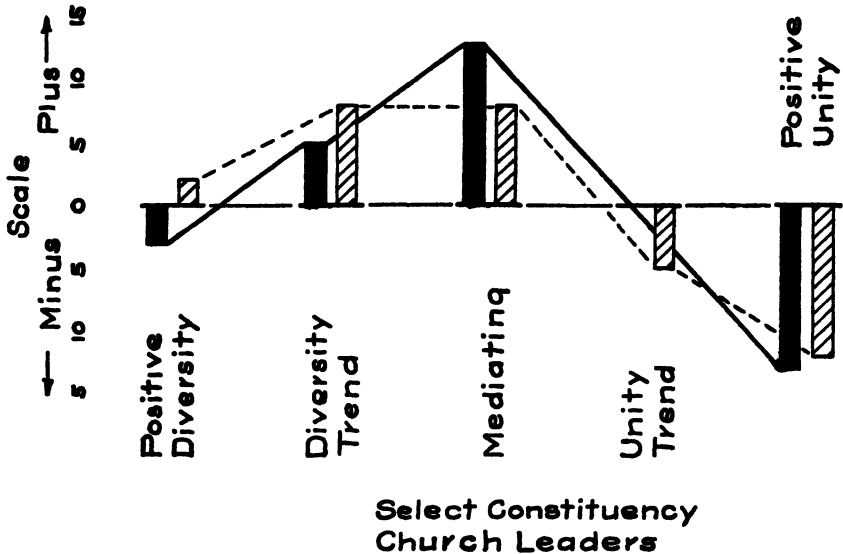


CHART XXVIII—VARIATION OF SELECT CONSTITUENCY ATTITUDES WITH RESPECT TO 12 CHURCH UNITY ISSUES FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES AMONG FIVE POSITIONS IN A UNITY-DIVERSITY SERIES WITH VARIATION IN CHURCH LEADERS' OPINION COMPARED

positions, viz., those falling at either end of the scale, than the leaders are. But it also is still more favorable to the mediating position. This may be accounted for on the hypothesis that this primarily lay constituency is dominated by common-sense attitudes, such as were discovered in chapter iv, that it sees less need of hair-splitting concessions, hence neither favoring the Protestant ones greatly nor fearing the Catholic ones, and that it is less impressed than the leaders are by theological considerations which lead to the espousal of one or the other extreme position.

All told, however, both constituencies are more in favor of diversity than they are of unity, and any unity that may be erected upon their preponderant mediating attitudes must leave ample room for diversity.

TENDENCIES OF THE RANK AND FILE

The largest body of data secured in the present study came from more than 13,000 constituents of religious bodies representing the rank and file membership of the churches. It was secured by means of a questionnaire presenting concrete incidents and situations relating to the adjustment of churches to one another. In this instrument issues relating to church unity were approached from a common-sense angle and the 108 comments by means of which the persons responding registered their attitudes were largely couched in common-sense terms.²⁰ Consequently, the results did not yield matter for a strictly ecclesiastical gradation of opinions corresponding to that found for the leaders and select constituency. They measured rather a greater or smaller resistance to change in church relations. The results were accordingly generalized in terms of a series of positions falling between progressive and conservative extremes. Five steps were recognized ranging from the position most ready to accept to that least ready to accept change, with obvious intermediate steps, and the 108 comments were distributed among them according to the method explained on p. 405. The five positions were designated as: (1) progressive, (2) conditionally progressive, (3) equivocal, (4) conditionally conservative, (5) conservative. A peculiarity of the test of rank and file sentiment was that there was attached to each set of comments an expression of the mood which would sweep the whole discussion out, as beside any real point. This added a sixth position, the depreciatory. Relatively few persons resorted to this choice.²¹

Calculating the difference between the actual distribution of opinion among these positions and a mathematically proportionate distribution, the tendencies of this body of rank and file opinion were measured. These are shown in Chart XXIX.

If the rank and file judgments had been proportionately distributed between the six positions, they would always have fallen on the zero line in Chart XXIX. Instead, judgments on incidents reflecting the progressive position get nineteen points more than their proportion of total choices; equivocal judgments get about the proportionate number, while those reflecting conservative or depreciatory positions each get ten points less than their proportionate number.

The distribution of opinion on this body of data is in sharp contrast with that derived from the two ecclesiastical series, in both of which the preponderant weight of opinion favored the middle and intermediate positions on the scale. In the present test, on the contrary, deviation is confined

²⁰ P. 103.²¹ P. 558.

almost entirely to extreme positions. Opinion strongly favors the progressive and strongly opposes the conservative and depreciatory ones.

Rationalizing the situation, one may hazard the conclusion that, though opportunity was not given to the rank and file to register themselves directly in terms of the recognized issues of church unity as defined by ecclesiastics, and though they might not have understood or been concerned over these issues if the opportunity had been given, their general attitude of willingness to make adjustments would naturally express itself along the mediating and concessive Protestant lines favored by the leaders and more select con-

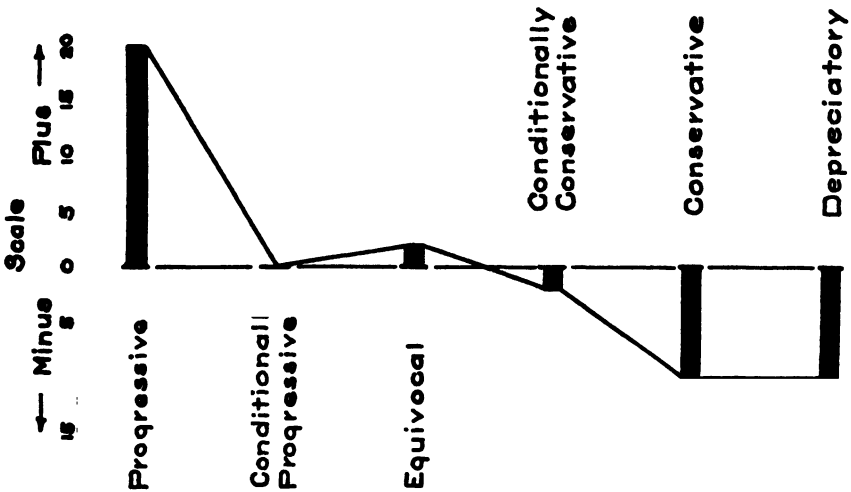


CHART XXIX—VARIATION IN RANK AND FILE JUDGMENTS WITH RESPECT TO 18 SITUATIONS AND INCIDENTS FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF JUDGMENTS AMONG SIX POSITIONS IN A PROGRESSIVE-CONSERVATIVE SERIES

stituency. An actual correlation between the two tendencies will be noted in a later paragraph.

SUMMARY

Direct tests of popular thinking and attitudes and of ecclesiastical opinion prove, then, not merely that union is possible because agreement exceeds disagreement, but that the probability is of union of a given sort—one which repudiates alike extreme denominational division and extreme corporate uniformity, and insists on something between the two, leaving ample room for diversity.

This verdict does not differ from the answers given to direct questions concerning the church and its unity.²² One is now assured, however, that

²² Chapter ix.

the total data bear the same meaning. Combining a multitude of particular points under categories of position, and thus averaging up the contribution of profound and superficial considerations within one formula, one gets a consistent story as a result. On the basis of present states of mind, the union probable is union expressing the formula unity in diversity. This is the repeated conclusion from all the forms of testing employed by the present study.

FACTORS QUALIFYING CERTAINTY OF CONCLUSION

May this conclusion be accepted as established and may one proceed immediately to act upon it? In general, yes; but not without qualification. Certain factors in the evidence require further explanation. So far in the discussion agreement has been understood in the popular sense as meaning that, in a test, many register themselves on one side of a question and few on the other; or that there is a strong characteristic tendency in one direction greatly outweighing the tendency in any other. This implies sharp contradiction between views which are favored and those which are not.

But a neutral zone has also been noted in which sharp distinctions disappear. It has been only partially measured. It goes along generally with an increase of indecision registered by those taking positive sides. The difference between probability and certainty of conviction was weighted somewhat arbitrarily,²⁸ and has not been separately reckoned with in drawing conclusions.

Data have also been presented which throw significant light on the rôle of desire or fear in the making up of minds on unity issues. These factors must have more adequate attention before measurements of agreement and disagreement are accepted at their face value, and generalizations as to position are treated as fixed categories.

All these factors imply that the results reached by former processes are not the final word; and clearly suggest that some of the phenomena which they record may be modified. This conditions any attempted action upon the results.

The bearings of these factors upon the prospects of church union as they are revealed in the church leaders' questionnaire are now to be stated.

NEUTRALITY

Neutrality has been found greatest with respect to the concessive Catholic position. Here is an area in which the mind of the religious public is still to be made up. This means that a large modification in the contour of leaders' thinking is possible before discussions are over. Any change of this

²⁸ P. 188, Table XXVIII, footnote.

sort affects future probabilities. It does not decrease the chances of union, but suggests that it may come along somewhat different lines from those now indicated.

NEUTRALITY PLUS INDECISION

But the real significance of neutrality is discovered when it is considered that complete neutrality between two alternatives is simply a more radical form of the uncertainty which one registers when he says he regards one as more probable than the other but is not certain of his position. Putting the two stages of uncertainty side by side, one begins to get a true measure of this factor. This is shown in Table XC.

TABLE XC—COMPARISON OF NEUTRALITY AND INDECISION
IN ANSWERS OF CHURCH LEADERS

Positions	Per Cent. Neutrality	Ratio of "Cer- tain" to "Prob- able" judgments
Concessive Catholic.....	22.8	0.9
Extreme Catholic.....	12.7	1.7
Extreme Protestant.....	12.4	0.9
Mediating.....	9.1	1.2
Concessive Protestant.....	6.1	1.7

In the table neutrality is measured directly in percentage; indecision is measured by the ratio between "certain" and "probable" judgments in the leaders' questionnaire: the lower the ratio the greater the indecision.

The most important result of the comparison is its demonstration that the concessive Protestant and mediating positions, those most largely held by the church leaders, are also held most decisively on the showing of the combined criteria. Here on issues of their own formulation with which they are thoroughly at home, conviction tends to be positive rather than neutral or questioning. The difference is less pronounced in the case of mediating opinion, which ranks second as to neutrality, but after Extreme Catholic and Concessive Protestant opinion as to decisiveness. The meaning of the comparison seems to be that on issues of one's own formulation and with which one is thoroughly at home one's conviction tends to be positive rather than neutral or questioning.

Equally significant, however, is the fact that thinking on propositions reflecting the concessive Catholic position is most uncertain on the combined criteria—probably, as has been suggested, because, in spite of the Lausanne discussions, they are largely unfamiliar as well as foreign to prevalent Protestant tendencies of thought. Here is double chance of change of mind, because neutrality and indecision are both great. With respect to the extreme Catholic position there is little indecisiveness but average neutrality. In this area one either does not know his mind at all, or else is very

sure of it. The extreme Protestant position, on the contrary, shows average neutrality with high indecisiveness. On this point even the most violent denominationalist tends to defend his position as probable rather than as sure. Accordingly the chance of modification of view at this point is greater than on the concessive Protestant position.

The outstanding contrast of the comparison is, however, the one between the assurance with which the leaders' judgments attack propositions reflecting the concessive Protestant position and the vacillation which they show in the face of those reflecting the concessive Catholic position.

Obviously the strategy of unity movements must recognize and utilize these differences.

NEUTRALITY AND NEGATION

A further light is thrown upon the meaning of opinion data with respect to unity by the measurement of the relation between neutrality and negation in the case of the thirty propositions. Opinion may be either for or against any proposition or uncertain concerning it. The degree of uncertainty might vary from proposition to proposition without following any discernible law. This turns out not to be the case. When there is little definite opposition to a proposition, there is as a rule also little neutrality. That is to say, nearly everybody is able to take a positively affirmative position in these cases. On the contrary, when the degree of opposition rises, neutrality also rises. People show increased disinclination to take sides. On only three propositions of thirty is this tendency conspicuously challenged, and on twenty propositions in which the negative gets not more than 25 per cent. of the replies the correlation of the two factors rises to $+.84$.

The conclusion appears to be that there are two ways of opposing a thing when nearly everyone else is for it: first, by being against it and, second, by sitting on the fence. On this analysis, a good deal that is registered as neutrality with respect to unity movements must be counted as a milder form or equivalent of opposition.

EXPECTANCY VERSUS APPROVAL

Another point at which the superficial measurement of agreement and disagreement as registered in the raw data requires clarification, is the relationship between the expectation that certain consequences would follow from church union and the approval of these consequences, as shown by responses to another section of the church leaders' questionnaire.²⁴ It is, of course, one thing to assume that some particular consequence will follow from a union of churches and another to think that this consequence is

²⁴ P. 555.

desirable. It is a question, however, whether or not the two sets of judgments will tend to run together. Will people generally indulge in wishful thinking and regard the probable and the desirable as identical, or will some at least say: "I expect this thing but do not approve it"? The former guess turned out to be right. In the great majority of cases, people approved what they expected and vice versa. The contrary, however, was true in 6 per cent. of the replies.

With these replies the following relationship between expectancy and approval held: Where expectancy was unusually high it tended strongly to go with correspondingly high approval. The volume of non-approving expectancy, however, exceeded 10 per cent. on only seven consequences out of a total of twenty-three. With these the correlation between the two factors was +.71.

The percentage of persons expecting a given consequence but not approving it was as follows:

Consequence	Per Cent. of Those Expecting Who Do Not Approve
Compel all ministers to be ordained by bishops receiving their authority in historic succession from the Apostles.	49.2
Advise members how to vote in a Presidential election.	44.3
Centralize authority more than any of the leading Protestant denominations centralize it at present.	40.3
Impose a common creed upon all adherents.	39.2
Make the churches of the United States parts of a church with headquarters in some foreign country.	33.3
Continue the existence of the present denominations as distinct organizations within the church.	22.8
Decide officially whether or not to support a war undertaken by the U. S. government.	22.2

This list discovers a considerable zone of anxiety with respect to consequences of church union. Do those who expect the seven consequences and at the same time so distinctly disapprove them have any strong objective evidence that the consequences anticipated are actually probable, or do they ascribe probability to them because of prejudice? The evidence is that the great majority of opinion actually regards this group of consequences as highly improbable; since without exception they lie at the lower end of the expectancy scale.²⁵ In other words, here is a battalion of fear which sets up a straw man with which to contend. One can hardly doubt that this is a true explanation of a good deal of opposition to unity. It is opposition to a kind or degree of unity which one would not like if it came but which almost no one really is seriously advocating.

Agreement, then, is not merely opposed by disagreement; it is also quali-

²⁵ P. 555.

fied by neutrality, indecisiveness and fear. So also is disagreement in somewhat different ways and proportions. There is, therefore, no such thing as absolute measurement of agreement with respect to either a single issue or a general position, except in matters of the most formal and incidental relationships. Such factors as have just been reviewed prevent one from assuming that, even when he has generalized on the basis of a wide range of issues and interests, he has taken account of all the elements which advance or obstruct active church union. One does not know just how these cross-currents affect union either favorably or adversely, but one can be sure that they do affect it. This discovery reveals how immensely complicated the situation is and how many forces enter into its determination.

SUMMARY

The evidences for the probability of church union have now been summarized so far as they have yet appeared in the study. Very little inclination has appeared to take a depreciatory attitude toward the issue.²⁶ From criteria particularly applicable to the data of Part I it has been concluded that long-established processes of integration tell an intelligible story of development consistent with the historic behaviors and known tendencies of the American religious public, and that these processes are tending strongly toward union, especially during the present century.

The evidence of thinking and attitudes with respect to theologically formulated issues, especially when generalized, further validates the prospect of a union of a fairly definable sort. The presence of qualifying factors and regional differences complicate the situation but fail to alter its main outlines.

This later evidence, so far as yet presented, applies to each of the three religious publics, the leaders, the more select constituency and the rank and file, but to each independently of the other two. The full bearings of the seventh criterion have yet to be shown. But it is promised in advance that the positions proven to be held separately by the three elements of the religious constituency will be shown to belong to a common system of agreements, an essentially coherent universe of attitude and tendency which is generally favorable to union, and which includes the majority within each religious public. All three strongly tend to react in the same way to unity movements and proposals.

Evidence drawn thus from many directions—from historical and sociological sources, from factually objective movements and organizations, as well as from vast and varied bodies of opinion—go far in reinforcing one another. For they tell essentially the same story under the most varied circumstances

²⁶ P. 558.

and finally anchor its truth in a system of proved relationships between historic trends and current behaviors and ideas. This brings cumulative backing to the promise of union; and, by building probability upon probability, reaches a climax of conclusiveness.

If, then, union is so probable and all but certain, why does it not come to pass? Obviously, for one reason, because it is held back by the unequal readiness of one or another group of Christians. It is possible that their inequality will turn out to be regional. One needs to ask whether in fact churches of one part of the country are having to wait on those of another. Again, the unequal readiness may be a matter of age, sex or status in the church. Early chapters made much of the possible discrepancy between the attitudes of youth and age, or of the views of clergy and laity, and evidence pertinent to this problem has been introduced at many points.

The most frequent and challenging evidence of difference, however, has pertained to denominations. This is where popular thinking locates most of the difficulty. One takes it for granted almost that the ultimate reason for non-union is denominational sectarianism.

In what proportion must the delay of union be laid at any of these doors? The allocation of responsibility must now be faced. This means that the relative significance of each of the factors above enumerated must be canvassed by all the means at hand. In order to clear the decks for the more voluminous study of denominational differences, it will be convenient first to dispose of differences relating to region, age, sex and status in the church. The next chapter accordingly concerns itself with these topics.

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CHAPTER XV

Lay Attitudes: Youth and Age

The questionnaires which constitute the main body of the original data of the present study came from constituencies that were predominantly lay and disproportionately young.¹ In this they were truly representative of the church in its actual membership and of the church of the immediate future. The largely favorable attitude toward union which previous chapters have indicated is consequently dominated by the attitude of a characteristically youthful lay group. Many strands of data substantiate the sympathy of this group for unity movements and its weariness with the present denominational order.

But the data show that age is favorable to unity as well as youth. Age may possess the proverbial quality of conservatism while youth is progressive, but, if so, the difference is relative. Any hypothesis that they would show pronounced contrast in attitude toward unity is disproved by the facts.

Similarly, it has frequently been charged that laymen are for union, which is opposed by the clergy. The data, however, show that the clergy are also favorable to unity. The only question is, Are they more or less so? The same question can be asked as between men and women, and as between the different sections of the nation.

It is the province of this chapter to indicate differences between groups defined by age, sex and status in the church, and by region, as bearing upon the prospects of church union.

AGE AND SEX

Rather vigorously expressed opinion was volunteered in a number of quarters in condemnation of the decision of the study to explore the opinion and attitudes of the young people of the churches. Several ecclesiastical leaders concerned with the guidance of youth asserted that young people neither knew nor cared about the issue and that their opinion would be of doubtful value if they did. Some of these criticisms appeared to be motivated by fear that youth would take a radical position against the existing denominational order. Color was given to this opinion by certain rather cocky communications from young people asserting their superior progres-

¹P. 520.

siveness and condemning the traditionalism of their ecclesiastical elders. The writer himself was inclined to entertain the provisional hypothesis that youth would be found more progressive than age.

When, however, the statistics had spoken, they showed that, while the differences were not extreme, youth on the whole is more conservative than age with respect to church unity.

While no current discussion had arisen as to possible differences between the masculine and the feminine viewpoint on this issue, the relatively small participation by women in formal discussions of church unity had been noted and the logical importance of the question assumed. The statistics again showed little difference; on some issues women were more conservative, on others, men. The particular aspects of difference, however, indicate that the ways of thinking and consequent attitudes of women constituencies constitute a special problem with reference to unity issues as ordinarily formulated.

The evidence for these age and sex differences is now to be presented point by point.

THE CHURCH UNION BALLOT ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX

The ballot shows age as progressive, youth as conservative; and women as more conservative than men. The data as derived from 14,207 ballots have already been presented in chapter iv. In general, the per cent. of ballots favoring denominationalism decreases with age, while the per cent. favoring federal union increases. In every age group more women than men favor the denominational order, and the female vote for federal union is relatively smaller in every age group. More women than men, however, favor general union. The assumed desire of youth for change is not in evidence. The data, on the contrary, justify the judgment expressed in chapter iv that "in a matter about which youth has thought little and felt little responsibility, its representatives take refuge behind the *status quo*."²

It is extremely important, however, to note that no variation based on either age or sex amounts to as much as 15 per cent. of the average standing of the group as a whole on the point in question. Such slight variations have only limited significance.

RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE

Age and sex differences in degrees of religious distance feeling were calculated for only two denominations, namely, Presbyterian, U. S. A., and Methodist Episcopal, but the 4,362 persons represented in these two denomi-

² The same greater conservatism of youth with respect to unity is found in age data based on the New York "Survey of Methodist Episcopal Churches," New York, Methodist Episcopal Church Planning Committee, 1931, p. 88.

nations constitute a very considerable sample on this point.³ The results of the comparison are shown in Table XCI.

TABLE XCI—INDEX OF RELIGIOUS DISTANCE FEELING ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX FOR TWO DENOMINATIONS

Age and Sex	Distance Score	
	Presbyterian, U. S. A.	Methodist Episcopal
Under 20		
Male.....	11.2	12.6
Female.....	10.2	11.2
20 to 30		
Male.....	5.5	6.7
Female.....	5.7	7.7
30 to 60		
Male.....	5.1	3.8
Female.....	4.5	5.4
Over 60		
Male.....	5.5	5.2
Female.....	6.6	4.0
All males.....	6.7	8.1
All females.....	7.5	9.9
Number reporting.....	1,171	3,191

In both the denominations covered by this table, prejudice is much the greatest with the group under twenty years of age, both male and female; and it is greater for women than for men on the total sample. In both denominations the differences with people more than thirty years old are inconsiderable. Pronounced prejudice, in short, appears as a phenomenon of extreme youth which has not been mellowed and made tolerant by life. Minor exceptions to these generalizations may be traced in the table.

ECCLESIASTICAL THINKING AS MODIFIED BY AGE AND SEX

Considering next the convictions of church leaders to whom strictly theological problems were submitted by means of the Senior questionnaire,⁴ age and sex differences of appreciable magnitude appear in the cases for which information was returned on these points. These are measured in Table XCII.

The most generalized comparison of age and sex groups is found in the last column of the table which gives the weighted score. This shows women more favorable to the body of convictions represented by the thirty propositions than men were, but less so than elderly men, who take the most affirmative attitude of all toward theological considerations.

³ For explanation of the religious distance test see pp. 10-22.

⁴ For explanation, see p. xxxi. Weighted scores on each proposition according to age and sex are given in Appendix Table 40.

TABLE XCII—DISTRIBUTION OF OPINION ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX
(624 Church Leaders)

		Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:							
		True			False				
Age and Sex	Total	Cer- tainly or Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	Prob- ably	Unde- cided	Prob- ably	Cer- tainly	No. of Cases	Weighted Score*
Total.....	100	55	35	20	13	11	21	599	+7.01
Total male. . .	100	55	35	20	13	11	21	556	+6.98
Male under 60..	100	54	33	21	12	12	22	392	+6.15
Male over 60..	100	56	39	17	15	11	18	164	+8.98
Total female...	100	55	38	17	14	10	21	43	+7.79

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

No one of the differences which the table measures is extreme, nor so great as frequently appears within particular denominations. On a considerable group of propositions, however, women leaders appear to be less rigid than the average on the issues of faith, worship and practice. On other issues they show sometimes more concessiveness and sometimes less. They incline to conceive church union as implying administrative centralization. Other single propositions on which they vary slightly from the average represent no common trend.

Certain characteristics of the thinking of the forty-three women leaders are, however, definitely revealed. They are more inclined to extreme positions than the majority. When they have to rate a proposition as "probably true" or "certainly true" they incline to say "certainly." At the same time they show greater hesitancy. In a high per cent. of cases they cannot make up their minds. But this greater hesitancy is very unevenly distributed. When they are sure, they are very sure; when unsure, very unsure. In short, mental tendencies are more erratic.

This indicates that women reach their positions by a somewhat different path from that which men take in reaching very much the same positions.

The thinking of male leaders who are sixty years of age or over also shows appreciable deviation from that of the total males or from that of the total group. With the older men, however, wide deviations from the average occur on only half as many propositions as in the case of the women's group, and the deviations never exceed one statistical degree.

Furthermore, this slight deviation was scattered miscellaneously throughout the different propositions, no common trend appearing.

The characteristics of the thinking of the older men's group was, however, fairly consistent. It mediated between that of the average and that of the forty-three women included in the group, in that it was more inclined to

extremes than the average and less so than that of the women, while it approximated women's opinion in the degree of hesitancy of judgment.

All told, however, the distinction between the opinion of the older men and of the group as a whole was not extreme at any point and was not clear-cut as to direction.

The attempt to pursue these differences by the examination of particular propositions did not greatly serve to clarify the generalization. For example, on the propositions that the basis of the church's organized life is to be found in a fixed body of revealed truth and that in religion there is no distinction between essentials and non-essentials—both of which are denied by the leaders as a whole—males over sixty are much weaker in their denial and males under sixty and women much stronger than the average. Here one finds elderly men more conservative than the rest of the group.

On the proposition that the historic creeds are to be maintained subject to contemporary interpretation, it is the old men and the women who agree in according it more than average favor.

When it comes to the question of ministers constituting a separate order in the church, women are strongest in denial and old men least so.

Upon the question whether it is necessary to unite the church under a single system of government, provided a common faith and order are maintained, it is the two male groups which are in conflict, the younger being less sure and the older more sure that this is so, while the opinion of women does not greatly deviate from the average.

In the case of church leaders, accordingly, while slight age and sex differences are registered, there is no consistent or invariable trend, and the significance of the difference admits only the loosest interpretation, possibly in terms of temperament.

AGE AND SEX DIFFERENCES WITH THE RANK AND FILE

Passing from the leaders to the rank and file, a difference in the reactions of the different age and sex groups appears in the distribution of their judgments upon select incidents and situations according to the six positions differentiated in chapter xiv. These differences are measured in Table XCIII.

Contrary to the results derived from the ballot and to the probable implications of the comparison of leaders' opinions according to age and sex, the women of the rank and file constituency are more positively progressive than the men. This is true of every age group, the difference being greatest with the youngest group. Old age is less progressive than middle age, but the difference between twenty and sixty is scarcely appreciable.

When it comes, however, to the comparison of degrees of progressiveness,

TABLE XCIII—VARIATION OF ANSWERS OF AGE AND SEX GROUPS ON 10 SELECT INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION AMONG SIX POSITIONS IN A PROGRESSIVE-CONSERVATIVE SERIES

Age and Sex	Number of Answers	Number of Points of Deviation by Position					
		Progressive	Conditionally Progressive	Equivocal	Conditionally Conservative	Conservative	Depreciatory
Under 20.....	47,099	+19	±0	+2	-3	-9	-9
Male.....	15,733	+17	+1	+1	-3	-8	-8
Female.....	31,366	+20	±0	+2	-3	-9	-9
20 to 30.....	30,211	+23	-1	+1	-4	-10	-9
Male.....	14,722	+22	-1	+1	-4	-10	-8
Female.....	15,489	+25	-2	+1	-4	-11	-9
30 to 60.....	31,343	+23	±0	+1	-4	-10	-9
Male.....	21,992	+22	±0	+1	-4	-10	-9
Female.....	9,351	+26	-1	+2	-5	-11	-9
Over 60.....	4,557	+21	+1	+1	-5	-10	-8
Male.....	3,605	+21	+1	+1	-4	-10	-8
Female.....	952	+22	+2	+2	-6	-11	-9
Total.....	113,210	+21	±0	+1	-4	-10	-9
Male.....	56,052	+20	±0	+1	-4	-9	-8
Female.....	57,158	+22	+1	+2	-4	-10	-9

it is to be noted that relatively more men than women make qualified judgments. They show greater inclination to look on both sides of the question. They are similarly less extreme than women in opposition to conservatism, but somewhat more addicted to depreciatory attitudes.

In this table again the greatest differences that appear are small compared with those found between denominations or even within denominations. The rank and file, old and young, and of both sexes, register surprising unanimity of attitude toward practical church issues.

UNSATISFACTORINESS OF ECCLESIASTICAL DISCUSSIONS OF CHURCH UNION FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF MODERN YOUTH

The most direct and specific inquiry into youth attitudes concerned the alleged unsatisfactoriness of the concepts and terminology employed by ecclesiastics in discussing church union.

Statements presented to the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order, purporting to present the reactions of youth toward traditional discussions of church union, had declared that youth was not impressed by terms and categories conventionally employed by churchmen. Similar views find frequent echo in occasional literature. This issue was put before representatives of the rank and file of the American religious public by means of questionnaires replied to by 12,498 members of twenty-five denominations. The form in which the issue and accompanying judgments were presented,

and the distribution of replies between the five judgments, are shown in Table XCIV and in Appendix Table 4I.

TABLE XCIV—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—OPINION OF YOUTH ON ECCLESIASTICAL DISCUSSIONS OF CHURCH UNION

(General Church Constituency)

"Spokesmen for the younger generation say that modern youth feels that discussions of church union by priests and clergymen are largely academic and tend to magnify and perpetuate differences which can mean little to those who desire simply to walk as brethren in the footsteps of Jesus."

Judgments	Per Cent. Choosing As 1st or 2nd Best
The future of the church is in hands of youth, and the truest revelations of God to our day may be expected through their minds and hearts. (4).....	33
Religious leaders should express matters which seem important to them in simple terms closely related to practical life. (5).....	33
If young people will be a little thoughtful, they will realize that their perspective may change in a few years, and that things which their religious leaders hold dear may seem more important than they do now. (3).....	19
Christ laid down rules for the proposed constitution and conduct of the church, and all Christians, whether young or old, are bound to accept his authority as represented by the church. (2)	13
What uninstructed young people think is not very important. (1).....	2
Total (24,074 choices, 12,498 persons answering).....	100

The judgments ranged from one extreme, which gave divine sanction to the religious impulses of youth, to another which regarded youth's contribution to the issue as insignificant. The former got the largest proportion of votes, the latter the smallest. A second major emphasis called on ecclesiastics to state their ideas in simple terms related to practical life. Considerable approval was given to the consideration that youth may change; but only 13 per cent. of the more than 12,000 persons voting called for such submission to authority as would refuse a hearing to youth's viewpoints.

Denominations most favorable to the viewpoints of youth on this issue are the Universalist, Unitarian, Reformed in the U. S., Friends and Congregational-Christian; the least favorable, the Pentecostal, Moravian, Dunker, Latter Day Saints, Roman Catholic, and especially the Missouri Synod Lutheran. Only the last, however, tends to hold that what youth thinks is unimportant.

All told, the constituency (though inclined to remind youth that there is a longer perspective than it now possesses) shows great expectancy in young people and much sympathy for criticisms arising from the more naively religious outlook of the younger generation. There is next to no inclination to squelch youth and but little to put youth off with an authoritarian answer to its problems.

STATUS IN THE CHURCH

The presumption that attitudes toward church union might vary according to age and sex was based on general considerations of human experience. The probability that status in the church will affect attitudes on the same problem is based on the actual inequality of ministers and laymen, both in theory and in practice. This has already been shown in the section on the minister in chapter xii. Not only does the sacerdotal concept make the ministry a different and superior order in the church, but denominations which do not hold this theory have often given the ministry disproportionate actual authority in the church, either constitutionally or by habitual usage. The minister's superior status, coupled with his greater professional competency and opportunity for attention to ecclesiastical affairs, has naturally tended to give him a special point of view, which may clash with that of his lay constituency.

This hypothesis is substantiated by very numerous expressions of attitudes in communications volunteered during the course of the study. A temperate statement of the general issue appears in the following quotation from a New York Congregational layman:

"The great body of laymen feel a great desire to eliminate artificial differences. My experience has been that differences of creed and of form are taken more seriously by the clergy than by the laity, and the clergymen in apostolic churches, while probably sincere in their belief in respect to the administration of the sacraments, lay much greater stress on the matter of apostolic succession than the average layman is able to follow and, thus, probably unintentionally, appear to set themselves up as superior to clergymen of other denominations."

In less considerate mood, certain ministers have taken opportunity to tell what they really think of the ability and spiritual capacity of their laity. Thus a Pennsylvania Presbyterian minister writes:

"Let them be learners, which they prefer to be anyhow. Not that I believe that any such question is to be settled by the clergy only, on the ground of professional standing; although one might argue that no body of medical men, for instance, would permit any promiscuous body of non-professional laymen to settle any questions of medical practice or principle for them. I realize the case is a little different with regard to religious belief. Here the question is not one of professional attainment, but of personal conviction. To leave the future destiny, the organization and the message of the Church which, to me, is a supernatural, divine institution—with all its various denominational expressions; provided they hold to the fundamentals of Christianity—I say, to leave these to the criterion of very human, very much biased, oftentimes positively selfish, spiritually unenlightened and unregenerate men would be, in my conception, a

terrible calamity; it would lower the Church to the level of a purely mundane, human organization, without any guarantee of the indwelling of the Spirit of God."

Still another version of the conflict between minister and layman is voiced by a general official of the Universalist Church:

"While ministers are 'impractical' and 'idealistic,' yet, by this very fact, they have the benefit of the synthesizing, intuitive faculty in understanding life, and the life needs of humanity, as over against the hard-headed logic and materialistic intellectualism of the American business man, who deals with things and what are called 'facts' and who knows little about *life*."

"Very few business men who participate in the administration of religious organization (and this is particularly true of the 'self-made' men of wealth and authority) have equipt themselves, by thought and experience, to warrant their being accorded recognition and authority in the determination of matters of ecclesiastical polity, ritual, rites and statements of belief."

"My own experience with many Board of Trustees and deacons," writes a New England representative of an influential denomination, "is that the members have been so absorbed in profit-making, so hardened by unethical business practices, policies and methods of operation, that they lack the essential vision, appreciation and understanding to build and carry forward a religious organization or program."

"More and more I thank God for the current situation, for its disciplinary pressure upon these hardened business men."

To these moods laymen sometimes retorted rather bitterly that the type of question represented by the present study in its effort to express current ecclesiastical thinking was thoroughly obnoxious. Hair-splitting on issues which only a dogmatic doctrinaire can understand is a congenital illness with clergymen, according to a distinguished newspaperman. Such questions about union as clergymen raise are not worth thinking about. "The average layman of my acquaintance," writes an Illinois business man, "does not give a continental darn for creeds and doctrine. He wants a field in which to work for the betterment of mankind and his children. He would, if the church hierarchy permitted, work out union from the bottom up, not top down."

Theologians' notions have no appeal to the average business man, according to a communication from Iowa.

Finally, certain laymen hurl the specific charge that the ministry is blocking union. In connection with the Louisiana ballot, a testimony is volunteered: "As a Christian worker for years I find a strong urge among the lay workers for any and all efforts to unite various churches. Our Sunday school of forty favors unification of all Christians as far as possible. P.S. The clergy oppose it!"

Sometimes it is church executives who are particularly singled out as ob-

structionists. "Church executives and tradition—the two go together and constitute the barrier to union."

Other incidental evidence was already at hand as to the real gap between ecclesiastical and lay thinking. Thus, in an extensively circulated Methodist questionnaire in 1932, while ministers favored the representation of laymen in annual conferences by two to one, laymen favored the same measure by eight to one.⁵

THE MEASUREMENT OF ACTUAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CLERGY AND LAITY

In view of these evidences it becomes of vital interest to measure the actual difference between the clerical and the lay viewpoints by a series of objective criteria.

THE CHURCH UNION BALLOT

As already discovered in connection with the ballot on church union,⁶ ministers are more strongly in favor of union than lay church officers are, lay church officers than other church-members, and other members than non-members. Those officially standing nearest the situation are least satisfied with the present denominational order. In readiness for union, then, ministers are leaders rather than obstructionists. This generalization, however, is not equally true of all denominations, and is not true at all of some of them. Twelve denominations out of eighteen compared on this point follow the rule. Ministers of the Baptist (North and South), Friends, Lutheran, United Presbyterian, and Reformed in America denominations constitute an exception. They are more sectarianly inclined than are the laymen of the Protestant constituency as a group.

Relative to their own laymen, either official or non-official, Southern Baptist ministers are slightly more sectarian, and Lutheran ministers decidedly more sectarian. The greatest difference within any denomination, however, is found in the Reformed Church in America whose ministers are twice as strong in favor of the present denominational order as the laymen are. The widest discrepancies between clerical and lay ballots in the other direction are found in the Congregational-Christian and Moravian churches. Non-official laymen in the Congregational church are much stronger for the denominational order than their ministers, while Moravian non-official laymen are three times as sectarian, and official laymen four times as sectarian as their ministers. In these cases, the ministers appear to have got too far ahead of the procession.

Ministers as a group are much more favorable to federal union than laymen as a group, and this holds for eleven denominations out of the eighteen

⁵ "The Mind of Methodism" in *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, February 11, 1932.

⁶ P. 111.

compared, namely, Baptist (North), Congregational-Christian, Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, South, Moravian, Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, U. S. A., Reformed in the U. S., Unitarian, United Brethren and Miscellaneous. Disciple and Protestant Episcopal ministers are also more favorable than the lay group toward general union. This puts more than two-thirds of the denominations behind the general rule that ministers are stronger for union than laymen are.

In nearly all cases the rule holds between ministers of a given denomination and their own laymen. In the Reformed Church in America, however, laymen are far ahead of ministers in their approval of federal union, and in the Southern Baptist church, non-official laymen are somewhat ahead of their ministers. On the point of general union, as contrasted with federal, ministers as a group are less favorable, and laymen more so. This is not true, however, of either class of laymen of the Federated, Moravian, United Presbyterian and Protestant Episcopal churches, nor of the official laymen of the Reformed Church in the U. S.

RELIGIOUS DISTANCE

Data with respect to religious distance feeling according to status in the church are available for nearly 4,200 persons of two denominations (Presbyterian, U. S. A., and Methodist Episcopal). The differences registered on this point by ministers and various classes of laymen are shown in Table XCV.

TABLE XCV—INDEX OF RELIGIOUS DISTANCE FEELING ACCORDING TO STATUS IN THE CHURCH FOR TWO DENOMINATIONS

Status in Church	Distance Score	
	Presbyterian, U. S. A.	Methodist Episcopal
Ministers	6.4	4.5
Lay Church Officers.....	6.4	8.3
Lay Church-members.....	7.4	9.8
Not Church-members.....	10.0	13.5
(Number Reporting	1,132	3,050)

In both denominations ministers have least prejudice, according to the index figure previously explained.⁷ Laymen rank next, while non-member adherents show the greatest distance feeling. This finding corresponds with the results of the ballot. Both seem to indicate that the group in the church whose status brings with it the greatest knowledge and responsibility tends to have the smallest objection to change, while the outsider has the most.

RANK AND FILE ATTITUDES

Besides containing a very disproportionate number of ministers, the leaders' group from which questionnaires were secured was generally profes-

⁷ P. 12.

sional and consequently highly select. Status comparisons, accordingly, are not pertinent to this group. The next significant evidence is found, therefore, in returns from the rank and file.

In view of the considerable difference which status in the church registered in terms of the ballot and the religious distance test, it is something of a surprise that the difference turns out to be so small when the attitudes of the rank and file are compared on problems of practical adjustments among churches. Thus, when the returns from this constituency on incidents and situations are distributed among the six positions explained in the preceding chapter, no considerable difference appears in terms of status at any point. This is shown in Table XCVI.

TABLE XCVI—VARIATION ACCORDING TO STATUS IN THE CHURCH OF ANSWERS ON INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION AMONG SIX POSITIONS IN A PROGRESSIVE-CONSERVATIVE SERIES

Status	Number of An- swers	Progressive	Number of Points of Deviation by Position				Depreciatory
			Conditionally Progressive	Equivalent	Conditionally Conservative	Conservative	
Ministers.....	45,910	+17	+3	±0	-2	-10	-8
Lay church officers.....	39,759	+19	+3	±0	-4	-11	-7
Lay church-members.....	117,929	+18	+2	±0	-4	-10	-6
Not church-members.....	11,437	+17	+3	±0	-4	-10	-5
Total.....	215,035	+18	+3	±0	-4		-7

The lack of significant difference according to status is the more remarkable when it is recalled that each individual replying passed 108 judgments and the tabulated answers reached the impressive total of 215,035. It is also to be noted that more answers from ministers were included in the rank and file returns than were included in the leaders' or select constituency groups. In the main they were the less prominent ministers; but these, at least, fully shared in the tendencies of popular thinking.

Turning to the very slight differences revealed by the test, it is to be noted that lay church-members are more progressive than ministers, but that ministers are less disinclined to the conditionally conservative position which essentially represents the effort of Protestant and Catholic philosophies to reach a common understanding. Very likely this is because ministers may understand the issues better. Ministers, again, are more disinclined to the depreciatory attitude, which dismisses the whole issue, as ecclesiastically formulated, as of little consequence.

STATUS DIFFERENCES ON PARTICULAR ISSUES

The close parallel between the thinking of ministers and that of laymen which constitutes the major revelation of this comparison does not, of course,

correspond to each and every one of the numerous judgments involved. Examination of these judgments, one by one, shows relatively few intelligible deviations.

A few, however, deserve mention. On the incident of the community church composed of people of very diverse beliefs and outlooks, ministers took a very much more tolerant view than laymen. In the matter of close communion they were less inclined than the laity to take refuge in a technical solution of the issue. Ministers showed stronger opposition than laymen to sectarianism on the foreign field and were surer that the toleration of divergent schools of thought within a denomination is preferable to a split.

Finally, ministers were more favorable to occasional joint celebrations of the communion by denominations which do not habitually practise it.

In contrast with these liberal clerical tendencies, on the proposition that it is desirable that community churches join some of the existing denominations, clerical sentiment was twice as insistent as lay. Here, then, is a real divergence showing a bias of the professional leader in favor of the maintenance of the existing order.

On the whole, the series of variations is not impressive. So far as it reaches, however, it fits in with the superior liberality of ministers in their feeling toward other faiths and their stronger vote for some type of union. These minor differences fall within the major fact that rank and file judgments are not far apart on practical issues, whatever the status in the church of the person making the judgment.

TWO SPECIAL STATUS GROUPS: MINOR OFFICIALS

In connection with the apparently disproved charge that it is the clergy who are holding union back, it was noted that the denominational official is often singled out for special attack. National denominational officials were mainly included in the list of 624 church leaders, and were not isolated in the tabulation of the leaders' questionnaires. Eighty minor officials, however, were identified by means of a code mark on questionnaires, and a separate study was made of their returns. This group consisted of state, conference and district secretaries and superintendents, city mission society executives and district mission board representatives variously named by the several denominations. Their denominational distribution was as shown in Table XCVII.

This sample is manifestly too small and too poorly balanced to warrant putting too much stress on the findings. They are, however, probably indicative of the general characteristics of the group.

On the church union ballot minor officials show about average favor for the present denominational order, but come out much more strongly for

TABLE XCVII—DENOMINATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF
MINOR OFFICIALS

Denomination	Number
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	23
Baptist (Northern Convention).....	14
Protestant Episcopal.....	10
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	9
Presbyterian, U. S.....	6
Reformed in U. S.....	6
Reformed in America.....	4
Universalist.....	4
Baptist (Southern Convention).....	2
Methodist Episcopal.....	2
Total.....	80

federal union and least strongly for general union. They show just about the average amount of religious distance feeling for the group of regular denominations from which the sample is drawn. Minor officials who vote for continuing the present denominational system register twice as much prejudice as those who vote for either form of union. On the cross-out test, indicating denominations which they would exclude from a united church, they are more inclined than the average to blackball Pentecostals, Negroes and members of no denomination. This position is probably based on evident difficulties of assimilating such groups into the church rather than upon any theoretical basis. On the issues presented to the select constituency, minor officials tend to avoid either extreme. They closely agree with the predominantly mediating emphasis of the constituency as a whole, and they stress unity tendencies much more than the average. This agrees with and probably interprets their strong vote for federal union on the church union ballot.

On the incidents and situations presented to the rank and file minor officials again show avoidance of extreme tendencies. They are less progressive and less opposed to the conservative position than the average. They stress both sides of the median position; that is to say, they are conditionally progressive and conditionally conservative at once. These characteristics are summarized in Table XCVIII.

A consideration of particular issues and incidents throws light on the characteristic attitudes of minor officials. As to whether the church can make concessions necessary to achieve union without sacrifice of principle, the minor official is strongly impressed that union is possible only when no difference of principle exists and that churches which do not assume that any difference in principle exists should go the farthest in making the concessions. This seems to mirror a strong sense of limitation upon the probability of unity rather than an idealistic disregard of tradition; especially since minor officials find little merit in the argument that brotherhood

TABLE XCVIII—MINOR OFFICIALS AND ALL DENOMINATIONS COMPARED WITH RESPECT TO AFFINITY FOR SPECIFIED POSITIONS

Variation from Proportionate Distribution of Answers Among Six Positions

	(Select Constituency)					
	Extreme Diversity	Diversity Trend	Mediating	Unity Trend	Extreme Unity	Equivocal
All Denominations.....	-3	+5	+13	±0	-13	± 0
Minor Officials..	-1	±0	+14	+8	- 7	-12

	(Rank and File)					
	Progressive	Conditionally Progressive	Equivocal	Conditionally Conservative	Conservative	Deprecatory
All Denominations.....	+20	±0	+2	-2	-10	-10
Minor Officials.....	+15	+2	-4	+1	- 5	- 9

should prevail over tradition on this issue or that the intent to achieve unity justifies concessions.

Again, on the question of strengthening the Federal Council on the assumption that it may grow into an organ of positive union, the minor official is strongly against any encroachment on denominational monopoly of control in the fields of faith and order and less inclined than the average to admit the likelihood of the Council's growth into something stronger. These attitudes definitely enroll him in the defense of the *status quo*.

Finally, as to the possibility of the present denominations finding a permanent place within a united church, the minor official is strongly convinced that they cannot accept inferior status and at the same time that there can be no permanent conservation of the values of the denominations without their perpetuation as such. This is to magnify difficulties, but is perhaps inevitable on a realistic appreciation of the situation.

Turning from issues to incidents, on the incident presenting a community church composed of a wide variety of elements, minor officials go beyond the average in stressing the opinion that compromise is too high a price to pay for union and that extremely divergent types are better off in separate churches; while they are little impressed with the idealistic view that the church exists to prove the possibilities of wide diversity within a comprehensive unity.

Finally, on the intercommunion episode in which an Episcopal bishop forbade a joint celebration of the communion by Episcopal and non-Episcopal ministers in an Episcopal church, minor officials refused to countenance the making of a fraternal exception in a special case, but want to make out that the incident is one of little consequence and incline to feel that the bishop should not be condemned for following his convictions in the matter.

All told, then, this series of data does not portray the minor official as a

drag on church union, either instinctively or on practical attitudes. He is, however, a realist and he dislikes extremes. He has an average amount of prejudice. He favors union of the federal type and, quite naturally, in view of his position, he attaches more value to regularity in church procedure than other people do. These findings tend to confirm the verdict arrived at by the present writer as the result of a previous study,⁸ namely that the denominational official is the actual leader and generally the best friend of unity movements within limits; but that he is temperamentally and officially disinclined to see them run wild and is strongly impressed with the idea that he is the one ordained to steady the ark of progress.

THE NON-MEMBER ADHERENT

Eighty-one persons returning questionnaires said that they did not belong to any denomination. Some of these were persons whose names were secured through a small random sampling of *Who's Who in America*. Others doubtless filled out questionnaires because they chanced to be present at some church gathering where members were filling them out. Still others represent persons actually active in church work who for one reason or another are not in full church-membership. This relatively small sample is not presented as fully representative of the great populations which, as revealed by all first-hand surveys, adhere to the churches but do not belong to them. Probably, however, some of the outstanding characteristics of these populations are suggested by the data.

With respect to the church union ballot, non-member adherents are very much stronger for general union than members are. They show average favor for federal union, but are only two-thirds as favorable toward the existing denominational order.

Comparison of non-member adherents with minor officials and ministers shows those whose connection with the church is most tenuous and least responsible favoring the most inclusive form of union, while those whose connection is most immediate and responsible favor union in the federal form.

Having only a dangling attachment to the church, however, does not preclude strong prejudice. The non-member adherent registers two and one-half times as much distance feeling toward the various denominations as the average. This lack of tolerance toward all churches may tend to explain why he is not in any church. Again, the non-member adherent is more radically progressive than the average, but less conditionally progressive. In short, he goes to extremes. Furthermore he is inconsistent, for he

⁸ *Protestant Coöperation in American Cities* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930), p. 275.

is also less opposed to the extreme conservative position than the average. This is shown in Table XCIX.

TABLE XCIX—NON-MEMBERS AND ALL DENOMINATIONS COMPARED WITH RESPECT TO AFFINITY FOR SPECIFIED POSITIONS BY RANK AND FILE CONSTITUENCY

Variation from Proportionate Distribution of Answers Among Six Positions

	Progres- sive	Condi- tionally Progres- sive	Equiv- ocal	Condi- tionally Conserv- ative	Conserv- ative	Depre- ciatory
All Denominations.....	+20	±0	+2	-2	-10	-10
Non-members.....	+26	-3	-2	-4	-4	-6

The most revealing commentary on the attitude of the non-member adherent is probably the fact that he is much more inclined than the average to take a depreciatory view of church unity issues. On all but two of sixteen incidents to which depreciatory judgments were attached, the non-member registered a total depreciation score 70 per cent. greater than the average. This is simply to say that the non-member has less patience with church ways than its members as a whole have, and is in a more critical attitude toward the institution.

DIRECT TESTS OF THE DISTINCTIVE LAY VIEWPOINT

This discovery that the non-member refuses to take seriously some of the issues which churchmen think important is fresh commentary upon the anti-ecclesiastical tendencies which were glimpsed at the beginning of this section. So far difference in viewpoint between minister and layman has been traced on issues which did not raise the matter directly. Three direct tests of this difference are now to be reported.

One of the judgments presented to the rank and file constituency with respect to the issue of intercommunion read: "Although issues like this may look big to clergymen, sensible people will disregard such fine-spun positions and take no sides with respect to them." More than 10,000 persons answering ranked this judgment third out of six in order of importance. Ministers were least favorable to it and non-member adherents most favorable.

A proposition submitted to church leaders raised the issue still more pointedly. Its phraseology appears at the head of Table C and more than three-fourths of those replying asserted that most of the issues of church union currently discussed are unconvincing to the rank and file and should be abandoned in favor of more vital issues.

The outstanding revelation of the table is that the proposition is doubted by a considerable minority in only two denominations, and that in one of them, the Lutheran, the element of indecision as well as of opposition is particularly large.

TABLE C—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO PROPOSITIONS—UNCONVINCING NATURE OF CURRENT ISSUES AS TO CHURCH UNION

(624 Church Leaders)

"Most of the issues relative to church union which are currently discussed in church bodies, though they may have had meaning in the past and still appear important to the ecclesiastical mind, are unconvincing or fall entirely outside of the consciousness of the rank and file of the church. They should be abandoned in favor of considerations which take vital hold on the thought and conscience of Christians today."

Per Cent. of Replies Asserting That Proposition Is:

Denomination	True			False			Weighted Score*
	Certainly or Probably	Certainly	Probably	Undecided	Probably	Certainly	
All Denominations . . .	76.1	43.3	32.8	12.4	8.0	3.5	+1.04
Meth. Epis.	86.6	59.8	26.8	9.8	2.4	1.2	+1.41
Disciples	85.0	60.0	25.0	7.5	7.5	0.0	+1.38
Cong.-Christian . . .	84.4	52.1	32.3	9.4	5.2	1.0	+1.29
Bapt. (No. Conv.) . .	83.6	47.5	36.1	11.5	3.3	1.6	+1.25
Presb., U. S. A. . . .	80.6	40.3	40.3	10.4	9.0	0.0	+1.12
Reformed	74.2	32.3	41.9	19.4	3.2	3.2	+0.97
Miscellaneous	74.0	40.0	34.0	13.3	8.0	4.7	+0.97
Meth. Epis., South . .	72.4	41.4	31.0	13.8	6.9	6.9	+0.93
Prot. Epis.	48.6	17.2	31.4	11.4	34.3	5.7	+0.20
Lutheran	36.4	9.1	27.3	27.2	15.2	21.2	-0.12

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases

This result seems very clear justification, from within the rank of leaders themselves, of complaints volunteered against the theologically formulated issues; and evidence of a very definite demand for a new deal in their framing and discussion.

ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS IN ORGANIZED RELIGION

The popular acceptance of the lay viewpoint is, however, qualified by a fear that lay ascendancy may be the equivalent of control by the power of the purse. Sensitiveness as to the argument from economy in favor of church union and opposition to the application of business criteria to religious matters have already been recorded. Those who argue that "the most Christ-like method is also the most business-like" and that "the use of money is essentially a religious act; one is bound to use money economically not wastefully" appear to be in the minority and are forced into a defensive position.

The issue underlying this division of sentiment was presented to the rank and file through the following incident: "A conference on church unity called by a group of business men at Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania, in 1929, discussed the waste of money involved in the great number of duplicatory denominations at present supported, with rival churches, in many communi-

ties. Certain ministers took the ground that financial considerations do not apply to religious matters."

Table CI shows the division of the opinion of more than 11,000 persons answering.

TABLE CI—DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES TO INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS—THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENT FOR CHURCH UNITY

(General Church Constituency)

"A conference on church unity called by a group of business men at Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania, in 1929, discussed the waste of money involved in the great number of duplicatory denominations at present supported, with rival churches, in many communities. Certain ministers took the ground that financial considerations do not apply to religious matters."

	Per Cent. Choosing As 1st or 2nd Best
Most of the existing denominational divisions are not basic in principle, but are largely due to outworn tradition, ecclesiastical pride, and a desire to perpetuate vested interests. These should yield to considerations of economic efficiency, even if they will not yield to the claims of Christian brotherliness. (2).....	18
If churchmen can show the business men of their communions that some parts of their differences are fundamental, denominational divisions based on these differences should be allowed to continue, but divisions based on non-essentials should be abandoned. (3).....	23
Business men have a right to ask their churches to remedy any unnecessary waste of church resources, but have no right to ask them to suppress the convictions which lead to the maintenance of denominational institutions. (1).....	23
It would be unfortunate if the impression got abroad that some people were advocating church union in the hope that it would save them money. (6)	18
This is another instance of the attempt to run the church on the part of men with money, and the ministers were right in opposing it. (7).....	9
The duty of interpreting the constitution and principles of the church as established by Christ, and of leading it in matters pertaining to its ecclesiastical organization belongs to ministers who were made a special order in the church for that purpose. (4).....	5
Such discussions need not be taken very seriously, since neither business men nor ministers seem to make much real progress towards church union. (5).....	4
Total (21,456 choices, 11,312 persons answering).....	100

These representatives of a very wide church constituency were mostly laymen. What they pronounced, therefore, is a judgment upon themselves; and what asserts itself in the replies is the rule of common-sense which takes a moderate rather than an extreme attitude. The two preponderating judgments both straddled the issue. They want to avoid waste and apply business principles, but not to the extent of suppression of conviction or of essential differences between churches.

The denominations most favorable to the application of efficiency principles to the church were the Universalist, Unitarian and Reformed in U. S., supported by the non-member adherents. Those most wary of "business"

principles as applied to religion were the United Presbyterian and Missouri Synod. Other differences may be traced in Appendix Table 42.

On this direct test no considerable difference in replies according to status appears.

COMPARISON AND SUMMARY

Comparing the total age-sex data with the status data, the following appears justified as a summary of the two series.

Age-sex differences are small and can have relatively slight effect upon the prospects of church union, while differences between laity and clergy are conspicuously wide on many points and must be reckoned with in any appraisal of the situation.

Within the slight differences which age groupings reveal, youth is habitually on the more conservative side and middle age on the more progressive side of the series of tests. Old age, however, is also conservative.

Similarly, within the narrow difference range, women are generally the more conservative as compared with men, though the reverse is true on questions of practical adjustment between churches.

Summarizing differences in terms of status, it is the laymen that occupy the conservative position and ministers the progressive one on more general issues, even minor officials falling into the ranks of leadership. However, on the adjustment of church relationships, which obviously may immediately affect the prerogative and personal fortunes of ministers, ministers are more conservative than laymen. This natural tendency is accentuated in the case of minor officials.

The final conclusion from the data is that age, sex and status altogether do not constitute a highly determinative factor for or against church unity movements, though differences between clergy and laity do have secondary significance. This is a rather commonplace conclusion compared with the rather lurid partisanship on grounds of age and status expressed in some of the voluntary communications. Rationalizing the total situation, one is left wondering whether the data tell the whole story. The conservatism of old age is proverbial, and is naturally ascribed to biological and temperamental characteristics. Age is timid and unadventurous. Why, then, should youth not appear in the antithetical rôle of radicalism? And why are laymen who do not live by the church less willing to make changes than the ministers who have more to lose as well as to gain? An explanation volunteered by certain correspondents is that the knowledge and understanding of the two groups is unequal. Perhaps if youth knew as much about the matter as age and laymen as ministers, the rôles would be reversed. Certainly the evidence suggests that when the youth of today has matured a little it will be more progressive than it is now, and perhaps if laymen had an equal under-

standing of unity issues with ministers their supposed freedom from ecclesiastical conservatism would assert itself. This analysis indicates a large problem of education. Knowledge and understanding at present are very unequal, and until they are more nearly equalized it will be impossible to say how age, sex and status differences will influence the final result.

THE PROBLEM OF REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

Chapter i called attention to the pronounced regionality of most American denominations and their geographical limitation to more or less localized habitats. On this account, most of the general regional differences in attitudes making for or against church union are obviously traceable to particular denominational sources. They are, therefore, to be studied primarily in the light of denominational comparisons. It is, nevertheless, pertinent to generalize the question of the bearing of regional religious differences upon the prospect of church union.

The impression that regional differences are great and perhaps determinative has frequently been reinforced by expositions of the distinctive position of this or that area of the country brought forward by men in controversial moods. These are apt to appear in national conferences relating to religious coöperation.⁹ The total result, however, of the evidence is to indicate that regional differences are not extreme.

Data directly measuring regional differences were calculated on only a few points. The results of the church unity ballot, for example, indicated that the present denominational system finds its stronghold in the South which is twice as favorable to it as is the Far West. The South again shows least interest in federal union, which is most favored in the East and West. With respect to general union, regional variations are small.

With respect to the attitudes of the rank and file of the religious constituency toward concrete incidents and situations,¹⁰ only slight regional differences appear. These are measured in terms of regional bias for or against the six positions previously recognized in this chapter, in Table CII.

The results tend to correspond with those already drawn from the ballot. The South, for example, shows the smallest tendency toward progressiveness and the greatest toward conservatism, as well as a somewhat smaller disinclination toward a depreciatory view of the issues under consideration.

But the total result shows no striking regional differences. It rather reveals a large measure of geographical homogeneity in attitudes toward concrete situations involving the adjustment of churches one to another, in

⁹ See, for example, Bishop James Cannon's statement of the position of the southern churches at the Buck Hill Falls Conference on Unity.

¹⁰ Based on ten out of the eighteen incidents included in the questionnaire.

TABLE CII—REGIONAL VARIATION OF ANSWERS ON INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION AMONG SIX POSITIONS IN A PROGRESSIVE-CONSERVATIVE SERIES

Region	Number of Answers	Number of Points of Deviation by Position					
		Progressive	Conditionally Progressive	Equivocal	Conditionally Conservative	Conservative	Depreciatory
New England & Middle Atlantic..	76,178	+19	+3	±0	-4	-11	-7
South Atlantic & South Central....	59,555	+17	+2	±0	-3	-9	-6
North Central.....	78,081	+18	+3	±0	-3	-11	-7
Mountain & Pacific	14,126	+19	+3	±0	-4	-12	-7
Total.....	227,940	+18	+3	±0	-3	-10	-7

contrast with the considerably sharper differences attaching to the actual union of denominations.

The regional differences most easily traced to denominational sources are those between the northern and southern branches of the same denominational families. On the church union ballot, the Baptist (South) and Presbyterian, U. S., ranked in the upper quartile of those favoring the continuance of the present denominational order. The former shows extreme opposition and the latter more than average opposition to both forms of union. The Methodist Episcopal, South, also shows more than average favor to the denominational order, less than average favor for federal union, but stands above average in its approval of general union.

The same relative positions are maintained by these three denominations on other issues most available for comparison. The relative positions of the three denominations with respect to religious prejudice,¹¹ are indicated by the following index figures:

Methodist Episcopal, South.....	8.71
Presbyterian, U. S.	11.98
Baptist (Southern Convention).....	14.81

The average for twenty-five denominations is 11.53. The Southern Methodist position thus registers considerably less religious prejudice than the average and the Southern Baptist considerably more. On the twelve issues submitted to the select constituency, the Southern Methodist position gives its greatest sympathy to unity tendencies, and the Southern Baptist stands most strongly for diversity, while the Presbyterian, U. S., falls midway between. Similarly, on the rank and file questionnaire concerned with incidents and situations, the Southern Methodists are the most progressive and the Southern Baptists the most conservative of the three denominations.

¹¹ Explained on p. 14.

The tabulations of the present study look upon all Negro Baptists and all Negro Methodists as though they constituted single denominations. On this basis, the Negro denominations stand high in their approval of general union as established by the ballot and show less than average favor to the present denominational order. Negro Methodists have less than average prejudice and Negro Baptists about the average amount. On the incidents and situations their attitudes rank above the average in favor of progressiveness.

On the single issue of religious prejudice, replies from two major denominations, both ranking very low for total prejudice, were regionally discriminated. The results were conflicting. Members of the Presbyterian, U. S. A., in the North Central states showed the highest prejudice index and those in the Southern states the smallest. Methodist Episcopal members were least prejudiced in the Northeastern and North Central states while their religious-prejudice index increased in the Southern states and was greatest in the West. This showing suggests that when denominations get outside of the areas of their chief concentration their characteristics may suffer a change. But the present evidence is too slender to carry any very definite conclusions.

The significance for union of these rather slight regional variations that have been indicated is not to be minimized. Nevertheless, the outstanding fact is that the differences are nowhere extreme. The variations regionally measured are much smaller than those existing within many denominations on the same issues. While they are enough to make strict uniformity impossible, they by no means necessarily defeat the version of unity held by the great majority of the American religious public.

Such differences, however, as concentrated in certain strongly regional denominations, obviously modify practical steps toward unity. The fact of regional difference was, for example, recognized by the Cleveland comity conference of 1928¹² as a regulative principle in practical programizing. All experience in coöperative movements shows unequal readiness in the different sections of the country. Comparisons point by point of the ranking of regional churches of the same denominational families would also seem to demonstrate that unions between some of them will not be so easy to achieve as unions between other unrelated churches which are nearer together both in conviction and in temperament. This finding clarifies the method of attack on the problem of church union and throws doubt upon the wisdom of always waiting upon integration within denominational families before more inclusive union is attempted.¹³ Moreover, regional differences will necessarily influence the form of general union which is attempted at the

¹² See p. 46.

¹³ Pp. 490-494.

outset. Where they are distinct and strong they have rather habitually inclined negotiating denominations to a federal rather than to an organic type.

Regional differences, on the other hand, do not appear to be sufficient to suggest an administrative breaking up of a united American church into autonomous provincial churches. Sectional struggle for control is, indeed, a familiar phenomenon within many of the widely-distributed denominations. East and West, North and South, contend for headquarters locations, distribution of funds, and ecclesiastical offices. But they do this on the basis of practically identical religious ideals and attitudes. The preponderance of the movement toward unity, and of actual integration in some flexible form, over the inclination to maintain the *status quo* or to fall into further division, obtains in all sections of the nation and is everywhere going forward, though at unequal pace.

CHAPTER XVI

Denominational Differences as Bearing Upon the Probability of Union

Throughout the previous chapters denominational differences have been noted topic by topic as they became pertinent to the discussion. As the summary of the last chapter revealed, their total is surprisingly slight and such differences as exist are massed at a few points rather than scattered throughout the entire body of opinion. This means that they cannot be extreme when divided among denominations and that they probably concentrate in a few denominations. Some denominations, however, contribute more, others less, to the probability of church union, while others are positively against it. They must, therefore, be compared from this standpoint.

To this comparison the present chapter now brings all the previously presented data of the book, with special view to establishing the probability of union between certain denominations according to the fifth and sixth criteria proposed in chapter xiv, namely, their close agreement in thinking and attitudes. This has to be demonstrated for each of the three publics for whose thinking and attitudes evidence has been gathered, and for a wide variety of phenomena naturally not all pointing in the same direction.

The outstanding result of this summary is to prove that there actually exists an impressive group of churches so near together on a multitude of tests that their union is obviously natural and relatively easy.

But the same measuring process reveals an opposing group so far from the former that their present union is inconceivable. (Incidentally the members of the remote group are still farther from one another.) Between the two groups stands a doubtful group. The study thus returns at the end to the identification by its total data of the three groups—one near, one far and one between—which the first chapter tentatively identified on the basis of the single religious distance test.

RESTRICTIVE DENOMINATIONALISM

Why do not the agreeing groups unite forthwith? For one reason, because union is not narrowly or strictly governed by likenesses or differences of opinion. Action is necessary for the realization of union. Denominational divisions affect and limit action. In spite of the fact that practically all actual differences cut across denominational lines, the boundary lines of these units continue to separate people who not only hold many particular

opinions in common but who also tend to occupy coherent general positions in common. Denominations compartmentalize. The effective influence of these like-minded people is limited by the average attitude of their respective denominations. The minority has no outlet or means of expression. There is no such thing as proportionate representation in the church. Union is not achieved according to the numerical distribution of individual attitudes for or against it. Outside of denominational lines there are no general standards to which the like-minded may repair. There might be if the misrepresented minorities were ready for organized revolution, but there is no real evidence to suggest that they are ready yet.

Denominational differences, then, have large significance for the prospects of church union. Where they are slight they challenge the like-minded majorities to reconsider their weakened barriers so as to see whether they should not be removed altogether. Where they are great, they at least raise the logical question whether the agreeing minorities would not better align themselves outwardly with denominations to which they really belong by inner affinity. By the same token grave differences furnish those who want to stay apart with a good reason for doing so. Either way the facts need to be established.

SIGNIFICANT POINTS OF COMPARISON

Denominations clearly have to be compared from more than one angle; indeed many factors need to be considered.

(1) Obviously the point of final importance is the readiness of any given denomination for the kind of union which is probable. As one knows from chapter xiv, the strong characteristic tendency both of church leaders and of the select constituency is to advocate a mediating position with respect to unity; that is to say, one securing the practical advantages of union but allowing at the same time for a large measure of diversity. The only union at all probable in the United States is union on these general lines. As bearing on practicable union, therefore, the most crucial measurement is that of agreement of any denomination with, or its deviation from, these model tendencies of the religious public as a whole.

(2) But it is equally obvious that, in order to contribute to the prospects of union, a denomination must definitely favor unity in some degree. Consequently, in the comparison of denominations, the most natural point of departure will be their attitude toward unity *per se*, unity as a basic ideal with respect to the constitution of the church. Logically this is the first point in the order of exposition.

(3) But even strong approval of practicable union, that is to say, union of the sort favored by the majority, is not the final test of the contribution of a denomination to actual union movements. Availability for leadership

in a union movement involves still other factors. To be available for leadership of a concrete movement, a denomination, whatever its attitude toward theoretical unity, must not be too remote from the majority in feeling, nor must it stand in frequent opposition to them. One must look, then, for leadership to denominations that favor practicable unity and are also available from these standpoints.

(4) There is still a fourth factor to be reckoned with. Acceptability is not identical with availability. A denomination that has little prejudice may nevertheless suffer from the prejudice of others, and a denomination not initiating opposition may be opposed by the stubbornness of others. This distinction came to light in connection with the religious distance test, where it was proved that, while prejudice is generally mutual, some denominations that think well of others are less well thought of by others. Accordingly, for the maximum contribution to practicable union movements, one must look to denominations which are acceptable to others as well as available for leadership by virtue of their own favorable attitudes.

(5) All the tests so far proposed, whether for determining what denominations are more or less favorable to unity or practical union, or what are available or acceptable for leadership, have had primarily to do with attitudes registered toward more or less theoretical issues bearing upon church unity. The instrument by which rank and file opinion was measured dealt, on the contrary, with problems of practical adjustments between churches. Its results were expressed in terms of progressiveness versus conservatism, rather than as a contrast between approval of unity or of diversity.¹ This serves to identify still another factor bearing upon the prospects of union. It is the more progressive denominations that will most definitely incline to translate their attitudes into action. Accordingly, the actual hope for church union depends upon denominations which stand for practicable union, which are available and acceptable as leaders, and which are also progressive.

(6) Finally, there is the factor of consistency. The contribution of any denomination to church union must obviously depend upon the steadiness with which the characteristics enumerated above actually appear and are operative in its case. Otherwise it may neutralize at one point what it effects at another.

Some slight recognition at least must also be given to the unequal influence upon denominations of such modifying factors as neutrality and indecisiveness.²

Here, then, is a series of six major factors. In order to contribute to prac-

¹ P. 414 f.

² P. 418.

ticable unity a denomination must run the gauntlet of all six. The survivors, if there are any survivors, will represent the effective leadership for a practicable union movement. In so far as any denomination otherwise qualified is lacking in one or more of the points of the above analysis it will be less available for leadership. The chapter, accordingly, will compare the denominations in these six aspects, and on their combined evidence will eventually reach a definite conclusion as to the relative contribution of each to union. Before proceeding to this comparison, however, something must be said as to the coherence of phenomena affecting church union, which it is the final function of the chapter to establish.

COHERENCE OF PHENOMENA AFFECTING CHURCH UNION

Chapter xiv proposed, as the final test of the probability of union, that it should be shown that phenomena favorable to union tend to coincide and cohere within an interrelated system of tendency and attitudes.

The general and denominational comparisons have hitherto presented agreement and disagreement as measured one point at a time, after which certain aggregates were totaled, certain directions of tendency noted and certain general positions identified by a process of induction. The actual situation, however, permits and requires an even broader synthesis of evidence. It is not one in which particular denominations or publics repeatedly support or oppose one another on series of issues as exhibited merely by means of single instruments of comparison. Instead, the same contrasting types of thought and attitudes appear in all publics, and on a wide and varied range of tests.

These systematic tendencies are, of course, not absolute. Consequently their boundaries are not clear-cut. Most denominations are unique in certain aspects. They do not merely keep step with others within some common major tendency. Sometimes they follow detours of their own. Nevertheless, actual systems of common or opposing tendencies exist.

This is to be particularly demonstrated by means of various statistical correlations.

CORRELATION OF DISTANCE FEELING AND CHURCH UNION BALLOT

Thus, for example, it has already been found that the phenomenon of distance feeling between religious bodies and their ballot on church union are distinctly related.⁸ The ballot represents a decision as to the actual adjustment of church organizations. The religious distance test measures attitudes toward members of other churches in direct relations reflecting the ordinary aspects of common religious life. Persons in favor of the present

⁸P. 115.

denominational order register a much stronger distance feeling on the average than those voting either for federal or for general union.

On the other hand, persons voting for federal union record 50 per cent. less than average distance feeling or less than half as much as those who voted for the existence of the present denominational system. Persons voting for general church union showed one-fifth less than average distance feeling and only half as much as those voting the denominationalist ballot. The relative indices in terms of a possible distance score are as follows:

Ballots	Distance Score
Average of all ballots.....	15.3
For federal union.....	10.4
For general union.....	12.0
For denominational system.....	23.2

Table CIII shows the distribution of ballots for the denominations constituting the four quartile groups on the ranking scale and showing respectively the smallest, below average, above average and largest distance scores. The same data are exhibited graphically in Chart XXX.

TABLE CIII—DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH UNION BALLOTS ACCORDING TO QUARTILE STANDING OF DENOMINATIONS ON RELIGIOUS DISTANCE

Distance Score	Per Cent.				
	Present Denominational Order	Federal Union	General Union	Mixed	Total
Smallest.....	25.0	34.9	33.6	6.5	100.0
Below average.....	28.2	32.5	33.9	5.4	100.0
Above average.....	43.5	26.0	28.2	2.3	100.0
Largest.....	42.9	21.8	27.8	7.5	100.0

Denominations registering more than average prejudice toward others give a much heavier vote for the present denominational order.

Similar tendencies run throughout all denominations in something like the same proportion. This was shown in Chart IX.

The correspondence between strength of distance feeling and approval of the denominational order holds for the great majority of denominations, but is not without exception. Returns from Jewish, Pentecostal and "no denomination" questionnaires show much greater distance feeling than approval of sectarianism. This is true in less measure of Evangelical Synod and Disciples questionnaires. On the other hand, Moravian and Methodist Episcopal, South, and, in less degree, Baptist (South), Presbyterian, U. S., United Presbyterian and Methodist Protestant questionnaires are more favorable to the denominational order than they are prejudiced against others. Denominations of the former group cherish a strong sense of being peculiar peoples, yet do not draw a consequent conclusion favorable to sec-

tarian separation. The latter group, it will be observed, consists of regionally concentrated denominations whose greater approval of denominationalism may well be laid to sectional history. At least it is not explained by distance feeling as such.

The major effect of this evidence is to discover a more tolerant and comprehending group of churches which does not feel average remoteness from members of other faiths. These incline to vote for federal union. There is a less tolerant and comprehending group; these tend to vote for the *status*

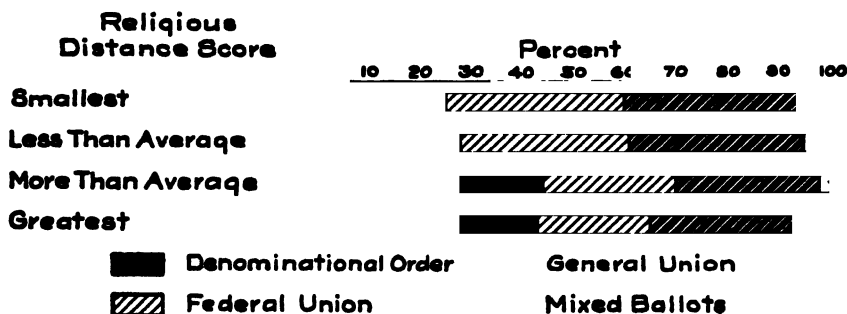


CHART XXX—DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH UNION BALLOTS FOR DENOMINATIONS STANDING RESPECTIVELY IN THE UPPER, ABOVE AVERAGE, BELOW AVERAGE AND LOWER QUARTILES OF A LIST RANKED ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF RELIGIOUS DISTANCE FEELING

quo. The same thing, though not statistically measured, must be true within most, if not all the churches. The measurement of feeling and the measurement of decision tend to agree.

SELECT CONSTITUENCY BALLOTS AND DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES

But measurements of decision also agree with measurements of attitudes based on theory. Evidence of this further coherent tendency is found by comparing the results of the ballot on church union by the select constituency with the distribution of the attitudes of this constituency toward church union issues according to the six positions developed in chapter xiv. This comparison was carried out for seven denominations on six issues, with results appearing in Table CIV.

The table shows a decisive difference between the positions occupied by those who balloted in the different ways indicated.

The outstanding differences are what would logically be expected.

(1) Compared with the total, voters for the continuance of the present denominational order think very much more favorably of diversity in the church than the average of all voters, and are much less inclined to the mediating position. Considering the trends toward unity and diversity, less

TABLE CIV—VARIATION OF BALLOTS OF SELECT CONSTITUENCY OF SEVEN DENOMINATIONS FROM PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION AMONG SIX POSITIONS ON CHURCH UNION

Ballots for	Number of Points of Deviation by Position					Equivalent
	Diversity	Diversity Trend	Mediating	Unity Trend	Unity	
Denominational Order.....	+ 6	+4	± 0	+1	-11	±0
Federal Union.....	- 8	+3	+18	+7	-19	±0
General Union.....	-10	-3	+13	+8	- 9	+1
Total.....	- 6	+2	+13	+6	-15	±0

difference is found than with respect to the extreme positions; but those balloting for the denominational order register a more than average trend toward diversity and very much less than an average trend toward unity. With respect to the positive position in favor of unity an anomaly appears in that denominationalist voters, who alone have favored extreme diversity, also show less than average opposition to this extreme, exactly as the general unionist voters do. An explanation of this phenomenon (which turns out to be highly important in a number of connections⁴) may be ventured as follows: Even pronounced denominationalists would sincerely prefer unity if they could have it on their terms and hence they react favorably to generalized slogans in praise of unity; but in practical decisions they take exactly the opposite position, the extremely sectarian one.

(2) By contrast, voters for federal union show a very pronounced mediating trend, an average unity trend, and a barely appreciable trend to diversity; but they show more than average opposition to extreme diversity and very much more opposition to extreme unity. This distribution of emphases is probably a very accurate reflection of the attitudes of the 7,000 federal unionists who contributed to the ballot. Federation represents an essentially mediating position, and while it looks more in the direction of unity than of diversity, its bias in the former direction is relatively slight.

(3) Persons who cast their ballots for general union naturally show the least opposition to extreme unity ideas, and show a slightly greater unity trend than do federal unionists. They register just about average affinity for the mediating position (but much less than federal unionists) and decisively greater opposition toward diversity in any degree.

All this merely proves that a generalized decision indicated by the ballot choice corresponds rather definitely with the trend of the attitudes of the same public when they are spread out over some dozens of arguments and are brought together in terms of the various positions recognized above. In other words, the results of the ballot and the attitude-phenomena tell a consistent story. Neither the ballot nor the data as to positions stands alone.

⁴P. 482.

It is by noting such correlations that one demonstrates the existence of a more or less coherent system in which thinking, instinctive feeling and deliberate decision agree for the group as a whole, and in the case of the majority of denominations.

The denominations, then, do not stand in individual isolation, but rather belong to groups holding common systems of tendency and attitude. Those identified with one system find it hard or impossible to unite with denominations belonging to a contrary system, but easy to unite with those belonging within their own. It is around these systematic tendencies that movements for or against unity manifestly must organize themselves, and it is by virtue of them that actual union will finally be accomplished or defeated.

The six factors upon which the probability of union depends are now to be considered seriatim in the light of the discovery of these systematic tendencies.

ATTITUDES TOWARD UNITY

It did not need the foregoing analysis to justify the proposition that, in order to contribute to the possibility of union, a denomination must first of all favor the unity of the church. This, as has been noted, need not mean approval of the extreme or dogmatic version of unity. Logically speaking, however, the natural first approach to the problem is to ask how denominations compare with respect to their attitudes toward unity *per se*, as belonging to the ideal nature and constitution of the church.

No single piece of evidence brings a clear-cut answer to this question. One has to consider the affinity of denominations for the positive unity position, as identified in the last chapter, both on the evidence of the select constituency and on the separate evidence of the leaders. These two lines of evidence are in general but not in absolute agreement. But one must also regard moderate trends toward unity as well as the advocacy of unity in the extreme form. This adds a complicating factor. Beyond this there is the church union ballot to be interpreted. Table CIV showed that the vote for general union correlates to a considerable extent with affinity for the extreme unity position; but the correlation is by no means absolute.

Finally, the specific issues and questions from which affinity for general positions has been deduced yield similar but not identical results. It is impossible from strictly objective data to construct an absolute ranking list, with the denominations most favorable to unity as such at one end and the denominations most opposed at the other. One would not know surely what relative weight to give to the various factors even if their statistical expressions were strictly comparable.

Starting, however, with the separate presentation of some of the major strands of evidence, the following section finally undertakes to bring to-

gether all pertinent factors by means of a statistical formula. This yields as definite a conclusion as the variety of the facts permits. Such an outcome is in keeping with the original hypothesis of the book: namely, that no simple answer can be expected on any of the central issues of church unity because attitudes have not been fully matured. All that one can anticipate is that many approaches and repeated tests will show something like similar results again and again.

ATTITUDES TOWARD EXTREME UNITY: SELECT CONSTITUENCY

Beginning with the replies of the select constituency, Table CV shows how the attitudes of each denomination are distributed among five general positions identified as standing respectively for extreme unity, a moderate trend toward unity, a mediating position, a moderate trend toward diversity and extreme diversity, with an equivocal position also distinguished.

The value of each rank order is arrived at as in chapter xiv, the number of points deviation of the actual distribution of attitudes below or above the proportionate distribution being again used as the unit of measurement.

From the viewpoint of the immediate problem, it is the fifth column of Table CV that requires first attention. This column ranks the denominations with respect to their attitudes toward extreme unity. It generalizes responses toward propositions and arguments reflecting the Roman or Anglo-Catholic version of the church. As the negative sign shows, all denominations except the Fundamentalist group are against such extreme unity, the Protestant Episcopal being least opposed and the two Methodist bodies, the Congregational-Christian and the Unitarian most so.

This list does not constitute an absolute ranking order, since many denominations show exactly the same degree of deviation from a proportionate distribution of attitudes. It does, however, constitute a first indication of denominational differences in attitude toward extreme unity.

Chart XXXI shows the distribution of opinion on all five positions for three denominations standing near the top of the extreme unity column, for two standing near the bottom, and for one standing near the average position. These illustrate the range of denominational difference. Naturally the Federated Churches lead in stressing the unity trend. Each denomination's opinion contour is well worth individual study.

MODIFICATION BY LESSER TRENDS

On the theory that no single test can have final significance in so complicated a matter, the secondary tendency of the select constituency toward unity, as measured in the fourth column of Table CV, has also to be considered. This position generalises denominational reactions toward con-

TABLE CV—RANKING OF 24 DENOMINATIONS ACCORDING TO VARIATION OF
BUTION AMONG SIX POSITIONS

Extreme Diversity		Diversity Trend		Mediating	
Denomination	Points*	Denomination	Points	Denomination	Points
Fundamentalist.....	+7	Unitarian.....	+8	Federated Churches...	+23
Bapt. (So. Conv.)....	+2	Miscellaneous "X"†.	+8	Cong.-Christian.....	+18
Lutheran (All).....	+2	Bapt. (So. Conv.)....	+7	Methodist Episcopal..	+17
Unitarian.....	±0	Evangelical Church...	+7	Meth. Epis., South...	+16
United Presb.....	-1	Evan. Syn., N. A....	+7	Presb., U. S. A.....	+15
Minor Officials.....	-1	Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	+7	Reformed in U. S....	+15
Friends.....	-1	Friends.....	+7	Unitarian.....	+15
Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	-2	Meth. Epis., South...	+6	Minor Officials.....	+14
Miscellaneous "Y"‡.	-2	United Brethren.....	+6	United Brethren.....	+14
Presb., U. S.....	-2	Lutheran (All).....	+6	Evangelical Church...	+14
Miscellaneous "X"†.	-2	Miscellaneous "Y"‡.	+6	Evan. Syn., N. A....	+13
Reformed in America..	-2	Reformed in U. S....	+6	Disciples.....	+13
Evangelical Church...	-4	Presb., U. S.....	+6	Bapt. (No. Conv.)... .	+13
Evan. Syn., N. A....	-4	Methodist Episcopal..	+6	Miscellaneous "X"†.	+12
United Brethren.....	-4	Cong.-Christian.....	+5	Friends.....	+12
Meth. Epis., South..	-4	United Presb.....	+5	Miscellaneous "Z"#. .	+12
Miscellaneous "Z"#. .	-4	Presb., U. S. A.....	+5	Miscellaneous "Y"‡.	+11
Reformed in U. S....	-4	Reformed in America..	+4	Presb., U. S.....	+10
Presb., U. S. A.....	-5	Miscellaneous "Z"*..	+4	Reformed in America..	+ 9
Cong.-Christian.....	-5	Disciples.....	+2	Protestant Episcopal..	+ 7
Methodist Episcopal..	-5	Protestant Episcopal..	+2	United Presb.....	+ 6
Protestant Episcopal..	-5	Minor Officials.....	±0	Bapt. (So. Conv.)....	+ 5
Disciples.....	-6	Fundamentalist.....	-1	Lutheran (All).....	+ 2
Federated Churches..		Federated Churches...	-3	Fundamentalist.....	+ 1
Total.....	-3	Total.....	+5	Total.....	+13

* Number of points deviation from proportionate distribution.

† Congregationally organized denominations.

‡ Connectionally organized denominations.

All others.

cessive Catholic propositions and arguments. A comparison of the unity trend column with the extreme unity column shows that the former sometimes reinforces the latter, as in the case of such denominations as the Protestant Episcopal at the top, the Unitarian at the bottom of the column, and the Disciples, Reformed in America, United Brethren and Presbyterian, U. S., in approximately similar positions with respect to the average in both lists. Five denominations, however, which stand near the bottom of the extreme unity column, namely, the Evangelical Synod, Presbyterian, U. S. A., Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, South, and Congregational-Christian, move up close to the average in the unity trend column. A similar tendency to a distinctly higher place in the unity trend column is shown by the Reformed, U. S., and most extremely by the Federated Churches. All these are against unity in the extreme form, but give about average approval to unity in a more moderate version. In the final ranking they must have some credit for this secondary emphasis.

THEIR ANSWERS ON CHURCH UNITY ISSUES FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION IN A UNITY-DIVERSITY SERIES

Unity Trend		Extreme Unity		Equivocal	
Denomination	Points	Denomination	Points	Denomination	Points
Federated Churches..	+13	Fundamentalist.....	+5	United Presb.....	+2
Minor Officials.....	+8	Protestant Episcopal..	-7	Reformed in America..	+2
Protestant Episcopal..	+5	Minor Officials.....	-7	Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	+1
Fundamentalist.....	+2	Bapt. (So. Conv.)....	-8	Friends.....	+1
Evan. Syn., N. A....	+1	Lutheran (All).....	-8	Lutheran (All).....	+1
Disciples.....	+1	Disciples.....	-8	Unitarian.....	+1
Reformed in America..	+1	Miscellaneous "Z" #..	-9	Miscellaneous "Y" †..	+1
Presb., U. S. A.....	+1	United Presb.....	-11	Miscellaneous "Z" #..	+1
Reformed in U. S....	±0	Reformed in America..	-12	Presb., U. S.....	+1
Presb., U. S.....	±0	Federated Churches...	-12	Bapt. (So. Conv.)....	+1
Methodist Episcopal..	±0	Miscellaneous "Y" †..	-12	Miscellaneous "X" †..	±0
United Brethren.....	±0	Miscellaneous "X" †..	-13	Meth. Epis., South...	±0
Evangelical Church..	±0	Presb., U. S.....	-13	Methodist Episcopal..	±0
Cong.-Christian.....	-1	United Brethren.....	-15	Presb., U. S. A.....	±0
United Presb.....	-1	Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	-15	Evangelical Church...	±0
Meth. Epis., South...	-1	Friends.....	-15	United Brethren.....	±0
Miscellaneous "Z" #..	-1	Reformed in U. S....	-15	Disciples.....	±0
Miscellaneous "Y" †..	-2	Evangelical Church...	-15	Reformed in U. S....	±0
Friends.....	-3	Presb., U. S. A.....	-15	Cong.-Christian.....	-1
Lutheran (All).....	-3	Evan. Syn., N. A....	-15	Protestant Episcopal..	-1
Bapt. (No. Conv.)....	-3	Methodist Episcopal..	-16	Evan. Syn., N. A....	-1
Miscellaneous "X" †..	-3	Meth. Epis., South...	-16	Federated Churches...	-11
Bapt. (So. Conv.)....	-6	Cong.-Christian.....	-16	Minor Officials.....	-12
Unitarian.....	-6	Unitarian.....	-16	Fundamentalist.....	-13
Total.	±0	Total.....	-13	Total.	±0

EVIDENCE OF THE CHURCH UNION BALLOT

Obviously the church union ballot also has to be considered in determining the attitude of denominations toward unity. Its results have been shown in Table XIX.

The ballot specifically adds to the picture by suggesting the rank of additional denominations not included in the select constituency returns. High-church Episcopal, Pentecostal and "no denomination" returns are more strongly in favor of general unity than are any appearing in the other list, while Dunker, Moravian and Missouri Synod Lutheran returns are still more opposed. The ballot also confirms the modification of position suggested by the study of trends in contrast with the extreme unity position, in that it advances the Evangelical Synod, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, U. S. A., and Congregational-Christian bodies to the upper middle ranges of the ranking list. The effect of the ballot is thus to extend and at the same time substantiate the interpretation of the select constituency returns.

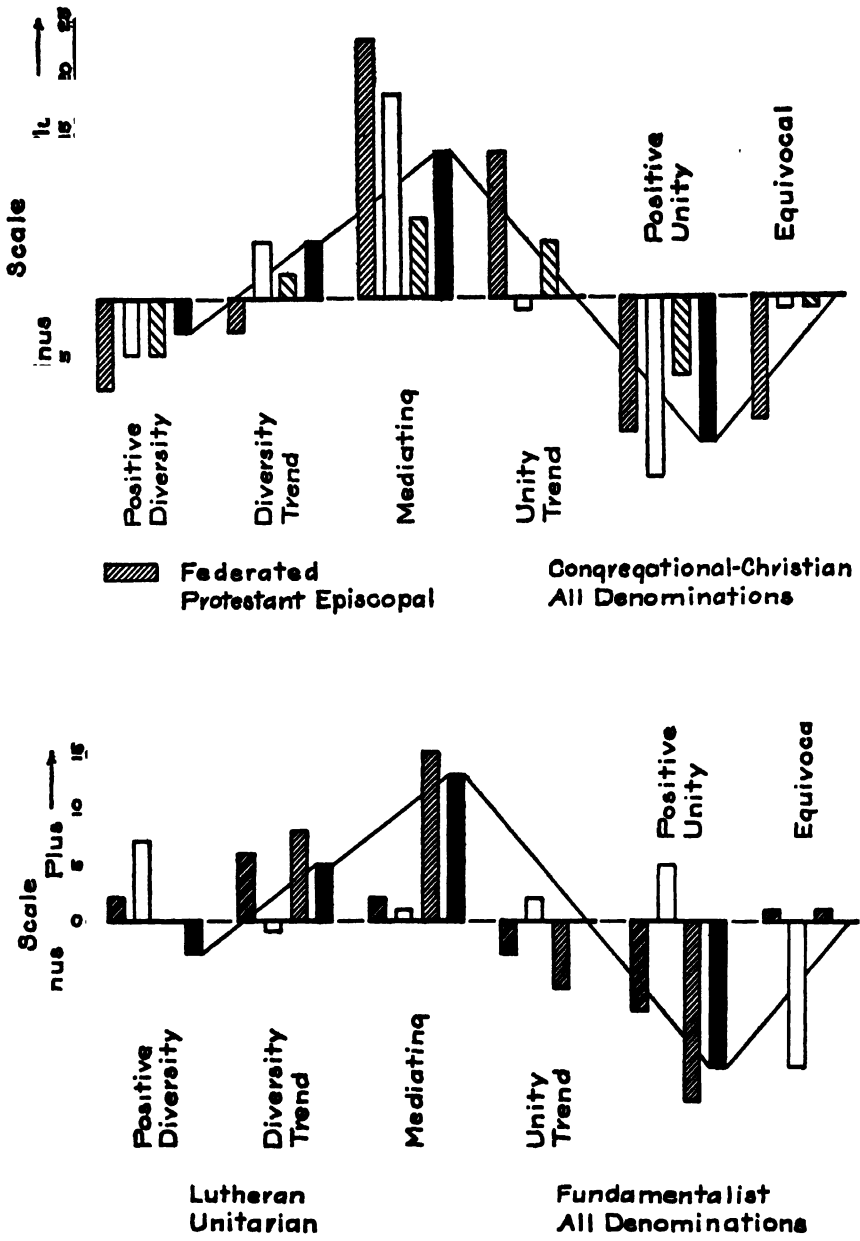


CHART XXXI—VARIATION OF ATTITUDES OF SELECT CONSTITUENCIES OF SIX DENOMINATIONS WITH RESPECT TO 12 CHURCH UNITY ISSUES FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF ATTITUDES AMONG FIVE POSITIONS IN A UNITY-DIVERSITY SERIES

LEADERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD UNITY

But the opinion of denominational leaders must also be considered.

The significance of the thirty propositions submitted to them was also generalized in chapter xiv by sorting into five groups representing respectively, (1) the positive advocacy of unity, (2) the trend toward unity, (3) a mediating position, (4) the trend toward diversity, (5) positive advocacy of diversity. The denominations have now to be compared with respect to their affinities for each of these positions. This is shown in terms of weighted scores in Table CVI, on the next page.

Comparing the extreme unity column in this table with that in Table CV, one notes that the denominations, so far as comparable, stand in approximately the same order, the Protestant Episcopal and Lutheran occupying one extreme, and the Methodist Episcopal and Congregational-Christian the other. The only significant shift in position is that of the Methodist Episcopal, South. Denominations representing more extreme deviations from the average on this test appear graphically in the upper section of Chart XXXII, while typical denominations standing relatively close to the average appear in the lower section.

Comparing the unity trend column of Table CVI with the positive unity column, it will be noticed that, as was the case with the select constituency returns, the Methodist Episcopal, South, Methodist Episcopal and Congregational-Christian denominations show more favor to the moderate version of unity than to the extreme, while Lutheran and, in this case, Disciples also show less favor.

In the large, then, the two lines of evidence show a considerable measure of agreement.

EVIDENCE OF SPECIFIC ISSUES

The reader will do well to trace back these generalizations to particular issues, for example, the essentially high-church proposition, "One Christ, one church," or arguments 1 and 3 as related to the issue whether general unity is desirable.⁵ These show concretely the strong stand of such denominations as Protestant Episcopal and Disciples in favor of theoretical unity, against the opposition of Friends and Unitarian.

INCONSISTENT DENOMINATIONS

Three denominations, Fundamentalist, Lutheran, Baptist (South), along with Minor Officials, stand in the upper quartile both in the extreme unity and in the extreme diversity columns of Table CV. Here, then, is a curious phenomenon of denominations appearing on contradictory ends of the scale. This is shown graphically for Lutheran bodies and the Fundamentalist

⁵ Pp. 262 and 264.

TABLE CVI—RANKING OF DENOMINATIONS BY WEIGHTED SCORE OF CHURCH LEADERS' OPINION ACCORDING TO FIVE POSITIONS IN A UNITY-DIVERSITY SERIES

Positive Diversity			Positions and Score			Unity Trend			Positive Unity		
	Score			Mediating	Score			Score*			Score*
Prot. Epis.	+0.54		Prot. Epis.	Lutheran.....	+4.15	Prot. Epis.	Prot. Epis.	+7.97	Prot. Epis.		-0.08
Lutheran.....	+3.76		Lutheran.....	Prot. Epis.	+6.83	M. E., South....	M. E., South....	+4.07	Lutheran.....		-1.76
Reformed.....	+3.90		Reformed.....	Reformed.....	+7.84	Presb., U. S. A. ...	Presb., U. S. A. ...	+2.99	Presb., U. S. A. ...		-3.65
Presb., U. S. A. ...	+4.00		Disciples.....	Cong.-Christian...	+8.27	Reformed.....	Reformed.....	+2.16	M. E., South....		-3.83
Meth. Epis.	+4.49		Meth. Epis.	Meth. Epis.	+8.33	Meth. Epis.	Meth. Epis.	+2.12	Reformed.....		-4.58
M. E., South....	+4.80		Presb., U. S. A. ...	Bapt. (No.).....	+8.33	Lutheran.....	Lutheran.....	+1.91	Disciples.....		-5.55
Cong.-Christian...	+4.84		M. E., South....	Disciples.....	+8.40	Cong.-Christian...	Cong.-Christian...	+1.03	Bapt. (No.).....		-6.21
Disciples.....	+4.90		Cong.-Christian...	Presb., U. S. A. ...	+8.51	Bapt. (No.).....	Bapt. (No.).....	+0.02	Meth. Epis.		-6.39
Bapt. (No.).....	+5.39		Bapt. (No.).....	M. E., South....	+9.14	Disciples.....	Disciples.....	-0.10	Cong.-Christian...		-7.33
Miscellaneous....	+4.31		Miscellaneous....	Miscellaneous....	+7.22	Miscellaneous....	Miscellaneous....	+1.40	Miscellaneous....		-4.11
Total.....	+4.29		Total.....	Total.....	+7.79	Total.....	Total.....	+1.93	Total.....		-4.82

* Order reversed.

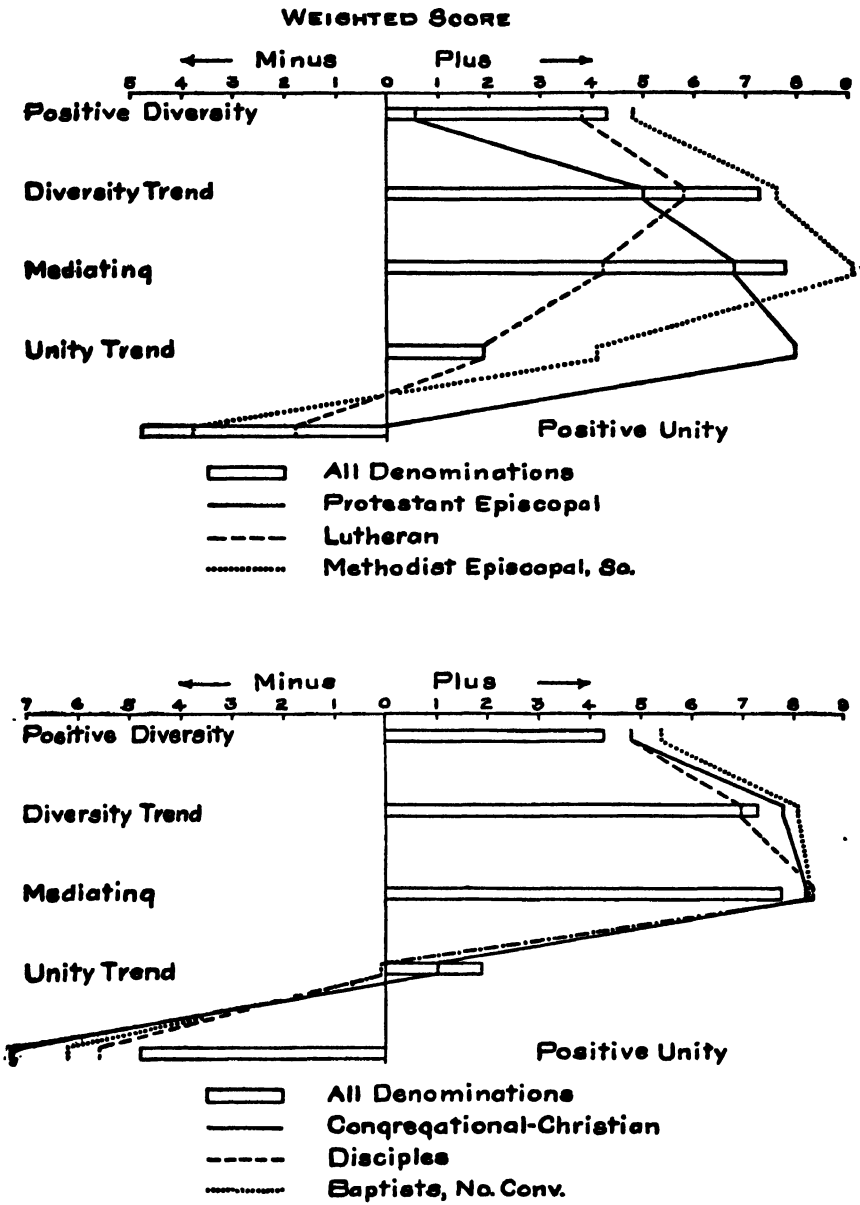


CHART XXXII—DISTRIBUTION OF OPINION OF CHURCH LEADERS OF SIX DENOMINATIONS WITH RESPECT TO 30 PROPOSITIONS AMONG FIVE POSITIONS IN A UNITY-DIVERSITY SERIES

Upper section—Protestant Episcopal, Lutheran, Methodist Episcopal, South
Lower section—Congregational-Christian, Disciples, Baptist, North

group in Chart XXXI.⁶ The United Presbyterian Church shows the same tendency in lesser degree. The inconsistencies of all denominations on all points of comparison will have further consideration in a subsequent section.⁷

With respect to these particular cases, reflection has already convinced one that apparent inconsistency may not be real inconsistency. It is quite possible to believe that one's own extreme position is the only right one. One may sincerely desire unity on that basis. If, however, and so long as, others will not agree to that position, one may with equal sincerity believe that the existing temporary diversity is better than either compromise or coercion and possibly that it was contemplated in the providence of God as a concession to the hardness of the human heart.

Further analysis, moreover, leads one to suspect that the principle of difference between the two is primarily that, under criticism, denominations reflecting a churchly tradition naturally stress the duty of others to accept the unity position which they hold; while, in defending their own right of secession, denominations reflecting a sectarian tradition have theoretically to admit diversity in others.

Resorting to an arbitrary weighting of factors which gives position in the positive unity column three times the weight of position in the unity trend column and on the ballot for general union, and placing the contradictory denominations according to the theory just indicated, one gets a ranking list of denominational attitudes toward unity in some such order as the following. Brackets indicate the most inconsistent cases. The logically extreme high-church Episcopal position is added to complete the scale.

ATTITUDES OF DENOMINATIONS TOWARD UNITY

Most Favorable	Average	Least Favorable
1. High-church Episcopal	8. United Brethren	15. Methodist Epis., South
2. Protestant Episcopal	9. Presbyterian, U. S. A.	16. Evangelical
3. [Fundamentalist]	10. Evangelical Synod	17. Friends
4. [Lutheran]	11. Reformed, U. S.	18. Cong.-Christian
5. Federated Churches	12. United Presbyterian	19. Baptist, North
6. Disciples	13. Presbyterian, U. S.	20. [Baptist, South]
7. Reformed in America	14. Methodist Episcopal	21. Unitarian

Since, as explained, the weighting of the several factors entering into this ranking order has been a matter of judgment rather than of statistics, the order must not be regarded as absolute. The deviation from the average distribution of select constituency attitudes represented by the two extreme denominations in this list—the Protestant Episcopal and Unitarian—is shown graphically in the two sections of Chart XXXI. The chart thus suggests

⁶ P. 458.

⁷ P. 416.

roughly the range and the direction of maximum theoretical difference between Christians.

This list confirms in the main the result of the analysis in chapter viii, which ranked movements and proposals for church unity as constituting a series beginning with the Roman Catholic and Anglo-Catholic positions on the one hand, and ending with non-coöperative sectarianism on the other. In other words, the present findings and the objective behaviors of denominations are in very general agreement.

If practicable union were the same as approval of unity as an ideal—which it is not—the top of the list would indicate the places where it should begin.

ATTITUDES TOWARD PRACTICABLE UNION

The denominations are next to be compared according to the second factor recognized as affecting the probability of union, namely, their attitudes toward practicable union of the sort favored by the majority. This, as has repeatedly been explained, must mean a type of union consistent with the modal mediating position, in which both the select constituency and the rank and file agree. In general it is to be identified with "vital" unity as opposed either to extreme corporate unity or to unlimited division. This position was located by the analysis of chapter viii about midway in the unity-diversity series as derived from the study of actual movements and proposals, and was identified with what was there called the movement for pragmatic unity.

This previous analysis is confirmed by the present study of select constituency attitudes as shown by the ranking of denominations according to their approval or disapproval of the mediating position which is modal for the whole. This is shown in column 3 of Table CV. The mediating list is headed by the Federated Churches, followed by the Congregational-Christian and the two Methodist bodies, while four of the six churches which stood at the top of the extreme unity column stand at the bottom of this one.

The most striking phenomenon of this whole group of data is the fact that denominations standing at the bottom of the extreme unity list move up to the middle of the unity trend list and now appear at the top of the mediating list.

But an examination of the two diversity columns shows that the same denominations are also against extreme diversity and tend to occupy a middle position in the scale of the diversity trend. In other words, they are against both extremes, but show on the whole average favor to moderate trends in both directions. This definitely fixes the group which leads in favor of the mediating position as one not merely constituting the advance guard of the modal position but as occupying the broadly middle area of the entire series.

SECONDARY TRENDS

To denominations which agree with the emphasis of the select constituency upon the mediating position three logical choices as to secondary emphasis are open, namely, to emphasize unity trends and diversity trends somewhat equally, to espouse one moderately beyond the other, or to emphasize one very much more than the other. Among the leaders of the mediating trend, Congregational-Christian, Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, South, Presbyterian, U. S. A., Reformed, U. S., and Evangelical Synod take the first choice. Disciples and Federated Churches stress unity trends, the first moderately, the second extremely; while in contrast Baptist (North) and Unitarian stand very low in the unity trend column and very high in the diversity trend column. These differences have to enter into a ranking of denominations on the main issue of practicable union.

THE BALLOT

Table CIV, to which previous reference has been made, shows that the mediating position on select constituency returns is rather strongly correlated with the ballot in favor of federal union. Comparing directly the mediating column in Table CV with the ranking order of denominations with respect to the ballot for federal union,⁸ one finds the expected correspondence exhibited especially at the top and the bottom of the lists. In view, however, of the fact that the ballot called for a decision as to the immediate attitude of the voter toward union, and that many of those voting had regard for what they thought now possible rather than what they ultimately desired, it is obvious that the ballot was not a clear-cut index of theoretical positions.

On the strength, however, of the known correlation, additional denominations listed in the ballot but not in the select constituency comparison may be provisionally located according to their attitudes toward practicable union. High-church Episcopalians, Mormons, Roman Catholics, Dunkers, Pentecostals and Missouri Synod Lutherans all range themselves at the bottom of the column in opposition to the mediating version of union which the majority favor.

SPECIFIC ISSUES

On this point also the reader will do well to look behind generalizations to some of the specific questions on which the generalizations are based: for example, the leaders' reaction to the proposition approving federal unity as preserving both liberty and union,⁹ and the select constituency's reactions in favor of vital unity in contrast both with division and with corporate

⁸ P. 112.

⁹ P. 298.

union,¹⁰ and of federal union as a step toward stronger union.¹¹ All show something of the typical order of denominations as it appears in the mediating column of Table CV. However, their positions, though similar, are not identical on the various tests.

LEADERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD PRACTICABLE UNION

Comparing the mediating column in Table CVI which shows the distribution of church leaders' opinion according to positions, one finds considerable similarity for denominations included in both lists at the two ends of the scale, but considerable dislocation of position toward the middle. The effect of this evidence is to advance the ranking of the Disciples and Baptist (North) with respect to practicable union and subtract from the Congregational-Christian position. In these cases the leaders and select constituency simply do not show identical emphases.

PARTICIPATION IN UNION MOVEMENTS

All the denominations in the upper half of the mediating column of the select constituency table have had a notable part in movements for partial union and local church federations, and, with a single exception, in support of the Federal Council. This definitely ties in their theoretical attitudes with conduct in favor of the looser type of pragmatic union which has already been achieved. It constitutes a telling addition to the strength of the evidence.

SUMMARY

The total evidence as to the attitudes of denominations toward practicable union was finally consolidated by means of a statistical calculation considering intervals between denominational positions as well as ranking order, and giving the major emphases three times the value of secondary emphases and the ballot. The result was as follows:

ATTITUDES OF DENOMINATIONS TOWARD PRACTICABLE UNION

Most Favorable	Average	Least Favorable
1. Reformed, U. S.	8. Methodist Episcopal	14. Friends
2. Cong.-Christian	9. Reformed in America	15. Unitarians
3. Presbyterian, U. S. A.	10. Protestant Episcopal	16. Presbyterian, U. S.
4. Evangelical Synod	11. Baptist (North)	17. United Presbyterian
5. Federated Churches	12. United Brethren	18. Baptist (South)
6. Meth. Epis., South	13. Disciples	19. Fundamentalist
7. Evangelical		20. Lutheran

The bottom of the list manifestly includes denominations which are more insistent upon unity than the majority, together with some which approve

¹⁰ P. 264.

¹¹ P. 316.

little union or none at all. In other words, the distance between denominations which stand together at the foot of the column may be greater than the distance between any of them and those which stand at the head of the column.¹² For different reasons, then, but with the same practical result, one will look to denominations at the bottom of this list for greatest opposition to the type of unity which the majority favors.

AVAILABILITY FOR LEADERSHIP IN UNION MOVEMENTS

But the primary object of this chapter is not secured when the degree to which denominations favor or oppose practicable union has been determined. Its problem is rather to throw light on the probability of actual union. This involves the investigation of a third factor, namely, the degree to which the position of any denomination or group of denominations is acceptable to the majority as a rallying point in practical union movements. Approval of union is no exact measure of such acceptability.

Some of the reasons for this are fortuitous. Small, provincial or alien bodies cannot command the influence of large and typically American ones, which have national constituencies. Other differences are inherent. One denomination may feel near to some of those which share the same theoretical attitude with it toward the mediating position, and not so near to others which stand in equal theoretical agreement. Such psychological factors increase or reduce its chance of leadership. Besides this, absolute differences in opinion or attitude have to be considered; and, from a somewhat different angle, greater or less frequency of radical opposition.

Putting all requirements together, the availability of a denomination for leadership in union movements depends upon its approval of the type of unity favored by the majority, coupled with a feeling of close sympathy for them, small difference of opinion and infrequent opposition to and from others of the same type.

The specific problem of the moment is to discover how far denominations listed at the head of the ranking table on page 465 meet these conditions. For this purpose the most convincing test is a comparison of the degree of distance feeling which they register with their greater or smaller agreement with the characteristic position of the group as represented by the select constituency.

DISTANCE FEELING

Comparing the ranking of denominations on these two points, one finds very strong correspondence. This is shown in Chart XXXIII.

All denominations except the Unitarian and United Presbyterian occupy

¹² For evidence, see pp. 12 and 17.

corresponding positions in the two lists. With little exception, then, the denominations ranking as most favorable on the major criterion of practicable union also qualify for leadership on the test of distance feeling. A similar correlation shows almost as great correspondence between denominations registering high prejudice and those emphasizing extreme diversity.

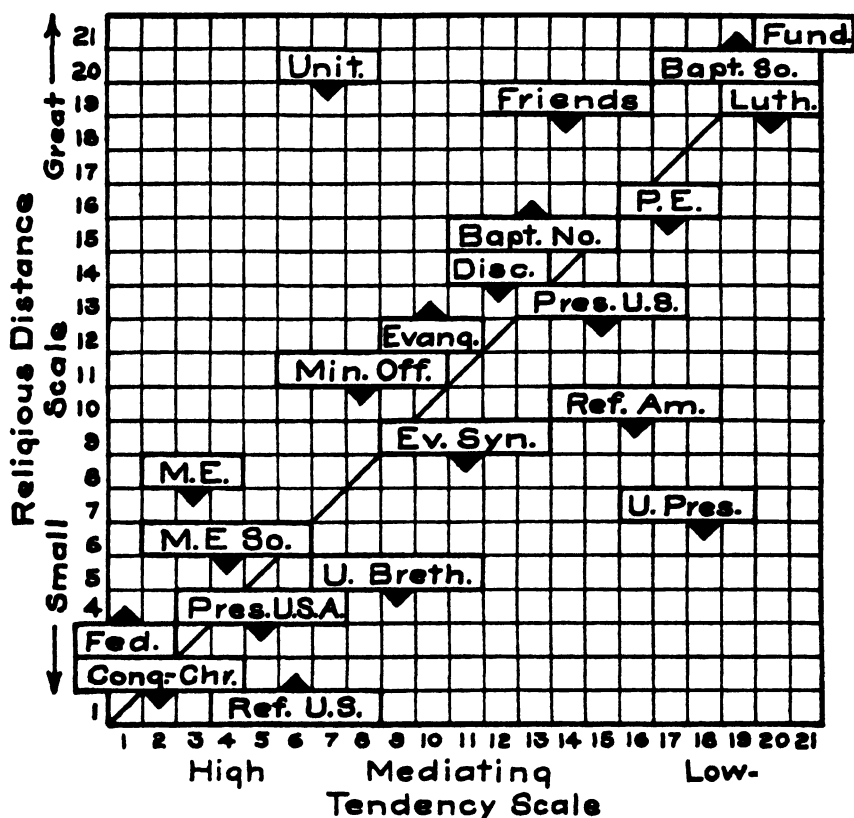


CHART XXXIII—CORRELATION BETWEEN RANK OF DENOMINATIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE MEDIATING TENDENCY OF THEIR SELECT CONSTITUENCIES AND THEIR RANK BY DEGREE OF RELIGIOUS DISTANCE FEELING

ACCEPTABILITY FOR LEADERSHIP IN UNION MOVEMENTS

The principle that capacity for leadership is not exactly proportionate to the relative attitude of denominations toward union has already been fully demonstrated with respect to nine denominations in Table VIII showing the mutuality of religious prejudice. Congregationalists, for example (a relatively small body), think better of all the other eight denominations than any of the eight think of Congregationalists; while Lutherans think worse

of all the other eight than any of the other eight think of Lutherans. Obviously, then, the ranking of Congregationalists in approval of church union will not coincide with their ranking in the scale of acceptability for leadership of church union. On the other hand, the prejudices of Lutherans demote Lutherans from the standpoint of leadership farther even than their theoretical attitude toward church union makes necessary. Unitarians also generally think worse of other denominations than other denominations think of them, and correspondingly deprive themselves of a chance of leadership corresponding to their total position in the scale. These differences, which measure acceptability as a slightly different factor from availability, must enter into the final rating of the denominations.

As a means of classification of denominations from the standpoint of the total data bearing upon acceptability and availability for leadership, similar calculations to those presented earlier in the chapter were made, based on the assumption that denominations already identified as favoring practicable union, and whose positions rarely draw out extreme opposition from others, are naturally more available as nuclei of actual union movements than denominations equally or even more committed to it which are frequently and radically opposed.

The scoring of the denominations listed below on the criteria of opposition and religious distance yields the following results:

AVAILABILITY OF DENOMINATIONS FOR LEADERSHIP IN CHURCH UNION

More Acceptable	Less Acceptable
1. Presbyterian, U. S. A.	7. Reformed, U. S.
2. Methodist Episcopal, South	8. Evangelical Synod
3. Methodist Episcopal	9. Congregational-Christian
4. Baptist (North)	10. Federated Churches
5. Reformed in America	11. Protestant Episcopal
	6. Evangelical

According to the list on p. 465, no other denominations are sufficiently in favor of practicable union to make their ranking on this point pertinent.

Comparing the above tabulation with that on p. 465, one sees that the criterion of acceptability raises the standing of all denominations in the upper half of the list just presented, while it reduces that of the Reformed, U. S., Evangelical Synod, Congregational-Christian, Federated Churches, leaving the Evangelical and Protestant Episcopal least changed.

PROGRESSIVENESS OF RANK AND FILE CONSTITUENCY

In order really to contribute to union, a church must of course be ready to translate its views into action. Progressiveness as over against conservatism thus becomes another of the crucial points in the evaluation of denominations from this standpoint.

As previously indicated, progressiveness and conservatism are particularly measured by the junior questionnaire answered by some 15,000 persons representing the rank and file of the church. Since it was almost entirely concerned with concrete illustrations of problems of adjustment between churches, this instrument ought to throw specific light upon the tendency of the religious public to act with respect to integrative movements.

The most complete generalization of rank and file tendencies is one made in terms of the six positions recognized in the analysis of chapter xiv. This classified the 108 judgments as reflecting respectively a progressive, a conditionally progressive, an equivocal, a conditionally conservative, a conservative or a depreciatory tendency.¹⁸ The ranking of thirty-six denominations with respect to each of the rank and file tendencies is now shown in Table CVII, on pages 470 and 471.

The first column of the table compares denominations as to progressiveness. The average is high, extremes are far apart. The progressive tendency of the Federated Churches is half as much again as that of the average; the conservatism of the Missouri Synod Lutheran almost as far below the zero line as the average is above it.

The starred denominations are those already compared with respect to the attitudes of their select constituencies. Their ranking order in the "progressive" column very nearly reverses that of the "conservative" column.

Charts XXXVIII and XLIV compare fourteen denominations by twos and threes with respect to their affinities for the six positions. They particularly show differences in progressiveness between denominations of the same antecedents, and emphasize the fact that the progressives are very much nearer the group average than the conservatives are.

In the equivocal column, the ranking order brings to the top large denominations which stand generally toward the middle of the other columns. This is presumably because the equivocal position has essential affinity with their previously demonstrated habitual tendencies toward middle ground. Extreme conservatives remain at the bottom of the equivocal list as they do at the bottom of the progressive and conditionally progressive list. Neither the extreme progressive nor the extreme conservative obviously has much use for a middle ground.

In the case of the conservatives, this principle is further manifested by comparison of the conditionally conservative and the conservative columns. Real conservatives like the Missouri Synod Lutheran, Latter Day Saints, Roman Catholic, Church of the Brethren, remain consistently extreme, but the Fundamentalist, United Presbyterian and United Lutheran take relatively higher rank in the conditional column.

¹⁸ For basis and method of this classification, see pp. 415 and 556.

TABLE CVII—RANKING OF 36 DENOMINATIONS ACCORDING TO VARIATION OF TRIBUTION AMONG SIX POSITIONS IN

Progressive Denomination	Points	Conditionally Progressive Denomination	Points	Equivocal Denomination	Points
*Federated Churches..	+32	Methodist Protestant..	+3	*United Brethren.....	+4
*Unitarian.....	+31	*Reformed in U. S.....	+2	L. D. S. (Mormon)...	+3
Universalist.....	+30	Brethren (Dunkers)...	+2	*Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	+3
Jews.....	+29	*Evan. Syn., N. A.....	+2	Jews.....	+3
*Cong.-Christian.....	+26	*Federated Churches..	+2	*Presb., U. S.....	+3
*Friends.....	+26	*Minor Officials.....	+2	*Presb., U. S. A.....	+3
No Denomination....	+26	*Reformed in America..	+1	*Evangelical Church..	+3
*Reformed in U. S....	+25	*Methodist Episcopal..	+1	United Lutheran.....	+3
*Presb., U. S. A.....	+24	*Disciples.....	+1	*Friends.....	+3
Christian Scientist...	+24	*Presb., U. S. A.....	+1	Universalist.....	+3
*Meth. Epis., South..	+22	*Cong.-Christian.....	+1	*Protestant Episcopal..	+3
*Disciples.....	+22	*Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	+1	Pentecostal.....	+2
*Methodist Episcopal..	+22	Negro Methodist.....	+1	*United Presb.....	+2
Negro Baptist.....	+19	Moravian.....	+1	Negro Baptist.....	+2
*United Brethren.....	+19	*Meth. Epis., South...	±0	Miscellaneous.....	+2
*Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	+19	*Evangelical Church..	±0	*Bapt. (So. Conv.)...	+2
Negro Methodist....	+19	Negro Baptist.....	±0	*Cong.-Christian.....	+2
*Reformed in America..	+19	*United Brethren.....	±0	*Methodist Episcopal..	+2
Methodist Protestant	+18	*Presb., U. S.....	-1	Negro Methodist.....	+2
*Evangelical Church...	+18	*Bapt. (So. Conv.)...	-1	Christian Scientist...	+2
*Protestant Episcopal..	+18	*Friends.....	-1	*Lutheran (All).....	+2
*Evan. Syn., N. A....	+17	United Lutheran.....	-1	*Meth. Epis., South...	+2
Moravian.....	+16	Pentecostal.....	-1	*Unitarian.....	+2
Miscellaneous.....	+16	*Protestant Episcopal..	-1	No Denomination....	+2
*Minor Officials.....	+15	*United Presb.....	-1	*Reformed in America..	+2
United Lutheran.....	+14	Miscellaneous.....	-2	*Disciples.....	+1
*Presb., U. S.....	+14	Universalist.....	-2	*Evan. Syn., N. A.....	+1
Pentecostal.....	+14	*Lutheran (All).....	-3	*Reformed in U. S.....	+1
*Bapt. (So. Conv.)...	+13	Roman Catholic....	-3	Moravian.....	±0
*United Presb.....	+12	*Unitarian.....	-3	Roman Catholic.....	±0
*Lutheran (All).....	+8	No Denomination....	-3	Brethren (Dunkers)..	±0
Roman Catholic....	+7	*Fundamentalist.....	-3	Methodist Protestant..	-1
Brethren (Dunkers)..	+6	L. D. S. (Mormon)...	-4	*Federated Churches..	-1
L. D. S. (Mormon)...	+4	Christian Scientist...	-4	Mo. Syn. Lutheran...	-3
*Fundamentalist.....	+1	Jews.....	-5	*Fundamentalist.....	-4
Mo. Syn. Lutheran...	-18	Mo. Syn. Lutheran...	-12	*Minor Officials.....	-4
Total.....	+20	Total.....	±0	Total.....	+2

* These denominations also compared for select constituencies

Readers particularly interested in any given denomination should make careful note of its relative affinity for each position as compared with the group average.

Are the progressive denominations of this comparison the same that have already been identified, on other counts, as most favorable toward practicable church union and most available for its leadership? On the whole, yes.

THEIR ANSWERS ON INCIDENTS AND SITUATIONS FROM A PROPORTIONATE DIS-
A PROGRESSIVE-CONSERVATIVE SERIES

Conditionally Conservative		Conservative		Depreciatory	
Denomination	Points	Denomination	Points	Denomination	Points
*Fundamentalist.....	+8	Mo. Syn. Lutheran...	+45	No Denomination....	6
*United Presb.....	+3	*Fundamentalist.....	+10	*Unitarian.....	6
L. D. S. (Mormon)...	+2	L. D. S. (Mormon)...	+4	Christian Scientist...	7
*Lutheran (All).....	+1	Roman Catholic.....	+3	Roman Catholic.....	7
*Minor Officials.....	+1	*Lutheran (All).....	+3	*Bapt. (So. Conv.)...	8
Mo. Syn. Lutheran...	+1	Brethren (Dunkers)...	± 0	Jews.....	8
*Presb., U. S.....	+1	Pentecostal.....	-2	*Minor Officials.....	9
United Lutheran.....	+1	*United Presb.....	-4	Miscellaneous.....	9
Brethren (Dunkers)...	± 0	*Minor Officials.....	-5	Negro Methodist....	9
*Evan. Syn., N. A....	± 0	United Lutheran.....	-5	Negro Baptist.....	-9
Roman Catholic.....	± 0	*Bapt. (So. Conv.)...	-5	Methodist Protestant.	-9
*Evangelical Church..	± 0	Miscellaneous.....	-6	Brethren (Dunkers)...	-9
*United Brethren.....	± 0	Moravian.....	-6	*Friends.....	-9
Moravian.....	± 0	*Presb., U. S.....	-7	*Federated Churches..	-9
*Bapt. (So. Conv.)...	± 0	*Protestant Episcopal.	-8	*Meth. Epis., South...	-10
*Protestant Episcopal.	-1	Methodist Protestant.	-8	*Disciples.....	-10
*Reformed in America.	-1	Negro Baptist.....	9	*Presb., U. S.....	-10
*Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	-2	Negro Methodist....	9	Universalist.....	-10
Miscellaneous.....	-2	*Reformed in America.	-9	*Protestant Episcopal.	-10
Christian Scientist...	-2	*Evangelical Church..	-9	L. D. S. (Mormon)...	-10
Pentecostal.....	-2	*Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	-10	Pentecostal.....	-10
*Presb., U. S. A.....	-2	*Evan. Syn., N. A....	-10	*Reformed in U. S....	-10
*Meth. Epis., South..	-2	*Disciples.....	-10	Moravian.....	-10
*Methodist Episcopal.	-3	*Methodist Episcopal.	-11	*United Brethren.....	-10
	-3	*Meth. Epis., South..	-12	*Evan. Syn., N. A....	-10
*Reformed in U. S....	-3	*United Brethren.....	-12	*Cong.-Christian.....	-10
Negro Baptist.....	-3	Christian Scientist...	-12	*Reformed in America.	-10
Methodist Protestant	-3	No Denomination....	-14	*Presb., U. S. A.....	-11
Negro Methodist....	-3	*Presb., U. S. A.....	-14	*Methodist Episcopal.	-11
*Cong.-Christian.....	-4	*Cong.-Christian.....	-15	*United Presb.....	-11
*Friends.....	-4	Jews.....	-15	*Bapt. (No. Conv.)...	-11
*Disciples.....	-4	*Reformed in U. S....	-15	*Evangelical Church..	-11
Universalist.....	-4	*Friends.....	-15	*Lutheran (All).....	-11
No Denomination ..	-4	Universalist.....	-15	United Lutheran.....	-11
*Federated Churches..	-5	*Unitarian.....	-17	*Fundamentalist.....	-11
*Unitarian.....	-6	*Federated Churches..	-18	Mo. Syn. Lutheran...	-12
Total.		Total.		Total.....	-10

This may be proved in a variety of ways. Direct evidence is found in the strong correlation between the mediating tendency of the select constituency and the progressiveness of the rank and file. Denominations ranking high on one tend to find corresponding rank on the other. It has further been shown that small distance feeling and a ballot favorable to union go with approval of practicable union. It will now be shown that they also go with progressiveness.

There remains finally for comparison the generalized index of attitude toward practicable union recorded in the ranking list of denominations in Table CVII. The progressive denominations rank high in this list, the non-progressive low.

Data substantiating these summary statements follow.

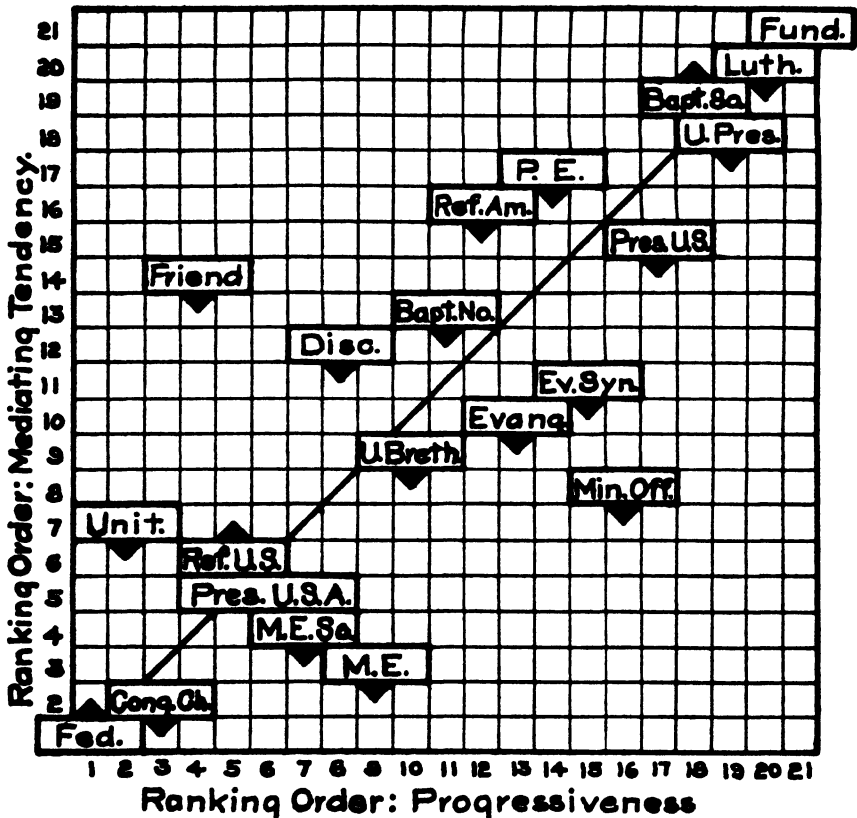


CHART XXXIV—CORRELATION BETWEEN RANK OF DENOMINATIONS WITH RESPECT TO MEDIATING TENDENCY OF SELECT CONSTITUENCIES AND PROGRESSIVENESS OF RANK AND FILE

PROGRESSIVENESS AND THE MEDIATING TENDENCY

The largest factor entering into the determination of attitudes toward practicable union as developed in a previous section,¹⁴ is the tendency of the select constituency toward a mediating position on church unity issues. The denominations that show a strong mediating tendency also have progressive rank and file constituencies. In other words, exceptional willing-

¹⁴ P. 458.

ness to make practical adjustments between churches very generally goes with approval of a practicable version of union. This is shown graphically in Chart XXXIV.

Positions close to the diagonal axis of the chart indicate most exact correlation. Denominations located near the lower left-hand corner (headed by the Federated Churches and Congregational-Christian) lead both in progressiveness and in affinity for the mediating tendency. Those located near the upper right-hand corner (Fundamentalist, Lutheran, Baptist (South) and United Presbyterian) stand toward the bottom of the list on both points. Denominations located at the middle of the chart register relatively proportionate tendencies on the two factors.

It will be observed that only a small minority of denominations find place exactly on the diagonal line; that is to say, most of them are influenced somewhat more strongly by one factor than by the other. The only marked exception is presented by the Friends, who are much less inclined to take a mediating theoretical position than they are to show progressiveness in practical adjustments, while the contrary is true of minor officials.

PROGRESSIVENESS AND DISTANCE FEELING

Comparing the denominations next according to the degree of distance feeling which they register toward others and the affinity of their rank and file toward a progressive position in adjustments between churches, one finds, generally speaking, that denominations registering the smallest distance feeling are most progressive and vice versa. This is shown by Chart XXXV, on the next page.

The chart shows Federated Churches, Congregational-Christian, Presbyterian, U. S. A., the three Methodist bodies, Universalist and United Brethren more friendly toward one another and also more progressive than the average, while Presbyterian, U. S., United Lutheran, Baptist (South), Pentecostal, Dunker, Fundamentalist, Mormon, Roman Catholic and Missouri Synod Lutheran are below the average on both counts.

Exceptions to the above rule include the conservative United Presbyterian, Moravian and Methodist Protestant bodies, which register conspicuously less distance feeling than their ranking would indicate on the basis of major tendencies. On the other hand, the very progressive standing of the Unitarian, Jewish and Friends bodies, together with the "no denomination" returns, goes along with a disproportionately great amount of distance feeling. The same tendency is shown in lesser degree by Christian Scientist. Here, then, though progressiveness and slight distance feeling generally go together, are a number of exceptions furnished by certain kindly conservatives and a larger number of rigorous radicals. Eliminating the more extreme exceptions, the correlation of the two factors is $+ .89$.

PROGRESSIVENESS AND THE CHURCH UNION BALLOT

The correlation between progressiveness and the ballot of the rank and file against the existing denominational order works out as shown in Chart XXXVI.

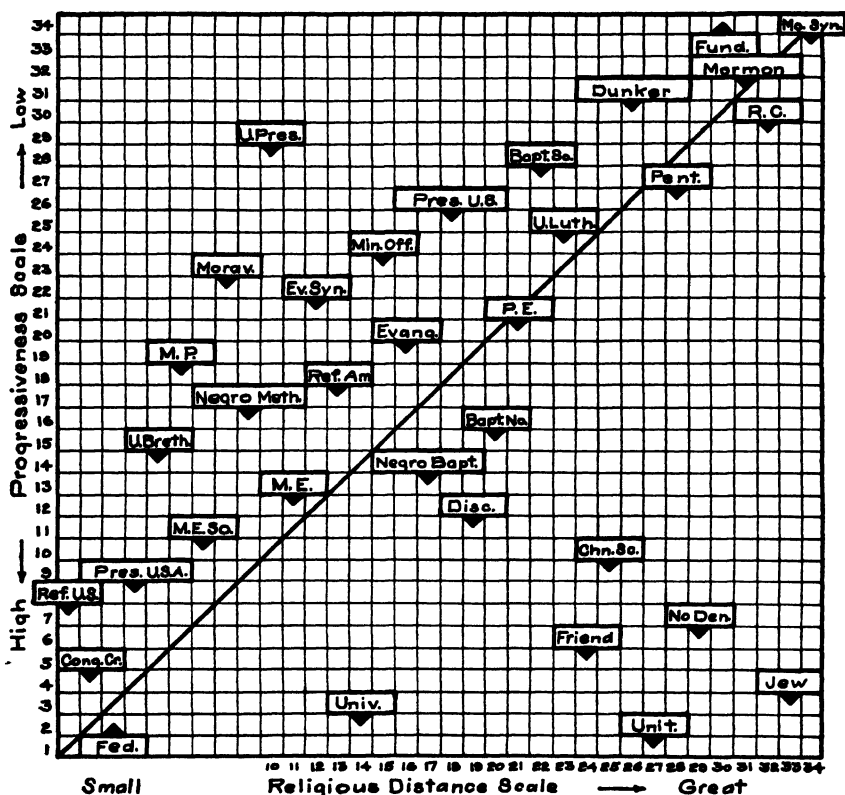


CHART XXXV—CORRELATION BETWEEN RANK OF DENOMINATIONS WITH RESPECT TO PROGRESSIVENESS OF RANK AND FILE AND THEIR RANK BY DEGREE OF RELIGIOUS DISTANCE FEELING

The chart shows that progressiveness goes with small approval of the denominational *status quo*, while conservatism goes with large approval of it. The statistical correlation between the two factors is $+ .67$. Much the same groups of denominations are found at the two extremes as were found there in the last chart.

PROGRESSIVENESS AND FINAL INDEX OF ATTITUDE TOWARD PRACTICABLE UNION

A final index of the attitude of denominations toward practicable union, including factors supplied by the religious distance test, ballot and mediating

tendencies, was presented on p. 463. How do the denominational rankings on this index compare with those on progressiveness? This is the final test of the relatedness of the two factors.

This question is answered on p. 479 where denominational ranking on the two factors is shown in parallel columns. Two out of the seven denomina-

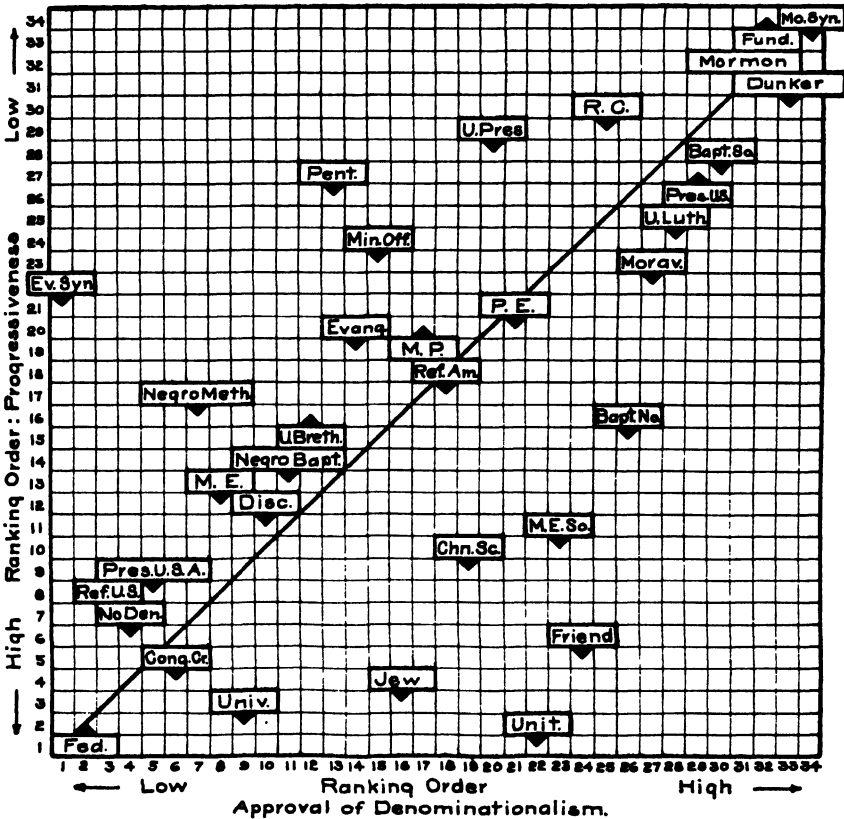


CHART XXXVI—CORRELATION BETWEEN RANK OF DENOMINATIONS WITH RESPECT TO PROGRESSIVENESS OF RANK AND FILE AND THEIR RANK BY CHURCH UNION BALLOT FOR THE PRESENT DENOMINATIONAL ORDER

tions in the upper section of the two columns are the same, five out of seven in the lower section are the same, and four out of the middle six are the same. In short the correspondence of the two factors is very close.

CONCLUSION

In their direct bearing upon the prospects of church union, the most significant aspects of these comparisons involving progressiveness are three: (1) It is additional denominations brought into this comparison and not

included in former ones, that would occupy the extreme places for and against progress in ecclesiastical adjustments. This corresponds with the standing of the same denominations on the religious distance test.¹⁵ Many of them are so far away from the tendencies of the central group as to make union on its terms inconceivable. (2) These same denominations furnish many of the exceptional cases in which the same correlation of factors does not hold. (3) While the correspondence between the attitudes of comparable denominations toward union and the progressiveness of their rank and file attitudes is not exact, there is a nucleus of denominations which stand together in advance of the average on both counts. It is to this group accordingly (somewhat challenged, as has been seen, by their unequal availability for leadership) that one would first look for the chief contribution to practicable union.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INCONSISTENCY

But are these denominations always to be counted upon? Are they consistently at the top of the column?

In the preliminary analysis it was pointed out that the consistency or inconsistency with which a denomination maintained its habitual tendencies must affect its contribution to union. Highly inconsistent denominations with respect to their attitudes toward unity *per se* were discovered.¹⁶ These were the more conspicuous because standing out against a background of quite extraordinary general consistency.

This is strikingly illustrated in the case of the opinion of church leaders.

SERIAL ORDER OF DENOMINATIONS

The consistency with which each denomination occupies a given place in a serial order with respect to thirty propositions referred to these leaders can be measured by counting the number of propositions on which it falls in a given position. The results of such a count are shown in Table CVIII.

The outstanding features of Table CVIII are that rank orders 1, 2 and 3 (the extreme left of the scale) are strongly modal with the congregationally organized denominations, Baptist, Disciples and Congregational. These denominations find themselves in these positions approximately two-thirds of the time, as determined by the ranking of their weighted scores. This indicates their identification with a habitual zone in the scale of denominations. Baptist positions, however, show considerable inconsistency. Nearly one-third of the time they are found at the very opposite end of the scale from their habitual position. The Disciples also fall into another than their habitual zone one-fifth of the time. On the contrary, Congregationalists,

¹⁵ P. 14.

¹⁶ P. 455 f.

TABLE CVIII—NUMBER OF TIMES THE OPINION OF LEADERS OF A GIVEN DENOMINATION FALLS INTO A GIVEN RANK ORDER ACCORDING TO ITS WEIGHTED SCORE ON 30 REPRESENTATIVE ISSUES

Denomination	Rank Order								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Congregational-Christian.....	4	8	7	7	1	2	0	1	0
Disciples.....	8	6	4	4	2	2	3	1	0
Baptist.....	7	6	7	1	0	4	2	3	0
Methodist Episcopal.....	3	4	2	5	8	3	5	0	0
Methodist Episcopal, South.....	3	3	4	4	3	2	3	6	2
Reformed.....	2	1	2	1	2	9	10	3	0
Presbyterian.....	0	0	2	6	9	5	5	3	0
Lutheran.....	3	1	1	1	4	1	1	7	11
Protestant Episcopal.....	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	6	17

when they do not fall in the first three positions, tend simply to move over into rank order 4, or more rarely into rank orders 5 or 6. In brief, when Congregationalists get out of position they bear only a little more to the immediate right, in contrast with the Baptists and Disciples who sometimes jump to the far right. This leaves the Congregationalists the most consistent of the left-wing denominations.

Methodist opinion tends strongly to occupy a middle position, falling in rank order 4 or 5 more than two-fifths of the time, but showing more tendencies to the left than to the right in the scale. That is to say, Methodist thinking has more in common with the congregationally organized denominations than with the Presbyterian type.

Southern Methodist opinion (based on the smallest number of cases) shows the least definite trend of all. It scatters up and down the scale but with a slightly greater tendency to the right than that represented by Methodist Episcopal opinion.

Rank orders 5, 6 and 7 are strongly modal for the Presbyterian-Reformed group, which falls into these positions just two-thirds of the time. This confirms the position of these denominations on the scale between the Methodist and Lutheran-Episcopal, the Reformed showing, however, a distinctly greater tendency to the right.

Lutheran opinion nearly two-thirds of the time, and Protestant Episcopal considerably more than two-thirds of the time, falls in rank order 8 or 9 at the extreme right. Nevertheless, nearly one-fourth of the time Lutheran opinion falls in one of the first three positions, showing that extremes sometimes meet.¹⁷

In the large, then, denominational thinking, as reflected by church leaders, reacts according to a recognizably organized pattern in which the habitual place of each is well marked. To this pattern Baptist, Disciples and Lutheran opinion constitutes the chief element of inconsistency.

¹⁷ P. 459.

OTHER TESTS OF INCONSISTENCY

But the problem of their final contribution to union is complicated by the fact that, on certain other issues as well, some denominations are farther apart than is usual for them, while on others they are nearer. In other words, the problem of their adjustment is specific rather than general. Inconsistency, then, must have consideration according to its total frequency and degree.

Tests on which certain denominations show non-correspondence between two factors which correspond for most denominations, have come to attention in connection with the several correlation charts. All told, comparison is possible on eleven items. These show that the most inconsistent denominations are the Unitarian, Friends, Methodist Episcopal, South, and United Presbyterian, in the order of mention. Minor officials are also highly inconsistent; as are Jews, Moravians, Pentecostals and individuals of "no denomination", for the few comparisons in which they are included. Of these, however, only the Methodist Episcopal, South, is otherwise especially qualified for leadership. Its chances are somewhat reduced by its failure to be as consistent in its position as some of its brethren are. On the other hand, inconsistency works both ways for the remoter denominations. It shows that on some points they really are not so far off as their average position and leaves a door of hope for an understanding at these points. But it also warns of some even profounder differences than the average position of these denominations would indicate.

SUMMARY OF DENOMINATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS BEARING UPON UNION

The denominations have now been compared with respect to each of the six factors recognized as affecting their possible contribution to actual church union movements. One has looked forward point by point in an effort to forecast the ultimate outcome of the process. Now that it is finished, some measure of uncertainty must be confessed as to what constitutes a valid method of putting all the results together. To be specific, the writer confesses that he has no idea how much the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is disqualified for leadership by reason of the inconsistency revealed in the last paragraph. He is accordingly unwilling to seem to settle the matter of a final ranking of denominations by a statistical calculation based, as the previous ones have been, on an obviously arbitrary weighting of factors. Instead, the more reasonable and realistic method would seem to be to place the ranking lists on the major factors side by side and to develop a final chart of denominational relations by a process of analysis which is confessedly non-statistical.

As a basis for this farther step the chief conclusions reached in the previous discussion are summarized by means of denominational ranking lists in the

DENOMINATIONS COMPARED ON MAJOR FACTORS BEARING UPON UNION

Rank	Attitude Toward Practicable Union	Availability for Leadership	Change from Rank in Column 1	Progressiveness	Change from Rank in Column 1	Net Change
1	Reformed, U. S.	Presbyterian, U. S. A.	+3	Federated Churches ...	+4	Reformed, U. S. -11
2	Cong.-Christian	Baptist (North).....	+8	Cong.-Christian	±0	Cong.-Christian
3	Presbyterian, U. S. A. .	Methodist Episcopal, South.	+2	Reformed, U. S.	-2	Presbyterian, U. S. A. +2
4	Evangelical Synod....	Reformed in America	+5	Presbyterian, U. S. A. .	-1	Evangelical Synod..... -14
5-5	Federated Churches ...	United Brethren	+7	Methodist Episcopal..	+3	Federated Churches..... -6
5-5	Methodist Epis., South	Methodist Episcopal.	+2	Meth. Epis., South....	±0	Methodist Episcopal, South.. +2
7	Evangelical.....	Presbyterian, U. S.	+9	United Brethren.....	+5	Evangelical..... -4
8	Methodist Episcopal ..	Evangelical.....	-1	Evangelical Synod....	-4	Methodist Episcopal..... +5
9-5	Reformed in America..	Disciples.....	+3	Disciples.....	+4	Reformed in America..... +2
9-5	Protestant Episcopal ..	Reformed, U. S.	-9	Evangelical.....	-3	Protestant Episcopal..... -8
11	Baptist (North).....	Friends.....	+3	Unitarian.....	+4	Baptist (North)..... +5
12	United Brethren.....	Congregational-Christian...	-10	Reformed in America..	-3	United Brethren..... +12
13	Disciples.....	Protestant Episcopal....	-3	Friends.....	+1	Disciples..... +7
14	Friends.....	Evangelical Synod.....	-10	Baptist (North).....	-3	Friends..... +4
15	Unitarian.....	Federated Churches.....	-10	United Presbyterian....	+1	Unitarian..... +1
16	Presbyterian, U. S.	Baptist (South).....	+2	Protestant Episcopal..	-5	Presbyterian, U. S. +8
17	United Presbyterian ..	United Presbyterian	±0	Presbyterian, U. S.	-1	United Presbyterian..... +1
18	Baptist (South).....	Unitarian.....	-3	Baptist (South).....	±0	Baptist (South)..... +2
19	Fundamentalist.....	Fundamentalist.....	±0	Lutheran.....	+1	Fundamentalist..... -1
20	Lutheran.....	Lutheran.....	±0	Fundamentalist.....	-1	Lutheran..... +1

parallel columns on p. 479. These serve to place the denominations according to the main factors on which they have been compared.

The change from the ranking order of denominations in Column 1 is indicated on the test of availability in Column 2 and on the test of progressiveness in Column 4. The net change is then calculated and shown in the last column. The problem is now to reorganize the data in view of these changes and other factors, such as inconsistency, which are not formally calculated.

The first step toward a solution is obviously to find a focal point for the classification of denominations. This clearly must be found among denominations which stand high on all three lists and are at the same time not inconsistent. Inspection of the lists shows two denominations preëminently qualifying under these requirements: namely, the Presbyterian, U. S. A. and the Methodist Episcopal. None of the other denominations which stand high in Columns 1 or 4 (except the inconsistent Methodist Episcopal, South) is above the middle in Column 2, which measures availability and acceptability. The Presbyterian, U. S. A. and Methodist Episcopal are consequently identified as the nuclei of probable union.

But the Reformed, U. S., Congregational-Christian and Federated Churches actually rank ahead of the Presbyterian, U. S. A., and Methodist Episcopal in the joint criteria of approval of practicable union and progressiveness; as does also the Evangelical Synod in approval of practicable union. In expressing their relations to the central nucleus, these must be shown in advance of it and at the same time as not equally available for leadership.

The next problem of realistic classification relates to denominations standing below the middle of the three ranking lists. Evidently these are not at all alike; Unitarian, Lutheran and Baptist (South), for example, diverge from the central group in different directions.

In order to determine objectively which diverges in which direction, resort must be had to the ranking of denominations according to their attitudes toward unity *per se*, as shown on p. 462. Some are more favorable toward theoretical unity than the central group is. These must be shown diverging in one direction. Others are less favorable. These must be shown diverging in the opposite direction.

These considerations fix the essential framework of Chart XXXVII which presents the study's final generalization as to denominational relationships relative to church union.

DENOMINATIONAL POSITIONS AS CHARTED

At the focal center of the zone of union, as previously determined, are located the Presbyterian, U. S. A., and Methodist Episcopal denominations. Above them stand denominations which are even more favorable than they

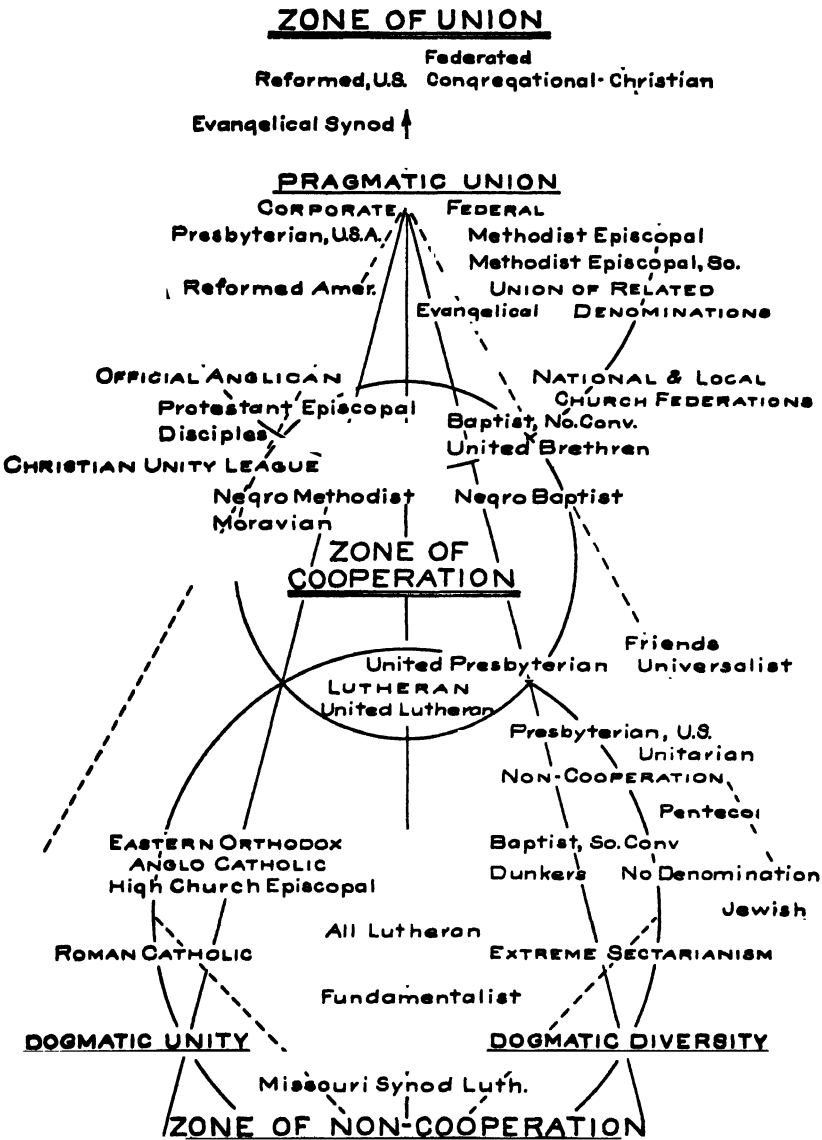


CHART XXXVII—DENOMINATIONAL POSITIONS WITH RESPECT TO CHURCH UNION

to pragmatic union, and equally progressive, but which are less acceptable to others for the place of leadership.

The diverging line at the left of the chart shows a logical progression toward a stronger version of corporate union than that represented by the central group, culminating in the most extreme version of dogmatic unity represented by the Roman Catholic position. The intermediate stages between corporate union of the pragmatic sort and this extreme include the official Anglican position, the position of the Church Unity League, and the Lutheran, Anglo-Catholic and Eastern Orthodox positions respectively. A similar line of regression from the central position toward dogmatic diversity appears at the right of the diagram. After passing through the stages of pragmatic federal union and the diminishing series of partial unions and coöperative relationships, it ends in complete sectarian isolation.

The broken lines drawn outside of the main lines of divergence serve approximately to locate the more inconsistent denominations, defined as those which most definitely fail to show the usual correspondence of factors or to maintain habitual positions, as is done by the majority of churches. The reasons for their erratic behavior differ greatly. Unitarians and Friends are too progressive to be consistent with their general rank with respect to unity; Pentecostals, too peculiar. The order of denominations on the dotted line accordingly represents divergence from the central position, but does not represent a logical sequence toward any particular climax.

The ten theoretical positions defining ecclesiastical movements and proposals as explored and classified in chapter viii are next inserted in the chart, alongside of the denominations which most nearly incarnate them.

A reconvergence of lines shown at the lower part of the chart is also highly significant. It suggests a phenomenon discovered in connection with the study of inconsistency, namely, the approval of dogmatic unity in theory by some bodies which practise and attempt to defend the most non-coöperative positions in fact. This, as already explained, is a case where extremes meet.¹⁸ Some of the completely non-coöperative bodies, nevertheless, believe most strongly in union if it can be union on their own terms. From the standpoint of the majority, the extreme Catholic and the extreme sectarian bodies are, of course, equally non-coöperative; and they are no more coöperative with respect to one another.

With respect, then, to the central position and the general tendencies which it represents, a zone is identified within which the union of denominations is highly probable. This is indicated by the circle at the top of the chart. Combining the two contradictory extremes, a contrary zone appears in which union of the type which the majority favors is highly improbable.

¹⁸ P. 453.

As just indicated, this zone possesses no inner coherence. Between the zone of union and the zone of non-coöperation lies a debatable zone, the boundaries of which are best determined by the actual participation or non-participation of denominations in present coöperative movements.

The zone arrangement of the chart merely symbolizes the fact that denominations which are already coöperative, which are active in unity movements and which stand relatively near to the central position with respect to union, are actually much alike in thinking and attitude. They reflect a common system of agreements. Not only might they conceivably unite, but it is hard to find any logical reason why they do not unite. Indeed, their actual union is more than probable. The union of denominations, on the contrary, which are both non-coöperative and known to belong to a contrary system of thinking and attitude, would logically seem hopeless. Those whose coöperation is limited or fragmentary and who belong partly to one system of tendencies and partly to another obviously find themselves somewhere on the fence.

On this showing, the possible formula for further unity is easily discovered. Union could be achieved either by completely reconciling the two extremes, a process which would necessarily include the middle group; or else by associating one of the extremes with the middle group, which would create so vast a preponderance of forces that the other excluded extreme might largely be ignored for practical purposes; or finally by working out from the middle along both diverging lines and drawing in as many as possible of the marginal and debatable groups from both directions. This, to be sure, would also produce only a large partial union; but its hopefulness for complete union in the long future would be greater than would union by the partial victory of either extreme.

CHAPTER XVII

The Strategy of Church Union

In earlier chapters the prospects of church union have been based upon the strength and momentum of objective movements of integration and upon the preponderance of favorable thinking and attitudes. These factors will project their force into the future, whether or not anyone does anything further about it.

But the situation may also be deliberately influenced and partially controlled. Individuals and groups have the power to tip the scales, slightly at least, in one or another direction. The present chapter consequently undertakes to indicate the strategy which might be hopefully employed by those favorable to union of the sort believed in by the majority of American Christians.

This is not to assert that unity of this sort, because it has historic momentum behind it and the majority in its favor, is necessarily right. It will be generally admitted, however, as best for all parties, that the full possibilities and practical implications of the dominant unity movement should be brought into the open. Those who disagree with it will find that the chapter suggests the strategy best calculated to defeat the movement. Briefly, the main thing is to stand pat and trust to inertia. For, in spite of its gathering momentum, it is not yet proved that the unity movement can lift its load off the ground. If it should manage to take to the air, the analysis of this chapter will point out exceedingly vulnerable points for its enemies to snipe at. In spite, then, of strong objective probabilities of union, the chances are so close as to make it likely that it could be long defeated by inertia accompanied by very little additional opposition. Indeed, this seems almost certain to be the outcome unless very positive and determined initiative is shown by its friends.

It should be reiterated that the probability indicated by the strength and direction of the present unity movement is that of a very large partial union. The hope of its achievement is particularly based on the demonstration of a favorable system of convictions and attitudes shared by a large number of extremely like-minded denominations and backed by many individuals in denominations which, as wholes, are unfavorable. Their union would create a vast church including nearly three-fourths of the non-Catholic Christians of the United States. But this would be far from including all

the strictly Protestant groups. Such union can constitute no final goal; but it would be a very long step forward.

The rank and file of American Christians believe that advance along this line can and should be made without delay on account either of practical difficulties or of spiritual deficiencies. The time is now; the dynamic relied upon is the degree of spiritual unity already achieved.¹

Again, popular thinking as voiced by the general religious constituency, anticipates progress by stages. It is ready to consider a first series of steps and to have the subsequent direction of progress forecast without having to decide in advance all the steps to the final goal. This conception of union and of the way it is to be achieved is congruous with the habitual processes of the American mind, and the data indicate that the masses of Protestant Christians are actually waiting for something like this to occur.

From this standpoint the process of deriving an actual strategy of church union from such data as the present study affords is merely that of drawing simple inferences. From the observation and analysis of what has been and what is, conclusions as to next steps are reached.

The chief determinants of such steps are the more massive and dynamic phenomena with which the previous chapters have had to do in detail. Major strategy moves along the lines of the evolutionary movement of these fundamental facts. This movement indicates the direction which the reinforcing will, and the consequent organization, of those who believe in it should naturally take. Sometimes it suggests a series of steps, at others certain paths of simultaneous advance.

The data, as set forth in the chapters immediately preceding this, specifically refer the strategy of church union to the action of particular denominations. At many points the data showing the present position of the respective denominations clearly suggest whose is the next move. But strategy does not refer exclusively to denominational action. There are secondary possibilities in the field of interdenominational organization, as exemplified in the church federation movement, and of independent and group action, as seen, for example in the Christian Unity League. These the data have also suggested.²

Finally, it must be confessed that the specific processes set forth as necessary to actualize each step of advance in union are not exclusively derived by inference based directly upon data. They adapt and utilize currently successful educational and organizational devices, and they regard measures and cautions originating in analogies of practical experience in other realms. The conclusiveness of such analogies is less complete than that of the more direct inferences. All told, however, what follows seems to the writer to

¹ P. 176.

² Pp. 225 and 304.

present the most likely way to achieve the goal of church union of the sort judged possible and desirable by the American majority.

Starting, then, with the most extensive and forceful of the phenomena of integration as determinants, the present chapter explains the conception of the major strategy of church union in six phases: (1) the discovery of a center for union and the first rallying of forces about this center; (2) right and left wing integration about the center within the demonstrable common system of conviction and attitude; (3) the utilization of special internal affinities to strengthen union and enlarge its scope; (4) the effort to include as many marginal elements as possible; (5) the inclusion of churches whose marginal position is socially rather than ecclesiastically determined; (Chart XXXVII has shown the denominational positions which define "center," "right and left wing" and "margins"); (6) adjustment of relations with groups not immediately included.

These six phases lead up to a seventh, namely, the maintenance and strengthening of ecumenical relationships. Secondary considerations suggesting collateral politics emerge at one or another of the stages of this process.

In attempting to show how union might conceivably work out in these phases, the writer introduces almost no details which are not directly backed by data. It is recognized, however, that answers to questionnaires do not really foretell how a religious constituency would react on an actual showdown on any particular issue. Concreteness of detail, then, adds more to clarity of exposition than it does to explicit prophecy.

PRIMARY STRATEGY

I. THE FIRST PHASE: DISCOVERING AND RALLYING ON THE CENTER

Chapter xvi demonstrated the existence of a natural center for any practical union movement. This determines the first phase of strategy in behalf of union. Those who occupy this center must get together and rally others about it. They will naturally organize a preliminary movement for union; and in view of the great stress of the constituency on variety and the experience of other partial unions, they will make their first measures provisional and flexible. The overt grounds of their union will be the multitude of known agreements and similarity of tendencies demonstrated in chapters xiii and xiv, which will be recognized in the light of chapter vi as indices of essential social homogeneity.

The denominations indicated by these somewhat formidable criteria as constituting the rallying center are primarily the Methodist Episcopal and the Presbyterian, U. S. A. These are relatively large bodies, profoundly identified with the main current of American life. Their claims to the

central position is that they combine strong conviction in favor of practicable union with minimum opposition from other denominations either in thinking or in attitude. Moreover, they have actually formulated the most far-reaching, comprehensive and unqualified proposal for church union now being negotiated.³ If these two bodies should move strongly for union it would go far toward breaking the log jam which now keeps the movement hanging on the rocks in spite of the strong current in its favor.

The specific processes within the Methodist and Presbyterian bodies necessary to get union practically under way are, first, the return of the now dormant negotiations to the active stage, followed by the organization of the necessary machinery of joint discussion, the affirmation and working out of agreements in terms easily intelligible to the popular mind and their early submission to public consideration. The mere creation of an air of reality in discussions which have been allowed to go stale would go far toward favorable action.

The exact terms of agreement in this first stage are probably not essential; at least they are beyond prophecy. Generally speaking, the two denominations would have to set up a type of union corresponding to the preponderant attitudes of the American religious public, with which, as has been shown, they are in close agreement. It would be of the sort described in chapter viii as pragmatic union. Its unity would admit of wide variety. Agreement on the essential message and content of Christianity expressed in terms of experience would seem easily possible in view of the success of the Lausanne Conference and the South India negotiations in uniting much more diverse elements upon a simple summary of the common faith. No essential issue exists between the two denominations with respect to the ministry or the ordinances of the church. The organizational structure and government of the church first proposed would be likely to be a sort of compromise between the fully organic and the federal type embodied in the Philadelphia Plan.⁴ A constitutional episcopate of some kind is easily conceivable. But, in view of the evidence of strongly consolidated opinion cited in chapter x, the functions of the central organ of the united church would certainly be considerably enlarged over those proposed in the Philadelphia Plan, and might be expected to include a unified system of church philanthropies; a similar system of religious education; and a single board of missions, home and foreign; besides provision of means for voicing the common sentiment of the united church on moral questions, and for the recognition of a ministry with full standing throughout the whole church.⁵

In taking the proposed union to the people for consideration a much wider

³ P. 71.

⁴ P. 243.

⁵ P. 309.

range of considerations should be presented than those commonly canvassed by ecclesiastics. Education of the laity would have to be carried to such a point that their understanding of issues in the terms of their own thinking would become fairly comparable to that of the clergy. Laymen and young people would then gravitate to positions most congruous to their experience and temperament—something which they cannot do so long as the obscurities of ecclesiastical jargon keep them in virtual ignorance of the whole subject.

II. THE SECOND PHASE: INTEGRATION ABOUT THE CENTER WITHIN A COMMON SYSTEM

This phase is highly essential. It comes next because the data demonstrated the existence of denominations even more favorable to union than those identified as constituting the rallying center. The most advanced bodies cannot themselves function as the center, because their positions are less acceptable to the total constituency. Logically, however, they head the procession and, in a step as nearly simultaneous as possible with the first one, these elements must be taken in on the ground floor.⁶

This will involve mutual concession, but a degree of concession which all agree is possible, since numerous unions already accomplished have successfully demonstrated it—for example, the United Church of Canada.

Typical of the denominations which occupy the advanced positions in favor of union are the Federated Churches, the Congregational-Christian and the Reformed Church in the United States.

From the two former the Presbyterian and Methodist groups, indicated above as the natural center of union, differ primarily on the point of church polity. How close they are together in basic attitudes is demonstrated in Table CIX.

TABLE CIX—REPRESENTATIVE DENOMINATIONS COMPARED WITH RESPECT TO THE VARIATION OF ATTITUDES OF THEIR SELECT CONSTITUENCIES FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION AMONG SIX POSITIONS IN A UNITY-DIVERSITY SERIES

Denomination	Extreme Diversity	Diversity Trend	Mediating	Unity Trend	Extreme Unity	Equivalent
Total.....	-3	+5	+13	±0	-13	±0
Methodist Episcopal.....	-5	+6	+17	±0	-16	±0
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	-5	+5	+15	+1	-15	±0
Congregational-Christian....	-5	+5	+18	-1	-16	-1
Reformed, U. S.	-4	+6	+15	±0	-15	±0
Baptist (North).....	-2	+7	+13	-3	-15	+1
Disciples.....	-6	+2	+13	+1	-8	±0
Protestant Episcopal.....	-6	+2	+7	+5	-7	-1
Lutheran.....	-2	+6	+2	-3	-8	+1

⁶ See Chart XXXVIII.

On no one of the six positions is there more than a trifling divergence between Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, U. S. A., Congregational-Christian and Reformed in the U. S. sentiment.

Concessions by the central group are indicated in the direction of recognition of congregational elements in church government and decentralization in administration. These points have been repeatedly covered in principle in negotiations involving much broader diversities of viewpoint than those now involved.

Concessions, in turn, on the part of these most advanced churches to the less advanced are indicated in three directions: their final abandonment of sectarian and separatist traits which have really been outgrown; a willingness to follow the logic of their own evolution in the direction of greater centralization of church administration; and a recognition of the real if not the theoretical values of greater structural strength in the church.

The specific processes of registering and affirming these agreements and mutual concessions, namely, the education of constituencies and the popularizing of the issue in the mind of the rank and file, simply particularize strategy already employed in the former phase.

THE SECOND PHASE (CONT.): RIGHT AND LEFT WING INTEGRATION WITHIN THE CENTRAL ZONE

Simultaneously with the movement to include in union the denominations which are ahead of the center will naturally come that to include those denominations which diverge only a little from the center in either direction. This phase is determined by the demonstration of the existence of what may be called near-in right and left wing bodies, the ground of whose slight separation from the central group is that some are more inclined to diversity and others to unity as ecclesiastically defined. It should be recalled that both tendencies are variations upon the pragmatic version of unity represented by the central group. In both cases, however, the variation is so slight that all the denominations concerned clearly fall within the area of probable union.

The specific step of strategy involved at this stage is to take these denominations in on the ground floor, through processes of mutual concession.

The application of strategic measures may be illustrated in the case of two denominations, namely, Northern Baptist, who are slightly more inclined to diversity than the central group, and the Disciples, who are slightly more inclined to unity. These somewhat divergent positions as reflected in the reactions of the select constituency toward unity issues are shown in Table CIX. Yet on the major position they merely lag slightly behind the central denominations.

As in the case of the first variant group, certain concessions may be ex-

pected from the central group; and since the two denominations chosen for examples both belong to the congregational type, these concessions will in large measure be the same as those previously indicated. Other concessions may be necessary to meet the peculiarities of these denominations, which in both cases, as much of the data has suggested, exert a diminishing force.

For the reason just given, concessions on the part of the right and left wing variants are also largely the same as those called for in former examples. None of these denominations has found any special difficulty in participating in the most advanced forms of organized coöperation hitherto developed. All the concessions required easily fall within the provisions for variety in a united church which are set up by the terms of the denominations' own thinking. This variety would enable the retention of forms which any might hold dear but would not permit the imposition of these forms upon others.

The invariable processes of proposing union in specific terms and educating constituencies to choose it, followed by action effectualizing it, would be required in this, the second, as they were in the first application of this phase of strategy.

III. THE THIRD PHASE: UTILIZATION OF SPECIAL INTERNAL AFFINITIES TO STRENGTHEN UNION AND ENLARGE ITS SCOPE

This phase is in the first instance negative. It involves the recall of the unity movement from a less direct and hopeful path to a more direct and hopeful one. But it also has its positive aspects.

The determining factor of strategy at this point, as developed by the data, is that the branches of the same denominational families are often not so near one another or acceptable to each other as certain other denominations of different historic antecedents have come to be. The attempt to advance union along the lines of ecclesiastical family groups has been the most prevalent method in the past and remains the most highly favored method. But it is demonstrably not the one most in accord with the probabilities. A really hopeful strategy of advance must drop the conception of achieving unity by first gathering all the Methodists, all the Baptists, all the Presbyterians, for example, into family groups and later bringing these groups into closer affiliation. This is to wait for a car whose engines are geared to pull in both directions at once. The hopeful prospect lies rather in discovering, utilizing and including affinities existing between denominations belonging within the same system of thought and attitude and having the same instinctive responses to situations, whether or not they are historically of the same families.

Applying this thesis to particular denominations, one must report negatively on the prospects of union between Northern and Southern Baptists,

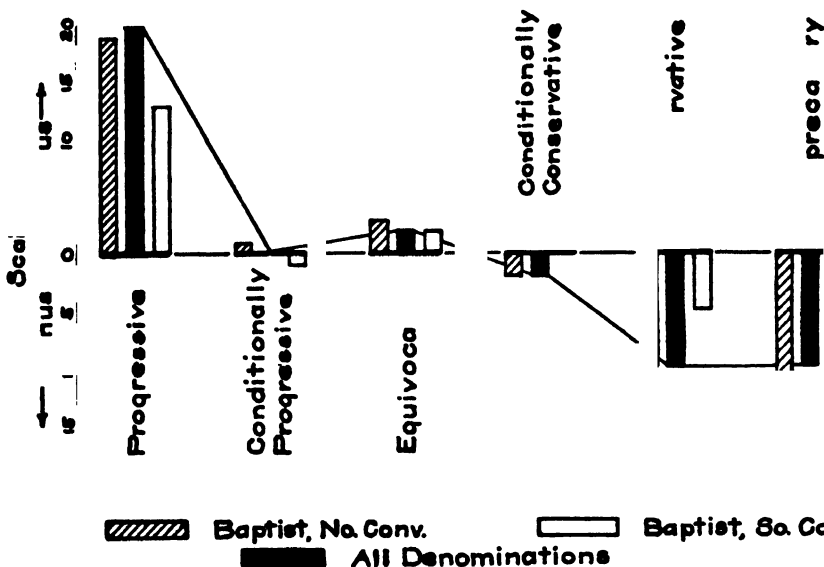
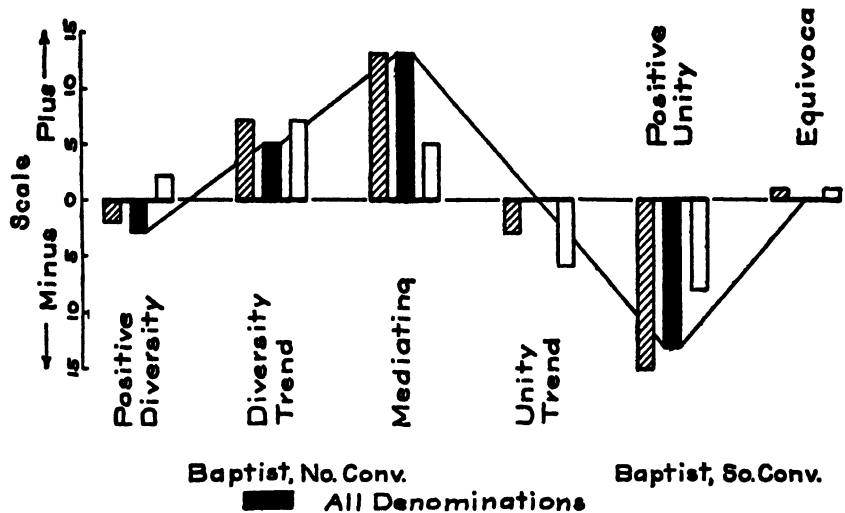
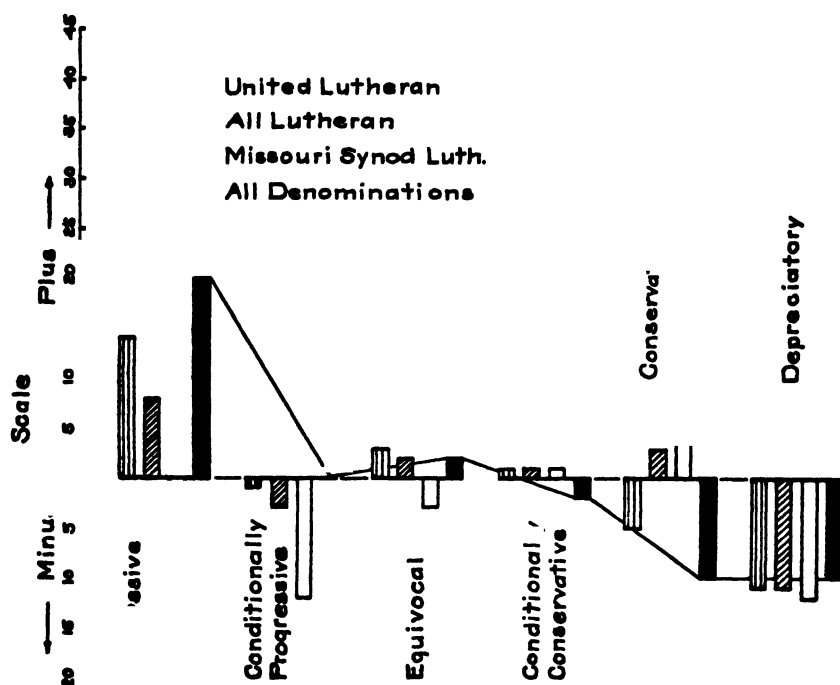


CHART XXXVIII—COMPARISON OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN BAPTIST CHURCHES AS TO VARIATION OF ATTITUDES AND JUDGMENTS FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION AMONG SPECIFIED POSITIONS

Upper—select constituency with respect to 12 issues

On next page—rank and file constituency with respect to 18 situations and incidents



or between the United Lutheran and Missouri Synod Lutheran. On most positions both their select constituencies and rank and file are far apart if not in opposition. On similar grounds the positions of the two wings of the Protestant Episcopal church with respect to one another, do not appear to offer conditions favorable for union with others. In less degree also the proposed union of the Presbyterian, U. S. A., with the Presbyterian, U. S., and the United Presbyterian, seems not to represent a main line of hopeful progress.

The grounds for these verdicts appear in Charts XXXVIII to XLIV, all of which will repay careful study.

On the other hand, cases of proposed partial union which represent actual affinities, whether or not between related bodies would naturally be built into the strategy of the union movement. This applies strongly to the Northern and Southern Methodist bodies, whose almost identical positions are illustrated in Chart XLII.

It applies also to the recently consummated union between the Reformed, U. S., and the Evangelical Synod. Both bodies are of German origin, but the latter has a mixture of Lutheran and Reformed antecedents, and to that extent they are unrelated. As between these two denominations, however, virtual identity of thought is not equally matched in the sphere of action.

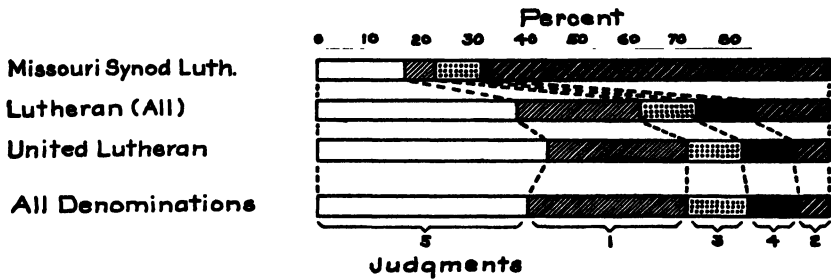


CHART XXXIX—COMPARISON OF UNITED LUTHERAN, MISSOURI SYNOD LUTHERAN AND ALL LUTHERAN AND ALL DENOMINATIONS AS TO JUDGMENTS

Left—variation of their rank and file judgments with respect to 18 incidents and situations from a proportionate distribution of judgments among six positions in a progressive-conservative series

Right—distribution of judgments with respect to close communion. Judgments numbered to correspond with key

Number

- 5 Since the father does not deny that the son-in-law is a Christian and in spiritual communion with Christ, he ought not to exclude him from a rite which symbolizes this fact.
- 1 This just shows how awfully narrow some denominations still are.
- 3 The situation as described sounds rather strained, but the issue is really merely technical, because the husband can feel spiritually admitted to the communion although he is externally excluded.
- 4 If the son-in-law could not conveniently find an open-communion church in which to receive the sacrament, the father ought to stretch a point and admit him as an exception.
- 2 The father is right in observing the Scriptural condition attached to the Sacrament of Baptism as he understands it, no matter how it affects his own family.

Here the Evangelical Synod is distinctly less progressive than the Reformed, U. S., though the difference is by no means unsurmountable. This is shown in Table CX.

On similar grounds the recently approved Unitarian and Universalist union into the Free Church of America appears highly promising as a partial union movement, though these two bodies stand too far from the central position for inclusion in any plan for early general union. This is shown in Chart XLIII.

Beyond using the ties of common historical antecedents, so far as reflected in present thinking and feeling, to draw denominations together, all inner affinities should be explored. All denominations within the zone of union are relatively near together. They should be paired off successively

TABLE CX—REFORMED CHURCH, U. S., AND EVANGELICAL SYNOD OF NORTH AMERICA COMPARED WITH RESPECT TO THE VARIATION OF THEIR ATTITUDES AND JUDGMENTS FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION AMONG SPECIFIED POSITIONS

Denomination	Select Constituency Positions					
	Extreme Diversity	Diversity Trend	Mediating	Unity Trend	Extreme Unity	Equivocal
Total.	-3	+5	+13	±0	-13	±0
Reformed, U. S. . . .	-4	+6	+15	±0	-15	±0
Evangelical Synod.	-4	+7	+13	+1	-15	-1

	Rank and File Positions					
	Conditionally Progressive	Conditionally Progressive	Equivocal	Conditionally Conservative	Conservative	Depreciatory
Total.	+20	±0	+2	-2	-10	-10
Reformed, U. S.	+25	+2	+1	-3	-15	-10
Evangelical Synod.	+17	+2	+1	±0	-10	-10

and overtures for union instituted in the most likely cases. Chart XLV shows, for example, very strong likeness between the Reformed Church in U. S. and the Evangelical, though they differ in polity.

All specific processes applicable to the first two phases of strategy apply also to the third. Belonging within a common system assures that minor differences can be admitted under the principle of normal variation within the church and their more obvious frictions met by mutual concession.

The set-up of the scheme of union will naturally be such that many points of difference will not have to be settled in advance. More refined tests, such as were applied to church leaders in the present study but not separately carried out for the majority of denominations, would doubtless discover specific areas of neutrality and indecision, seriously affecting the points at issue, which could probably be reduced by processes of education.⁷ On a good many problems which strike fire when raised, the minds of the respective groups have not yet been really made up, and frequently there is little concentration of opinion within a given group.

An additional and most crucial process should probably be carried out in connection with this phase of strategy, namely, that of preliminary interdenominational organization to further the union contemplated but not in itself consummating the act of union. This would be to meet the popular anticipation of union achieved through a series of steps. The effect of such an organization would be, on the one hand, to consolidate the gains already made and, on the other, to leave the doors open so that other bodies might later be added to the uniting group without seeming to belong to a second

⁷ See p. 418.

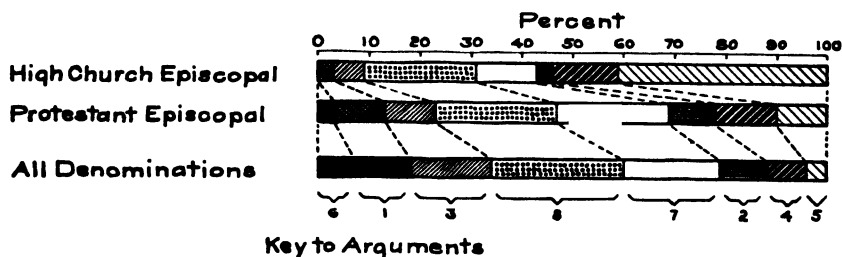
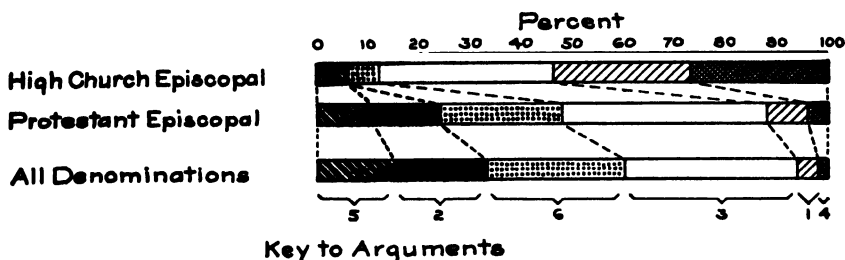
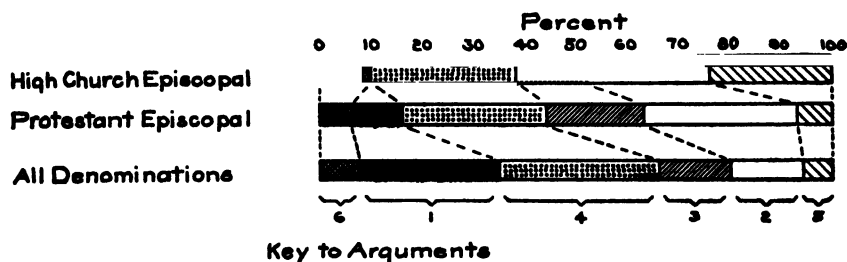


CHART XL—COMPARISON OF HIGH-CHURCH EPISCOPAL, PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL AND ALL DENOMINATIONAL ATTITUDES WITH RESPECT TO THREE ISSUES OF CHURCH UNION

Upper—Could the more important of the denominations find permanent place and retain their special emphasis as organized societies of Christians within a united church? (For arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table LII.)

Middle—Does church unity mean that the church's belief, modes of worship and forms of organization must be exactly the same everywhere? (For arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table XL.)

Lower—Are denominations an evil? (For arguments numbered to correspond with key, see Table L.)

phase of development. In other words, they would still appear to be taken in on the ground floor. Preliminary organization, nevertheless, would have been effected and it would have become clear to all parties that those already in the preliminary union were ready to close the books and go ahead as a united church by themselves, whenever the practical futility of waiting longer for others was demonstrated. Without some such stand being taken, indefinite delay might result, imperiling the whole movement.

IV. THE FOURTH PHASE: THE EFFORT TO INCLUDE AS MANY MARGINAL OR UNCERTAIN ELEMENTS AS POSSIBLE

The determining fact at this point is the existence of churches marginal to the central system and neither certainly included nor certainly excluded from it. They exhibit similar contours of thought and reaction on most issues, but their total emphasis is somewhat different, and the strong influence of opposing wings within a given body may reflect itself in a decidedly unsettled mood and behavior.

The "near" elements in these bodies are nearer to the center of the central system than are some of the churches included in that system, but their more remote elements are much farther off, and this makes the average farther. The challenge of a strong and immediate union movement would set up internal tension in these bodies which might result in a change in their centers of gravity. One cannot say in advance whether they would or would not adhere to a challenging and enlarging union movement.

The obvious step at this point is to secure from these denominations as close a secondary adherence to the new union as may be possible. This adherence should take as strong a form as the actual affinities which it represents.

The denominations chiefly indicated under this principle are the Protestant Episcopal and the United Lutheran. Table CIX shows their much greater distance on certain tests from the central group of uniting churches than any denominations that have been discussed in the first three phases. But a comparison of this table with Charts XXIX and XL(B) demonstrates that the distance between these denominations and the central group is not nearly so great as the distance between wings within these denominations. Moreover, the total curve of opinion and reaction is similar to that of the central body. The difference is one of degree and that not absolutely extreme.

What particular arrangements would secure the secondary adherence of these groups to a plan of union along the lines proposed above, it is not necessary to predict in detail. It is obviously difficult to be at the same time in and out of a movement. It is hard and uncomfortable for all parties. But any realistic account of present relationships must assert that this seem-

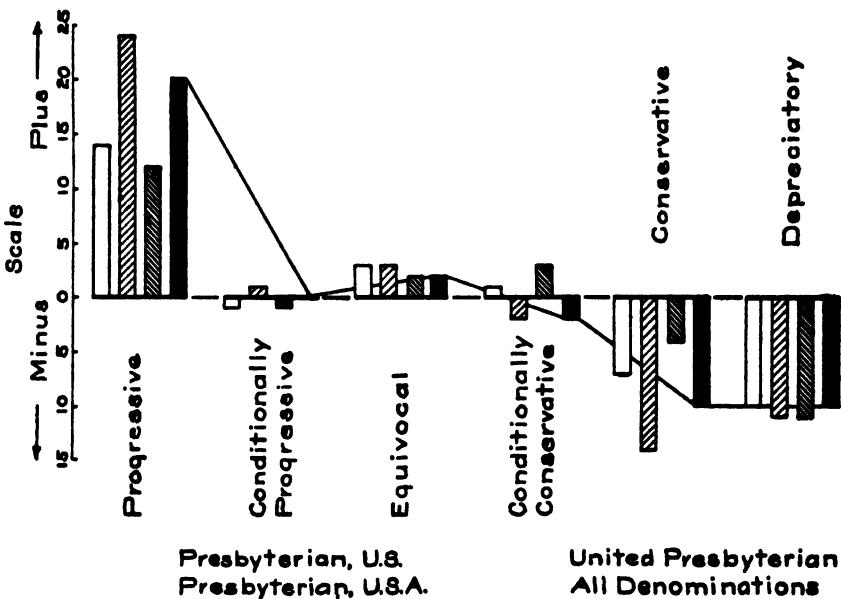
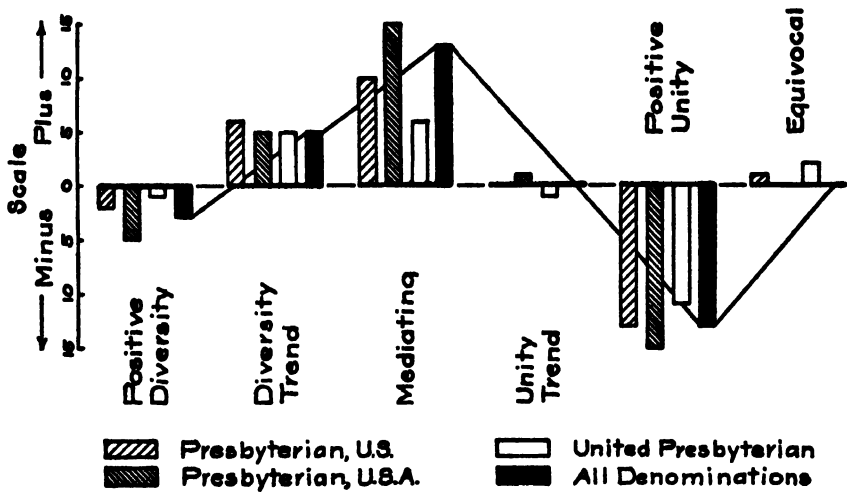


CHART XLI—COMPARISON OF PRESBYTERIAN, U.S.A., PRESBYTERIAN, U.S., AND UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES AS TO VARIATION OF ATTITUDES AND JUDGMENTS FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION AMONG SPECIFIED POSITIONS

Upper—Select constituency with respect to 12 issues

Lower—Rank and file constituency with respect to 18 situations and incidents

ingly impossible thing is already being done. Certain analogies are supplied by the relation of these bodies to the Federal Council and local Councils of Churches and to other national coöperative agencies. In other words, the strategy proposed might succeed. No one can say in advance that it would not.

Certain specific processes would probably emerge in this fourth phase. For one thing, the exploration of the area of neutrality and indecision and the educational treatment of issues within that area would have additional importance.

Such an exploration of unsettled issues should be conducted so as to secure a more appreciative and warm-hearted understanding of the Catholic and confessional viewpoints on the part of the Protestant majority. Arguing from experience, one would expect to achieve this end by the multiplication of face-to-face contacts between both leaders and laity and the substitution of a consciousness of what these divergent emphases mean to individual men for their theoretical expression as read in books.

A theoretical examination by American churches of their major agreements and disagreements along the lines begun at Lausanne would also not be out of place, especially because Lausanne almost certainly did not put the same emphasis upon the several issues that a conference of American churches would do.

Both the central and the marginal churches, classified from the standpoint of this strategy, would have to prepare to contemplate seemingly radical concessions under the well-established principle of "economy" to which the Greek Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion, as represented by the bishops at Lambeth, have frequent recourse. It would not shock the rank and file of Americans to know that ecclesiastics sometimes indulge in a little proper bargaining, especially in view of the laymen's doubt whether the principles on which the ecclesiastic justifies his stubbornness are really principles on which no concessions can be made.⁸

It would probably be even more important to defer some difficult issues for settlement in the future in the strength of mutual trust by the uniting bodies in one another and in the divine leadership. This principle is well illustrated in the development of the South India Scheme of Union.⁹

Finally, it would undoubtedly prove possible to rise to a radically different attitude toward certain apparently insoluble issues which could not be deferred. The impressive reality of such an experience is set forth by the Bishop of Nazik in an intimate disclosure of the mood in which the negotiators set up the South India Scheme.¹⁰

⁸ P. 441.

⁹ P. 235.

¹⁰ Address delivered to the Bombay Representative Christian Council on September 6th, 1932.

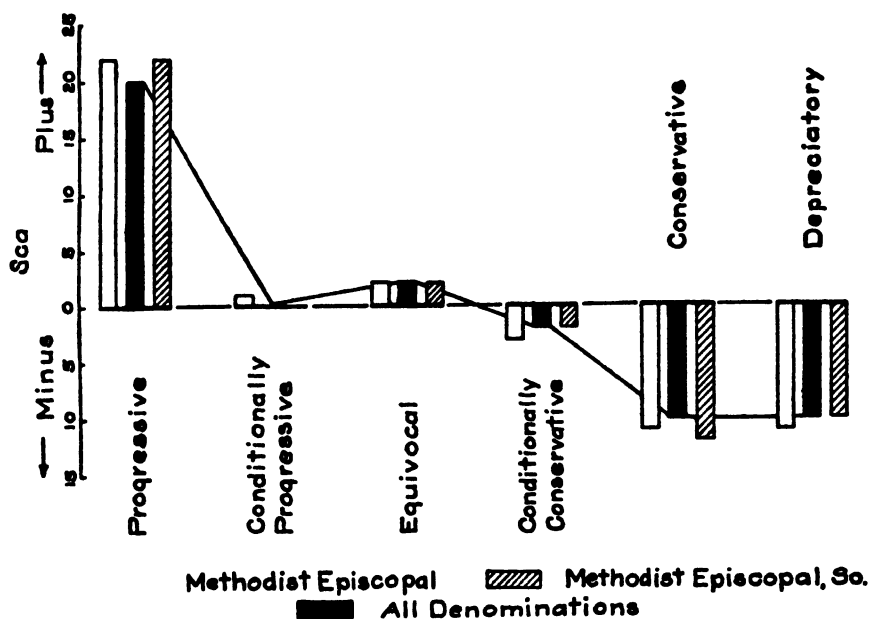
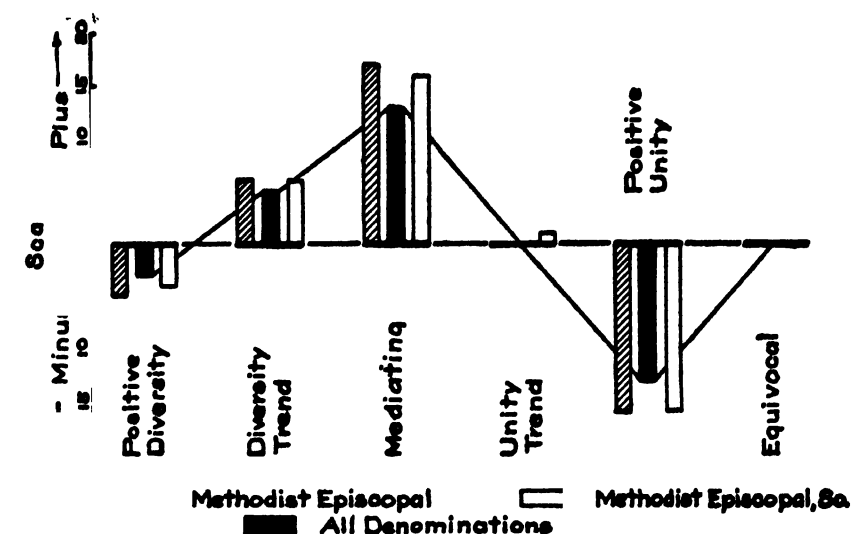


CHART XLII—COMPARISON OF METHODIST EPISCOPAL AND METHODIST EPISCOPAL, SOUTH, CHURCHES

Upper—Select constituency with respect to 12 issues

Lower—Rank and file constituency with respect to 18 situations and incidents

"How, then, starting with the assumptions with which we started, and working in the way in which we have worked, do we ask the Councils of the Churches to regard and deal with the Scheme which we have produced?"

"We plead with them to forsake the way of pride and schism, and to adopt the way of humility which we have tried to tread.

"There is need to make this plea; because already we hear in many quarters (not from one party to the negotiations alone, but from all parties) such expressions as these: 'We have been betrayed'; 'Our delegates have not guarded the trust committed to them'; 'We are being absorbed.' That, I submit, is the language of schism again. Certainly it wholly misapprehends the way in which we have tried to work on the Joint Committee. For, as I have said, we did not go there with axes to grind; we did not go there in order to impose upon others our own opinions and beliefs, our own customs and practices. We went, as I have said, as fellow-learners; to learn together at the Master's feet.

"Of course, it is true enough that to that end we sought to commend our own views and customs to one another. Sometimes we succeeded in so doing; sometimes we failed. But when we failed, even then—and this is what I want to impress upon you, because it is integral to the whole experience of the Joint Committee—even then we did not feel that one party had been 'done down' by the other party.

"I do not suppose that there is any single person who will be wholly satisfied with the Scheme as it stands. All will see things in it which they would prefer not to be there; all will wish that things had been included which are not in it. I myself voted against things which are in the Scheme. And yet I am bold to say that, as far as I am aware, *there is nothing in the Scheme which stands there because one party got the better of another.*

"Of course, it was necessary for our fallible minds that questions should often be decided by a majority vote. But even then we were still able to feel that we were genuinely trying to learn of God. The very fact that the point had to be decided by the vote of the majority was an indication that we had probably not been able to arrive at the fullest and truest expression of what we were trying to say. But, I say again, that failure was to us failure on the part of the whole committee; it was not the triumph of one party over another.

"You will see from this that I do most earnestly deprecate all such language as that of, 'We have been betrayed', 'The trust we committed to our delegates was not guarded.' We were indeed there on the Joint Committee to commend to others whatever we regarded as essential to, or valuable for, the true life of the Church, and to try to get it accepted. But we were not there to draw up the terms of a treaty. The very word, 'treaty,' implies opposing interests. We were trying above all things to have but one interest; the common interest of endeavouring to discover God's will for all of us."

Involving, as they did, exceedingly diverse ecclesiastical elements and points of view, the South India negotiations apparently proved that the sublimation of controversial issues may become a very real process even in extreme cases.

But America also knows by experience something of what happens when Christian men of good will undertake to work together and stick together in spite of differences. It has been the repeated testimony of federated and coöperative movements that apparently serious obstacles disappear. What actually happens is a lifting of the apprehension, a changed sense of values and the dissolving of the very essence of which the conflict was composed.¹¹

Much, then, as the sociologist may base the probability of union upon demonstrable affinities between groups, the religious person will insist on

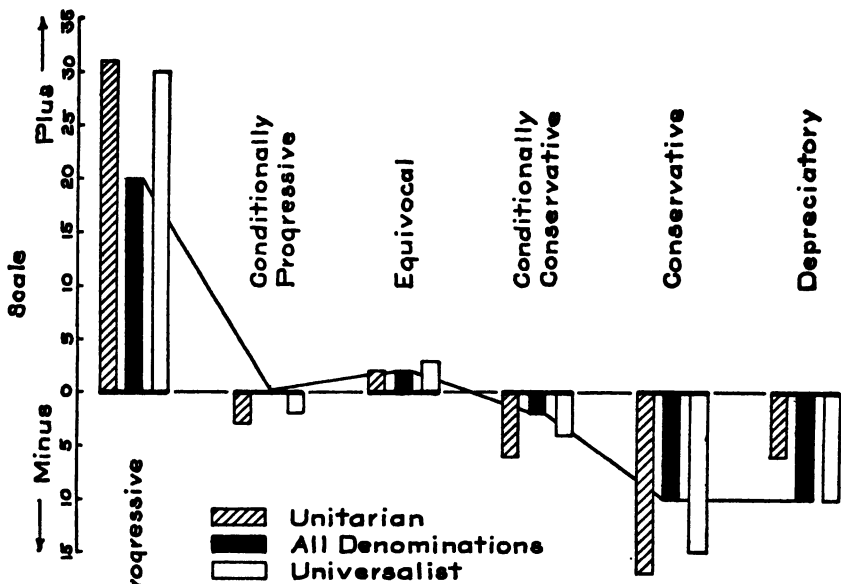


CHART XLIII—COMPARISON OF UNITARIAN AND UNIVERSALIST RANK AND FILE JUDGMENTS WITH RESPECT TO VARIATION FROM PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION AMONG SIX POSITIONS IN A PROGRESSIVE-CONSERVATIVE SERIES

holding open the door for an occasional union of opposites based on creative spiritual achievements.

"The unity we seek," declared the Bishop of Manchester at the Lausanne Conference, "is a unity which effectively binds together in fellowship those who by nature tend to be at variance. It did not need incarnate God to tell men to love their friends; we have not yet learnt how to obey His command to love our enemies. It is no miracle of grace when Evangelicals worship together in harmony, or when Catholics do the same. Differences

¹¹ Douglass, H. P., *Protestant Coöperation in American Cities* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930), p. 305.

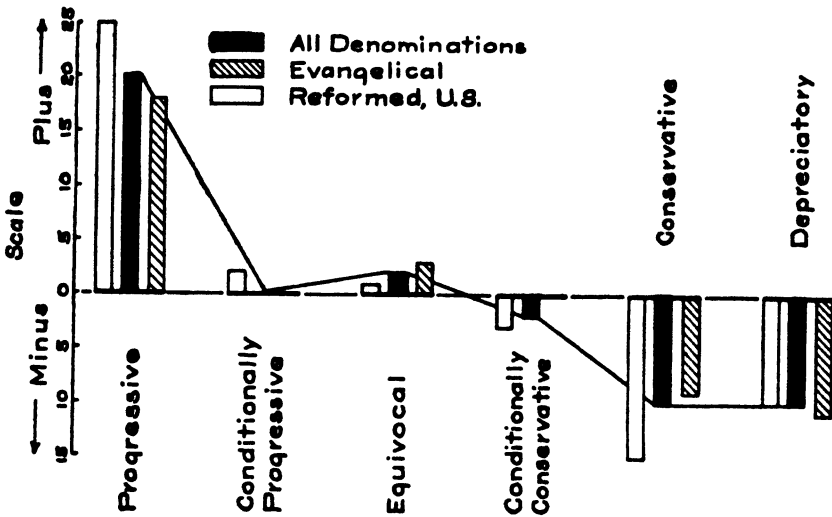
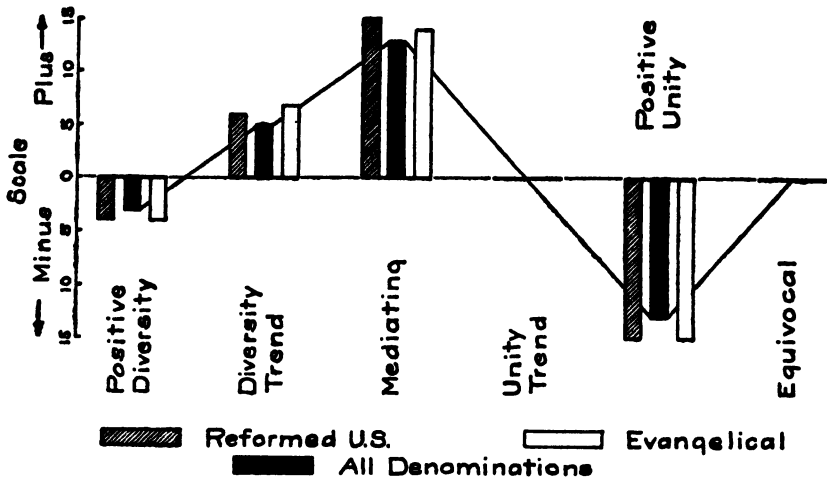


CHART XLIV—COMPARISON OF REFORMED, U.S., AND EVANGELICAL CHURCHES

Upper—Select constituency with respect to 12 issues

Lower—Rank and file constituency with respect to 18 situations and incidents;

of organization based on differences of temperament, of taste or of tradition are real offenses against the purpose for which the Church exists; they stereotype the very divisions which the Church exists to overcome. A unity which was a mere federation of such elements would seem to me to have betrayed the cause for which alone that unity is truly desirable."¹²

Any profound apprehension of unity will make one similarly discontented with the easy consolidation of those who already agree. The only unity movement which can evoke supreme loyalties will be one which takes on cosmic dignity and lifts integration from compromise and adjustment to the creative level.

Such sublimations of insoluble issues have actually occurred and might conceivably occur even in the western world backed by no more religious genius than the average run of American Christians possess.

V. THE FIFTH PHASE: INCLUSION OF CHURCHES WHOSE MARGINAL POSITION IS SOCIALLY RATHER THAN ECCLESIASTICALLY DETERMINED

The viewpoint of the present study was greatly influenced by the argument that many of the differences between denominations are at bottom social rather than ecclesiastical in origin. This clue has been followed in chapter i, which points out differences in social levels implied in occupational tendencies, and in the historical survey of chapter ii, which recognizes the unequal status of the later immigrant groups and the isolation of some hold-over sectarians as strong elements in their unequal readiness for union.

Local surveys had invariably demonstrated that the marginal position of churches results from a mixture of ecclesiastical and social factors.¹³ Here was clearly something which might well have been traced out in a good many different connections. A scientific measurement, however, of differences requiring the isolation of the social factor in denominational separations was beyond the techniques at the command of this study.

The fact of the social determination of position is sufficiently clear and its implications for strategy quite obvious in connection with the separate organization of Negro churches, which otherwise fall well within the central zone of homogeneous bodies. This is shown for the Negro Methodist and Baptist groups included in this study in Table CXI. A cross-out test, however, in connection with the church union ballot showed appreciable numbers of fellow Christians who would exclude them from a united church.

These Negro denominations belong to the Federal Council, Home Missions Council and Council of Religious Education, the chief national co-

¹² "The Nature of the Church," in Bate, H. N. (Ed.), *Faith and Order*, Proceedings of the World Conference Lausanne, Aug. 3-21, 1927 (London: Student Christian Movement, 1927), p. 136.

¹³ See Douglass, H. P., *Springfield Church Survey* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1926), p. 126, with respect to Pentecostal sects.

TABLE CXI—NEGRO DENOMINATIONS COMPARED WITH DENOMINATIONS OF SIMILAR TYPE WITH RESPECT TO THE VARIATION OF THE JUDGMENTS OF THEIR RANK AND FILE CONSTITUENCY FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION AMONG SIX POSITIONS IN A PROGRESSIVE-CONSERVATIVE SERIES

Denomination	Progres- sive	Condi- tionally Progres- sive	Equiv- ocal	Condi- tionally Conserv- ative	Conserv- ative	Depre- ciatory
All Denominations.....	+20	±0	+2	-2	-10	-10
Negro Baptist.....	+19	±0	+2	-3	-9	-9
Negro Methodist.....	+19	+1	+2	-3	-9	-9
Baptist (North).....	+19	+1	+3	-2	-10	-11
Methodist Episcopal.....	+22	+1	+2	-3	-11	-11
Meth. Epis., South.....	+22	+1	+2	-2	-12	-10

operative agencies of the central group. On the other hand, they are slightly and imperfectly represented in local church federations.¹⁴ In other words, their social and their ecclesiastical positions do not correspond.

An imperative step in the strategy of effective church union would have to be the bringing of these bodies into a union on terms agreeable to them and to the gospel. The complete ecclesiastical and spiritual equality of their churches, the full validity of their ministries and the theoretical right of intercommunion are already accorded them within the central system of church bodies. What is chiefly lacking is satisfactory administrative relations and the really equitable placement of the Negro church in the actual church life of the nation.

Numerically these denominations are very important, the Negro Methodist and Baptist bodies being among the largest denominational groups. Moreover, they represent a race almost exclusively Protestant.

While somewhat less progressive than the leaders, they are not far below the average, nor radically different from other churches of the same general type. Again, they have become much less narrowly sectional than they were before the great northern migration of Negroes during and following the World War.

The particular arrangements necessary to bring the Negro denominations into union would involve the familiar process of negotiation, education and action. It is not necessary to strategy to foresee the precise terms of their association. Doubtless they would involve mutual concessions, as will be the case between all other groups. The complex racial and religious situation is itself due to a mixture of ideal aspirations and objective realities. As between racial groups of Christians, principles no more operate in a vacuum than do principles involved in the issue of the alleged inferiority of Protestant ministries to Catholic ministries. Both conflicts are entangled in

¹⁴ *Protestant Coöperation in American Cities*, p. 91.

earth-roots and in neither case can either party stand pat upon the flat demand for an abstractly ideal solution.

Within a united church, it would appear that administrative arrangements with respect to local Negro churches might vary according to practical advantage, as it does in the case of foreign-language churches. The essential equality of all Christians being admitted, the mixture or separation of racial groups in particular congregations might be locally and differently determined from time to time with some reference to the actual assimilation of the groups to one another in the objective sense.

Furthermore, if a religious organ for the expression of the peculiar gifts and values of a racial group were deemed necessary, if this seemed the best way for the Negro to communicate his distinctive contribution to the life of the whole church, and if any denominational distinctions at all were to survive in larger union, the Negro church might thus survive in some form.

At any rate, the actual difficulties over the disposition of the Negro churches as ecclesiastical units, such as perplexed the negotiations for union between the Northern and Southern Methodists, would prove proportionately less difficult when diluted by inclusion within the larger issues of a more comprehensive union.

The necessity of making Christian social adjustments along with ecclesiastical ones applies in different measure to other minority groups and the steps and measures involved in the five phases will then be carried out in a good many different connections.

VI. THE SIXTH PHASE: ADJUSTMENT OF RELATIONS WITH CHURCHES NOT IMMEDIATELY INCLUDED

As thus far elaborated the strategy of union is based upon the existence of a coherent system of religious thinking and attitude including the majority of American Christians. The same evidence, however, has revealed the existence of a generally contrary though partially overlapping system. Churches, which, by their tendencies of thinking and action, fall within such a system, are both excluded and self-excluded from the immediate union which the first five phases contemplate. This is fully established by popular distinctions as well as by repeated tests of position. In short, certain bodies of Christians react differently in practical matters from others. Their instinctive definition of the situation is not the same. They do not think alike nor respond to the same specific motives. The theological differences of these remoter churches from the average are often reinforced by social and racial barriers. Their increasing departure from the average and from churches just inside the zone of union with respect to basic positions is shown again in Table CXII.

In the United States these excluded elements constitute a numerical minority of non-Roman Christians, but still a very important minority both

TABLE CXII—LESS PROGRESSIVE DENOMINATIONS COMPARED WITH ALL DENOMINATIONS AND THE BAPTIST CHURCH (NORTH) WITH RESPECT TO THE VARIATION OF THE ATTITUDES OF THEIR RANK AND FILE CONSTITUENCIES FROM A PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION AMONG SIX POSITIONS IN A PROGRESSIVE-CONSERVATIVE SERIES

Denomination	Progressive	Conditionally Progressive	Equivocal	Conditionally Conservative	Conservative	Deprecatory
All Denominations.....	+20	± 0	+2	-2		
Baptist (North).....	+19	+ 1	+3	-2	-10	-11
Pentecostal.....	+14	- 1	+2	-2	- 2	-10
Baptist (South).....	+13	- 1	+2	±0	- 5	- 8
Roman Catholic.....	+ 7	- 3	±0	±0	+ 3	- 7
Latter Day Saints (Mormon)...	+ 4	- 4	+3	+2	+ 4	-10
Fundamentalist.....	+ 1	- 3	-3	+8	+10	-11
Missouri Synod Lutheran.....	-18	-12	-3	+1	+45	-12

numerically and with respect to their place in American civilization; so that their non-inclusion for the moment subtracts greatly from the completeness of union.

The major step in this phase of the unity movement would be to leave room for the equal participation of the included and excluded in any national response to world-wide movements for the integration of Christianity and to facilitate such a world-wide movement in every way.

Negatively the important point is not to be manoeuvred into the position which would seem to ask later-comers to join "a big church" as a dominating religious organization. What is necessary is readiness for a complete shift in the center of gravity in some better day when the now mutually excluded elements should come together with the rest.

The most important bodies involved in this phase of strategy are the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the more rigid Lutheran bodies, the liberal extreme represented by Unitarians, together with certain irregular and emotional groups whose present disabilities are social rather than ecclesiastical, the autonomous Greek Catholic churches in America and the Roman Catholic Church. Scattering evidence has also shown the conviction of a good many individuals that certain churches which repudiate the Christian label, such as Jews and humanists, should be included in a still larger religious synthesis; but this possibility lies outside of the purview of the present discussion.

Specific measures appropriate for this phase of strategy must of course include readiness for meeting some of the basic and most vexatious issues between Catholic and Protestant tendencies, and between rigid orthodoxy and freedom in the Christian church. Even at the moment of final union some of these issues may wisely be deferred for settlement after union is consummated and some of them may possibly have been sublimated.

As an immediate measure, the most sympathetic participation by American groups in the Lausanne continuation movement, and such conferences as it may call, is indicated. Attention has already been drawn to the very large actual values of this movement.

Equally important will seem the much wider voluntary grouping and organization of individuals according to the systems of thinking and attitude to which they owe actual allegiance. The demonstrated American genius for voluntary association holds out all sorts of possibilities in this realm. Their beginnings are well demonstrated in the Christian Unity League,¹⁵ which may well be very widely extended. An association of all the people who have had the experience of belonging to more than one denomination and have been able to find religious reality and fellowship in those to which they have belonged would take in multitudes who belong to the now excluded denominations and would in itself constitute a very large nucleus for a united church.

Furthermore, the time is certain to come when not merely individuals but groups will begin to realign themselves according to actual affinities. It is incredible that the nominal position of a denomination should forever prevail against the reality that certain elements in that denomination have much greater affinities elsewhere. Many local secessions are, therefore, to be expected, either directly into a united church or into community churches related to it, under a flexible scheme of organization. The capacity of the American religious public to solve its problems of unity by a movement from the bottom up should by no means be underestimated. It would be sure to meet more than halfway a nationally organized union movement of real importance.

Obviously this process is capable of working in different directions. There may be secessions from the uniting churches as well as to them. One who dreads this as creating further schism in the church will find a reply in the common-sense attitude of the American religious public to the effect that if the net result is a very much larger integration of churches, the minor losses will be well worth their cost.

The seventh phase concerns the maintenance and strengthening of worldwide Christian relationships in view of the probable extensive union of churches in America. This constitutes the final theme of the chapter.

SECONDARY STRATEGY

Before passing to this point, however, certain points of secondary strategy, collateral to the major phases discussed above, may be briefly indicated.

In judging a proposed strategy, one should not delude himself into the

¹⁵ P. 223.

belief that anything can succeed merely because it is a good scheme. It has actually to make good and to make good locally. In this case union must meet the crucial test in the popular mind by clearing up the very large number of competitive and otherwise unsatisfactory church situations in American communities. It is the burden and shame of these situations which give the chief impulse to union to the practical-minded majority—and not ecclesiastical considerations. The majority, however, has its own religious idealism which can only be satisfied by adjustments in detail, not by any mere shuffling of organizational relationships.

Obviously, the actual clearing up of local situations presents the maximum of practical difficulty. Somewhat ominous warning on this point is forced upon one from the experience of the United Church of Canada.¹⁶ Failure at this point will be a fatal setback to the scheme of union and cast doubt upon the whole effort. Success will give the movement momentum and final practical sanction.

Again, it will be important to mitigate so far as possible the strain due to widening gaps between certain denominations, sure to be created by the fact that some will be drawn into the united church while others are temporarily left out. Thus, for example, the Congregational church, by reason both of its history and of its liberality has constituted an actual bridge between the Unitarian and Universalist bodies and the more orthodox center. This relationship should be maintained and strengthened. The larger the uniting nucleus, the more generously all-sided its relations can afford to be. In no direction should expansion mean contraction in any other.

The concrete working out of this principle points to a great extension of coöperation on the part of both included and excluded denominations in the field of life and work. The possibility of this coöperation was expressed in principle by the Lausanne Conference and is reinforced by much American experience. Just in proportion as partial union is effected, unity on the lower levels of coöperation should be enlarged on the basis of the underlying spiritual unity which all profess.

Finally, it will be most important to prevent the hardening of a union of bodies chiefly located in the United States into a merely national mold. This may be avoided by the inclusion of certain Canadian churches, and possibly of certain churches in the West Indies and Mexico, in the original uniting group. The danger is very real that a large church, coterminous with a political unit and containing a majority of its inhabitants, may become an unconscious adjunct to national policy and an uncritical follower of the state, particularly in time of war. Provision for regional diversity within the nation, a considerable degree of sectional autonomy and a max-

¹⁶ Silcox, *Church Union in Canada* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933), chapter xi.

imum of decentralization will also tend to prevent the association of the church and the nation from being too close.

VII. THE SEVENTH PHASE: MAINTENANCE AND STRENGTHENING OF CHRISTIAN WORLD RELATIONSHIPS

Christendom is much broader than the church in North America. Originating in western Asia, Christianity spread first to contiguous parts of the three continents bordering the Mediterranean Sea. It achieved its greatest strength among the great peoples of the Western World and their colonies. Thus it migrated to the Western Hemisphere and became dominant there, and within the last century has been carried in feebler streams by missionary zeal to the nations of the Orient, the interior of Africa and the islands of the Pacific.

The complete integration of the church in North America would consequently cover but a minor fraction of Christendom, and no probability has come to light to warrant the hope that the widest integration of the North American church can be at all complete for the present.

Nevertheless, the discovery of the possibility and indeed the probability of a large though incomplete union of churches in North America confirms the hope of a visible church universal as a goal of the integrating process. From the standpoint of American thinking the exact form of this ultimate union does not yet appear. Certain of its requirements, however, seem obvious. It must satisfy the criteria of social integration; that is to say, whatever administrative divisions into autonomous churches it develops, it must constitute one intercommunicating and intercommuning religious society. It must stand forth as one church in the thought and imagination of men and satisfy the unwavering demand of the Christian spirit throughout the ages that the church provide an unbroken fellowship for all who have the inward marks of spiritual unity.

By as much as the probabilities of American unity are demonstrated the possibility of universal union is made more clear. Some of the more convincing evidences from the church in America that argue for the hope of a church universal are the preponderance of common elements found even in the most divergent versions of the Christian religious system. Thus, on most issues the similarity of the general reactions of the extreme wings of the church is demonstrable. The elements excluded from immediate union think and react in large measure just as the included elements do. The distance between the two extremes, as formulated and registered by many tests, is only relative in comparison with the distance between any Christian body and the non-Christian religions.

Moreover, the realities of religious life and experience are not so antithetical as formulated positions are. The underlying spiritual unity is univer-

sally recognized as broader than the possibility of corporate union and finds many expressions in coöperative endeavor coming short of organized unity.

There has been a demonstrable growth in liberality as between the great majority of the branches of the church, with far greater willingness on the whole to admit of variation, and, on the other hand, increased disposition to consider one another's positions afresh and to make concessions previously judged impossible.

Finally, there is the prospect of internal realignments within a measurable future which shall release the unequally yoked minorities within many churches in order that they may enter into more vital allegiance in the interests of a united church.

The total significance of church unity movements in America is, therefore, to hearten those who are hoping for the unity of the church throughout all the earth.

How, then, may American church unity movements be most hopefully related to the fulfillment of this hope? The answer to this question determines the seventh and final phase of church strategy.

It must first of all be recognized, as has been done repeatedly in the previous discussions, that in Christendom as a whole adherents to the essentially Catholic viewpoint outnumber Protestants. This means that the dominant trend of the American religious constituency in thought, attitude and action does not correspond to what has hitherto been the world trend. Christendom as a whole is more conservative, more on the side of the narrower determination of religious matters by authority, more on the side of uniformity in the church, less tolerant of diversity, than America is.

The anticipated integration of the American church along the lines of the tendencies of the majority consequently does not yield an immediately hopeful center for the world integration of Christianity.

Unless Christendom can become satisfied to stay forever disunited, which no one concedes, the world's problem of unity is either to change the majority which is now against America, or to change America, or to change both.

Every human probability leads one to anticipate that both America and the rest of Christendom will change. The rest of Christendom, of course, does not constitute a solidarity. The American tendencies get strong reinforcement from other lands colonized by Europeans and probably from the growing indigenous churches of the East. The American religious viewpoint, then, even though the viewpoint of a minority, does not constitute a fixed or necessarily a diminishing fraction of the total conscience and thinking of religious people in the world. Its acceptance can be numerically increased, first of all, within America by strategies which may bring marginal churches into a stronger union than is now possible.

But by the same token the American viewpoint can hope for larger acceptance throughout the world—not as the victory of any partisan position or party in power but in connection with a still more ultimate synthesis in which it shall itself expect to accept modification.

The specific argument of this chapter is that the uniting of the dominant religious elements in America into a very large church reflecting an authentic North American type of religion is probable and can be hastened by wise strategy. The notable union already achieved in Canada may naturally be expected to widen its scope to match with that of the uniting American church. Parallel movements will proceed in other countries. A reasonable extension of the principle of regionalism to the entire world might easily lead one to contemplate a united church of the dominant elements of the English-speaking peoples, one preserving national autonomies to each but definitely integrated within itself and in fellowship with a wide variety of churches throughout the earth. Even the forced consolidation of German Protestantism, when it can disengage itself from state dominance, may turn out to have been a contribution to the unity of the whole.

Meanwhile, everywhere the cry goes up for an authentic church for every people, for Germany, for India, for China, for Japan. Where a traditional Christianity has failed to incarnate profound movements of peoples, the church's hold has proved most feeble in times of revolution. Universal Christianity expresses itself most genuinely according to the genius of regional and national groups.

Now North America has developed and is developing an authentic typical church. It does not include the total Christian population because late immigration and the lag caused by racial and social differences prevent integration from proceeding with equal step. But, in general direction and already in outline, the type as developed reflects the general religious characteristics and life of the people.

Certainly American religion can have no other integrating center. Within the whole range of the data there is virtually no trace of willingness to admit any other principle of unity than that proceeding from the history, life and experience of the American church.

For America, therefore, the next step in the building of the church universal is the creation of a large American church reflecting in emphasis and in variety, as well as in initiative and influence, the full vigor and reality of this integrating movement. The creation of such a church is America's greatest immediate contribution to the coming of the church universal and any delay by Americans in bringing such a church into being puts the prospect of world union just so much farther off.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Instruments

The chief instruments of this study were six questionnaires.

IDENTIFICATION

Questionnaires were anonymous unless the persons answering chose to sign their names, as most did. Those replying were requested to give information as to sex, age, denomination, status in the church (whether minister, lay church officer, lay member not holding office or non-member) and place of residence.

I. RELIGIOUS DISTANCE INDEX

This index in the form shown in chapter i, page 11, occurred in all questionnaires.

II. BALLOT ON CHURCH UNITY

This ballot in the form shown in chapter iv, page 110, occurred in all questionnaires.

III. OPINION ON REPRESENTATIVE ISSUES

This questionnaire was circulated among church leaders constituting the senior constituency as explained in the Introduction, page xxxi. The directions for filling it out read:

The statements listed below are drawn from authoritative sources representative of all shades of opinion on matters bearing on church unity. They are purposely not arranged in logical order, so that each may be considered directly on its own merits.

DIRECTIONS: Please indicate your opinion about each of the statements on the following pages by drawing a circle around the one of the numbers in the margin which expresses your judgment. The meaning of each number is as follows:

- (+2) +1 0 -1 -2 If you feel the statement is *utterly and unqualifiedly true*, so that *no one who had a fairly good understanding of the subject could sincerely and honestly believe it false*.
- +2 (+1) 0 -1 -2 If you feel that it is *probably true* or true in large degree.
- +2 +1 (0) -1 -2 If you feel that it is quite undecided, or an open question.
- +2 +1 0 (-1) -2 If you feel that it is *probably false* or false in large degree.
- +2 +1 0 -1 (-2) If you feel the statement is *utterly and unqualifiedly false*, so that *no one who had a fairly good understanding of the subject could sincerely and honestly believe it true*.

Work rapidly, but do not fail to circle one figure in each line.

Statements of the thirty issues included in this questionnaire numbered in the order in which they stood in the instrument are found in full in the following tables: (1) Table LXXV, (2) Table XXXVI, (3) Table LV, (4) Table XXX,

(5) Table LX, (6) Table LXXXI, (7) Table LIII, (8) Table LXXXVIII, (9) Table LXIII, (10) Table LXI, (11) Table LXVII, (12) Table XXXI, (13) Table XLIII, (14) Table XXXIV, (15) Table XXIX, (16) Table LXXXVIII, (17) Table XXXVIII, (18) Table XXXVII, (19) Table LXXXII, (20) Table XLII, (21) Table LXIV, (22) Table XLV, (23) Table XXVIII, (24) Table LXII, (25) Table XXXV, (26) Table LIV, (27) Table LXI, (28) Table C, (29) Table LXXVI, (30) Table LXXXIII.

Abbreviated statements of the thirty issues identified by numbers appear in Appendix Table 38.

IV. CONSEQUENCES OF UNITING PROTESTANT CHURCHES

This instrument was also circulated among church leaders with the following directions and in the following form:

DIRECTIONS: In Column II below, please indicate by checking the degree of likelihood that a united Protestant church would do each of the twenty-three things enumerated in Column I. In Column III, check your personal opinion (Yes or No) as to whether a united church ought to do these things, irrespective of the likelihood that it would or would not do them.

COLUMN I Things a United Church Might Do.	COLUMN II Are they Probable? What is the Degree of Likelihood that a United Protestant Church would Undertake to do the Things Specified in Column I?					COLUMN III. Are they Desirable? Should the Church do the things specified?		
	Impossible or Highly Improbable	Improbable	Neutral	Probable	Highly Probable or Certain	Yes	No	Uncertain

The twenty-three consequences on which judgment was passed with their numbers appear in Appendix Table 39.

V. UNDERLYING ISSUES OF CHURCH UNITY

Questionnaires concerning these issues were submitted both to the senior and intermediate constituencies as explained in the Introduction, page xxxi. The directions for answering were as follows:

DIRECTIONS: In this questionnaire the twelve issues are stated as questions for debate. Of the arguments following each question, please *check* the *two* which seem to you strongest and most convincing, and *cross out* the *one* which seems to you weakest and least convincing.

The full statements of the twelve issues as they appeared in the questionnaires with their code designations are found in full in the following tables: (1) Table XXXIX, (2) Table L, (3) Table XL, (4) Table LXXX, (5) Table XV, (6) Table LVIII, (7) Table XXVII, (8) Table LII, (9) Table LIX, (10) Table LXXII, (11) Table XXXII, (12) Table I.

VI. ADJUSTING THE CHURCHES TO ONE ANOTHER

Questionnaires on this point were submitted both to the intermediate and to the junior constituencies, as explained in the Introduction, page xxxi. The directions for answering read:

DIRECTIONS: The following section describes eighteen incidents or situations involving relations of churches to one another and about which conscientious differences in judgment are

possible. Under each incident or situation, a number of possible judgments are listed. Please indicate your first choice by checking the judgment which most nearly corresponds with your own and marking it (1). Indicate your second choice by marking it (2). Be sure to check two judgments even though your second choice is not fully satisfactory to you.

Statements of the eighteen incidents and situations numbered in the order in which they stood in the instrument will be found in the following tables: (1) Table XXVI, (2) Table XIII, (3) Table XLVIII, (4) Table XXIII, (5) Table LXIX, (6) Table LXXIX, (7) Table XIV, (8) Table XLVI, (9) Table XVII, (10) Table XCIV, (11) Table XLVII, (12) Table LVI, (13) Table LXX, (14) Table XXV, (15) Table XVIII, (16) Table XXIV, (17) Table LXXVII (18) Table CI.

TABLE 1—ARE CURRENT DISCUSSIONS OF CHURCH UNION VALUABLE AND TIMELY?

Denomination	Per Cent. of Answers Rating Arguments as Strong*						Total Choices
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Total.....	31.8	2.3	31.0	2.2	22.4	10.3	5,199
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	28.7	3.1	31.2	3.9	19.5	13.6	456
Baptist (So. Conv.).....	25.0	13.2	19.7	6.6	18.4	17.1	76
Congregational-Christian.....	33.5	0.6	36.5	1.1	19.4	8.9	537
Disciples of Christ.....	37.5	0.9	27.9	0.9	16.0	6.8	219
Evangelical.....	29.7	0.6	26.6	3.2	28.5	11.4	158
Evangelical Syn. N. A.....	36.0	2.2	33.7	0.0	20.2	7.9	89
Friends.....	26.8	2.4	31.8	3.7	26.8	8.5	82
Lutherans.....	26.8	6.5	25.9	2.1	22.3	16.4	336
Methodist Episcopal.....	31.4	1.0	33.1	1.1	26.2	7.2	919
Meth. Epis., South.....	30.3	1.2	32.1	3.1	22.2	11.1	162
Miscellaneous "X"†.....	29.8	4.0	30.7	3.2	21.8	10.5	124
Miscellaneous "Y"‡.....	29.9	6.2	34.0	2.1	16.0	11.8	144
Miscellaneous "Z"§.....	35.6	2.3	28.8	2.3	22.7	8.3	132
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	30.7	1.2	32.4	2.0	23.6	10.1	650
Presbyterian, U. S.....	32.8	2.8	28.9	3.9	19.4	12.2	182
United, Presbyterian.....	26.1	4.4	28.2	2.2	20.6	18.5	92
Protestant Episcopal.....	38.0	1.4	29.9	1.4	21.3	8.0	361
Reformed in America.....	34.3	4.8	21.9	4.7	21.9	12.4	105
Reformed in U. S.....	39.1	0.0	28.7	1.4	22.4	8.4	143
Unitarian.....	29.0	4.3	33.3	4.3	16.8	12.3	138
United Brethren.....	33.0	2.1	28.7	2.1	23.5	10.6	94

* For text of arguments, see Table I.

† Miscellaneous X=Congregationally organized minor denominations.

‡ Miscellaneous Y=Connectionally organized minor denominations.

§ Miscellaneous Z=All others.

APPENDIX B

Representativeness of Sample

The data on which this book is based came from many sources. The statistical element in it rests primarily upon 14,942 replies to questionnaires described on p. xxxi, distributed regionally, denominationally and by age, sex and status in the church, as is shown in Tables 2-5.

TABLE 2—QUESTIONNAIRES CLASSIFIED BY DENOMINATION

Denomination	Senior		Intermediate		Junior		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	61	10.5	189	8.7	886	7.8	1,136	8.1
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	3	0.5	42	1.9	358	3.2	403	2.9
Negro Baptist.....	1	0.2	16	0.7	167	1.5	184	1.3
Brethren (Dunkers).....	5	0.9	8	0.4	163	1.4	176	1.2
Cong.-Christian.....	96	16.6	192	8.8	1,081	9.5	1,369	9.7
Disciples.....	40	6.9	77	3.5	571	5.0	688	4.9
Evan. Church.....	15	2.6	71	3.3	349	3.1	435	3.1
Evan. Syn. N. A.....	6	1.0	45	2.1	29	0.3	80	0.6
Friends.....	20	3.4	26	1.2	319	2.8	365	2.6
Luth.....	33	5.7	154	7.1	475	4.2	662	4.7
Meth. Epis.....	82	14.1	430	19.8	2,776	24.6	3,288	23.4
Meth. Epis., South.....	29	5.0	57	2.6	693	6.1	779	5.5
Meth. Prot.....	7	1.2	2	0.1	73	0.6	82	0.6
Negro Meth.....	3	0.5		0.2	216	1.9	224	1.6
Moravian.....	3	0.5		0.4	151	1.3	162	1.1
Pentecostal.....	1	0.2	10	0.5	62	0.5	73	0.5
Presb., U. S. A.....	67	11.5	295	13.6	894	7.9	1,256	8.9
Presb., U. S.....	6	1.0	94	4.3	634	5.6	734	5.2
Unit. Presb.....	13	2.2	40	1.8	109	1.0	162	1.2
Prot. Epis.....	35	6.0	164	7.5	689	6.1	888	6.3
Ref. in America.....	15	2.6	40	1.8	163	1.4	218	1.5
Ref. in U. S.....	16	2.8	65	3.0	76	0.7	157	1.1
Unitarian.....	11	1.9	81	3.7	200	1.8	292	2.1
Unit. Brethren.....	10	1.7	43	2.0	145	1.3	198	1.4
Universalist.....	3	0.5	21	1.0	44	0.4	68	0.5
Sub-total.....	581	100.0	2,175	100.0	11,323	100.0	14,079	
No Denomination.....	2		18		80		100	
Christian Scientist.....	..		2		26		28	
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	..		1		82		83	
Jewish.....	..		1		158		159	
Roman Catholic.....	..		1		58		59	
Miscellaneous.....	41		76		317		434	
Federated Churches.....	(5)		(8)		(142) Duplicates		(155)	
TOTAL.....	624		2,274		12,044		14,942	
Total including "Issues"....	2,							
Total including "Incidents"....				14,318				

No apology is offered for the failure of the sampling to yield returns exactly equivalent to the size of each denomination. Denominational returns were beyond control except in the most general way. As between the different denominations the effort to secure returns was not equal, response was not equal, and opportunity was not strictly equal. So far as the study was concerned, the unequal effort was, however, the result rather than the cause of unequal responses. Whenever it developed that returns were not coming in from certain denominations, additional effort was put on that denomination. But the expense of the field work over the immense area of the nation made it necessary to go to the

particular sources of data which were available at a given time and to work their localities intensively; so that whatever denominations chanced to be best represented locally got more than their share of opportunity even in spite of a deliberately equalizing effort.

Evidence remains to be presented that the effect of disproportion between the denominational samples did not invalidate denominational comparisons. This point was tested as follows: the returns on four incidents in the junior questionnaire covering twenty-five answers to questions, on four issues in the intermediate questionnaire, also covering twenty-five answers, and on the religious distance test, were weighted so that each denomination contributed to the result in exact ratio to its numerical weight in the religious population. Denominations overrepresented in the sample had their weight proportionately reduced, those underrepresented had their weight proportionately increased.

In the case of both the incidents and the issues, the correlation between the weighted and unweighted series was $+.99$. The average distance score per individual on the unweighted religious distance test was 11.53, on the weighted test, 12.15.

In brief, the disproportionate sampling yielded almost exactly the results which a proportionate one would have done. As a result of this demonstration that weighted figures would not yield different results, the study proceeded to use the unweighted returns throughout.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION

The regional distribution of the questionnaires compared with that of adult church-membership is given in Table 3.

TABLE 3—REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF QUESTIONNAIRES COMPARED WITH DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP

Region	Adult Church		Questionnaires	
	Members		No.	%
	%			
East.....	32.5		4,877	34.8
Middle West.....	30.2		4,680	33.3
South.....	30.8		3,674	26.2
Far West.....	6.5		806	5.7
Total.....	100.0		14,037	100.0

The total in this table accounts for about 900 fewer questionnaires than the grand total reports, because geographical information was omitted in 241 cases and was not asked in the case of 664 senior questionnaires. The distribution of the sample is sufficiently close to the distribution of the religious population for any practical purpose.

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION

Table 4, showing distribution of questionnaires according to age and sex by denominations, also accounts for less than the total number of schedules reported in the denominational Table 2. The reason is the failure of many questionnaires

to give information on these points. On issues of denominational affiliation this information could often be supplied when these points could not be, because the denominational auspices under which the group of questionnaires was filled out was known.

TABLE 4—QUESTIONNAIRES CLASSIFIED BY SEX-AGE GROUPS

Denomination	Male				Female				Total
	Under 20	20-30	30-60	Over 60	Under 20	20-30	30-60	Over 60	
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	177	96	156	40	379	125	79	10	1,062
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	64	93	71	15	45	73	23	2	386
Cong.-Christian.....	216	100	210	80	451	125	88	16	1,286
Disciples of Christ.....	111	66	85	24	229	70	46	9	640
Friends.....	45	60	55	10	62	71	39	3	345
Lutheran.....	40	89	140	19	151	104	65	8	616
Meth. Epis.....	563	291	455	72	1,254	380	149	27	3,191
Meth. Epis., South.....	111	139	121	10	119	153	68	3	724
Moravian.....	21	24	8	1	70	24	7	0	155
Presb., U. S. A.....	144	116	248	71	270	147	145	30	1,171
Presb., U. S.....	97	93	161	37	157	89	71	16	721
United Presb.....	8	25	56	15	19	16	7	1	147
Prot. Epis.....	125	129	126	36	218	96	97	20	847
Ref. in America.....	30	32	47	19	45	17	9	1	200
Ref. in U. S.....	6	8	50	17	15	18	23	3	140
Unitarian.....	23	37	53	25	36	32	46	24	276
United Brethren.....	13	15	50	12	47	37	12	1	187
Miscellaneous.....	141	244	275	58	321	237	112	20	1,408
Total.....	1,935	1,657	2,367	561	3,888	1,814	1,086	194	13,502

Returns from 14,207 ballots were also analyzed by age and sex, yielding a somewhat different distribution. The results on the two counts, compared with distribution of comparable population, are shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5—PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF BALLOTS AND RANK AND FILE QUESTIONNAIRES ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX, COMPARED WITH DISTRIBUTION OF COMPARABLE POPULATION

Sex	Ballot	Per Cent.	
		Questionnaires	Population
Male.....	52.3	48.3	50.6
Female.....	47.7	51.7	49.4
Age			
Under 20.....	36.6	43.1	11.8
20 to 30.....	23.3	25.7	22.9
30 to 60.....	29.6	25.6	54.7
Over 60.....	10.5	5.6	10.6
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

APPENDIX C

Reliability of the Junior Questionnaire

Twenty-five young people in a Brooklyn church filled out the Junior questionnaire, spending an average of one hour and thirty-five minutes per person in doing so. After an interval of six weeks, the same persons filled out the questionnaire again, using about the same length of time in the process. On the religious distance index the correlation between scores made on the first and second occasions was $+.92$. On the incidents and situations 49 per cent. of those replying filled out the second questionnaire exactly as they did the first. Seventy-four and five-tenths per cent. checked either as first or second the same items which were checked as first or second on the first occasion.

Incidents showing the smallest agreement of answers on the two occasions were, in order, 12, 15, 11, 8, 14, 17, 16, 18.¹ The frequency in this group of incidents occurring at the end of the questionnaire makes it probable that fatigue had something to do with reliability. Omitting this group of situations raised the correlation between first and second choices on the earlier and later occasions by about 2 per cent.

With respect to the ballot, 61 per cent. of those replying voted the same way both times on issue #1, and 90 per cent. on issue #2. Seventy-six per cent. marked the cross-out section of 1-c in the same way both times.

¹ For identification of "Incidents" see p. 517.

TABLE 6—INDEX OF DISTANCE FELT BY THIRTY-FOUR DENOMINATIONS AND GROUPS TOWARD NINE DENOMINATIONS

Denomination	Bapt.	Meth. Epis.	Cong.	Prot. Epis.	Lutheran	Disciples	Quaker	Unitarian
Baptist (No. Conv.)	....	10.7	12.6	19.4	18.8	16.6	22.1	31.3
Baptist (So. Conv.)	....	11.2	12.3	17.9	20.9	17.9	26.6	30.6
Negro Baptist	....	12.1	14.2	15.0	15.3	17.6	19.3	20.5
Brethren (Dunkers)	21.5	26.6	27.7	29.6	26.6	28.7	28.0	39.4
Cong.-Christian	5.8	4.9	....	8.3	11.1	8.9	12.8	13.5
Disciples	7.9	10.6	12.2	16.2	17.4	....	21.5	29.9
Evangelical Church	5.9	4.6	5.6	14.9	12.4	14.4	16.2	38.3
Evangelical Syn. N. A.	9.9	4.2	6.0	6.9	6.0	7.4	11.3	38.4
Friends (Quaker)	24.3	23.3	23.1	25.6	27.3	25.5	....	36.5
Luther (All)	23.0	19.3	23.1	20.2	....	28.5	30.0	34.6
United Luth.	18.3	23.4	23.2	12.4	....	22.0	22.7	59.9
Mo. Syn. Luth.	8.8	9.9	15.1	94.6	....	94.8	95.5	98.8
Meth. Epis.	93.4	94.4	94.6	9.5	12.4	12.4	17.1	25.2
Meth. Epis., South	6.1	....	6.2	9.5	11.2	12.9	16.6	23.1
Meth. Prot.	5.4	....	8.6	5.5	6.2	11.6	11.0	17.7
Negro Meth.	4.3	0.9	7.5	8.1	14.0	13.9	17.6	17.1
Moravian	8.7	....	....	....	5.6	12.1	11.5	30.2
Pentecostal	6.4	5.1	4.0	9.3	31.2	23.0	30.7	47.9
Presb., U. S. A.	20.8	21.6	16.7	27.8	7.3	8.7	11.4	25.8
Presb., U. S.	4.6	3.3	3.6	6.8	12.0	13.1	17.7	46.2
Unit. Presb.	8.6	5.5	9.7	10.6	4.5	7.2	8.6	45.6
Prot. Epis.	4.0	3.7	4.6	6.6	16.1	20.9	22.6	30.0
Ref. in America	18.4	14.2	16.5	....	5.5	11.3	13.4	32.0
Ref. in U. S.	7.1	6.3	6.2	8.8	3.4	5.1	6.2	17.6
Unitarian	4.6	2.4	2.6	3.9	36.8	35.9	23.6	....
Unit. Brethren	34.5	35.0	24.7	34.9	9.8	6.4	6.2	32.8
Universalist	3.0	2.1	6.0	6.2	18.3	13.9	7.4	3.1
Christian Scientist	17.3	15.4	21.4	16.1	24.6	25.0	30.2	27.8
Christian Scientist	25.8	18.3	....	25.4	....	....	....	....
Total	9.5	10.1	10.6	12.6	13.8	14.8	17.8	29.2
L. D. S. (Mormon)	60.2	60.2	60.4	60.4	60.2	60.2	60.4	60.2
Jewish	76.2	76.0	76.0	76.0	76.1	76.1	75.4	75.6
No Denom.	30.4	30.3	30.6	29.4	31.8	31.4	33.1	34.8
Roman Catholic	60.6	59.3	59.5	59.0	59.9	54.8	60.6	60.5
Federated Chs.	6.6	5.8	4.4	7.2	10.1	8.2	10.9	13.6
Minor Officials	8.9	7.1	7.8	9.2	10.3	10.1	8.9	40.7
Fundamentalist	10.9	24.5	27.3	26.5	13.6	29.2	30.8	75.3

TABLE 7—DENOMINATIONS EXCLUDED AND EXCLUDING OTHERS FROM A UNITED CHURCH—CHURCH UNITY BALLOT

	Av. No. Exclu- sions per Person	Chri- stian Sci- entist	Jews	Latter Day Saints	Negro Chs.	Pente- costal Sects	Roman Cath- olic	Spiritu- alists	Uni- tarian	No Cross- outs
Excluding Denominations										
Methodist Prot.....	6	75.4	71.9	79.0	43.9	61.4	73.7	77.1	71.9	5.3
Evangelical Synod.....	5	64.6	66.7	72.9	47.1	45.8	72.9	77.1	64.6	16.7
Evangelicals.....	4	55.4	51.8	64.3	16.7	33.9	56.5	59.5	45.8	16.1
United Brethren.....	4	49.3	46.4	58.0	26.1	20.3	56.5	62.3	43.5	20.3
United Presb.....	4	45.7	42.9	54.2	25.7	22.8	48.6	51.4	45.7	31.4
Moravian.....	4	65.0	60.0	80.0	20.0	35.0	70.0	45.0	50.0	15.0
Other Lutheran.....	4	40.5	47.6	50.0	31.0	40.5	57.1	54.8	45.2	31.0
Minor Officials.....	4	46.2	38.5	46.2	23.1	46.1	30.8	61.5	61.5	30.8
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	3	33.9	40.8	33.1	13.4	28.9	50.5	48.4	22.4	29.5
Baptist (So. Conv.).....	3	24.3	31.4	38.6	45.7	22.9	54.3	31.9	18.6	22.2
Evangelical Church.....	3	51.2	46.3	61.2	12.4	28.9	49.6	51.9	38.0	29.8
All Lutheran.....	3	36.9	38.7	48.6	23.4	28.8	45.0	50.5	44.1	30.6
United Lutheran.....	3	35.9	32.8	48.4	18.8	23.4	39.1	46.9	43.8	29.7
Methodist Epis.....	3	33.6	42.4	47.9	15.9	21.7	50.9	46.4	27.2	29.1
Meth. Epis., South.....	3	31.4	33.2	41.7	32.3	21.5	40.4	39.5	22.9	33.2
Presb., U. S. A.....	3	45.2	50.1	53.8	21.5	31.7	49.3	54.8	35.7	28.1
Presbyterian, U. S.....	3	42.9	43.6	52.1	31.4	25.7	46.4	47.1	40.0	31.4
Reformed Bodies.....	3	38.9	49.6	55.8	14.2	28.3	46.0	56.6	34.5	22.1
Reformed in America.....	3	31.1	47.1	56.6	15.1	31.1	47.1	58.5	30.2	20.8
Reformed in U. S.....	3	37.8	48.9	57.8	11.1	22.1	46.7	48.9	37.8	24.4
Dunkers.....	3	42.1	42.1	47.4	5.3	15.8	47.4	57.9	31.6	21.1
Miscellaneous.....	3	33.3	33.3	42.0	26.0	21.7	36.4	40.9	30.3	37.4
Fundamentalist.....	3	50.0	50.0	40.0	0.0	20.0	40.0	50.0	60.0	40.0
High-church Epis.....	4	40.0	33.3	46.7	6.7	40.0	13.3	40.0	46.7	16.7
Cong-Christian.....	24	3	36.4	38.4	20.8	20.2	41.5	36.4	11.7	38.9
Disciples.....	29	4	34.3	37.1	13.7	16.8	39.6	40.9	27.7	43.6
Friends.....	25	6	26.9	25.6	20.3	21.5	33.3	38.5	20.5	48.7
Mo. Synod Luth.....	10	0	40.0	40.0	20.0	0.0	20.0	60.0	40.0	40.0
Protestant Epis.....	16	0	36.1	35.3	14.5	19.6	16.1	36.2	22.6	44.7
Unitarian.....	26	5	24.7	27.9	14.7	27.9	36.8	33.8	2.9	47.1
Pentecostal Sects.....	34	4	28.1	31.3	28.1	21.9	34.4	37.5	31.3	46.9
Universalist.....	0	0	36.4	45.5	0.0	27.3	54.6	9.1	0.0	45.5
Federated Chs.....	25	0	33.3	35.4	27.1	31.2	41.7	35.4	16.7	37.5
Christian Sci.....	22	2	11.1	22.2	11.1	11.1	33.3	22.2	0.0	44.4
Latter Day Saints.....	5	9	23.5	29.4	17.7	5.9	35.3	11.8	5.9	52.9
Jews.....	23	5	26.5	14.7	8.8	1.9	1.9	20.6	1.9	55.9
Roman Catholic.....	11	1	33.3	11.1	22.2	5.6	16.7	33.3	5.6	50.0
No Denomination.....	—	12.8	15.4	12.8	10.3	7.7	7.7	15.4	5.1	59.0
Negro Methodist.....	—	8.8	5.9	13.2	1.5	5.9	13.2	15.0	4.4	71.6
Negro Baptist.....	—	8.6	5.7	15.7	1.9	7.1	15.7	22.9	5.7	70.0

TABLE 8—COÖPERATING PROTESTANTISM IN THE UNITED STATES

(Statistics from 1926 Census of Religious Bodies)

A—Protestant Denominations coöperating with either the Federal Council (checked in Column A), the International Council of Religious Education (checked in Column B), or else the Home Missions Council (checked in Column C).

Denominations	A	No. Churches	No. Members	Property Value
Advent, Christian.....		444	29,430	\$ 2,310,000
Baptist, Natl. Conv. U. S. A.....	*	22,081	3,196,623	103,465,739
Baptist, Natl. Conv. of Amer.....				
Baptist, Northern.....	*	7,611	1,289,066	185,370,576
Baptist, Seventh Day.....	*	67	7,164	668,200
Brethren (Dunkers).....		1,030	128,392	8,630,499
Brethren (Prog. Dunk.).....		174	26,026	2,274,064
Brethren in Christ.....		81	4,320	348,860
Christian Reformed.....		245	98,534	5,061,102
Christian.....	*	1,044	112,795	7,202,193
Churches of Christ.....		6,226	433,714	16,402,158
Church of God.....		932	38,240	3,541,102
Churches of God in N. A.....	*	428	31,596	3,111,318
Church of the Nazarene.....		1,444	65,558	7,323,718
Congregational.....		5,028	881,606	164,212,552
Disciples.....		7,648	1,377,595	114,850,211
Evangelical.....		2,054	206,080	25,380,761
Evangelical Synod N. A.....		1,287	314,518	35,780,581
Friends (Orthodox).....		715	91,326	8,013,407
Lutherans (United).....	C	3,650	1,214,340	114,326,248
Mennonite Brethren in Christ.....		99	5,882	544,643
Methodist Episcopal.....		26,130	4,080,777	406,165,659
Methodist Episcopal, South.....		18,096	2,487,604	161,086,430
Methodist Protestant.....		2,239	102,171	16,817,278
Methodist Free.....		1,375	36,374	4,021,760
Methodist Wesleyan.....		619	21,910	1,804,719
Methodist Epis. (A. M. E.).....		6,708	545,814	32,092,549
Methodist Epis. (A. M. E. Z.).....		2,466	456,813	18,515,723
Methodist Epis. (Colored).....		2,518	202,713	9,211,437
Moravian (American).....		227	31,609	4,071,550
Presbyterian, Associated Reformed.....		143	20,410	2,428,100
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....		8,947	1,894,030	338,152,743
Presbyterian, U. S.....		3,469	451,043	67,708,658
United Presbyterian.....		901	171,571	20,714,845
Protestant Episcopal.....	C	7,109	1,850,086	314,506,738
Reformed Episcopal.....		69	8,651	1,455,850
Reformed in America.....		717	153,719	38,436,821
Reformed in U. S.....		1,709	361,286	44,662,875
United Brethren.....	* *	2,088	377,432	18,520,619
United Brethren (Old Const.).....	*	372	17,672	1,022,660
	26 38	149,180	22,922,993	\$2,328,810,375

* C indicates consultative relationship.

* Southern Province.

B—Non-Coöperating Protestant Churches

Denomination	No. Churches	No. Members	Property Value
Seventh Day Adventist.....	1,981	110,998	\$ 8,477,099
Southern Baptist Convention.....	23,374	3,524,378	173,456,965
American Baptist Association.....	1,431	117,858	1,832,546
Church of Christ Scientist.....	1,931	202,098	69,416,744
Latter Day Saints.....	1,275	542,104	15,513,315
Evang. Luth. Synod. Conf. of America.....	4,752	1,202,620	78,755,894
Evang. Luth. Augustana Synod of N. A.....	1,180	311,425	22,781,608
Norwegian Lutheran Church of America.....	2,554	406,707	24,822,215
American Lutheran Church.....	1,786	474,923	25,777,694
Other Lutheran.....	1,180	175,988	7,345,999
All Others.....	18,526	2,320,937	131,233,502
Total.....	59,070	8,579,126	\$ 558,814,571

C—Non-Protestant Churches

Denomination	No. Churches	No. Members	Property Value
Roman Catholic.....	18,940	18,605,003	\$ 837,271,053
Eastern Orthodox (13 denominations).....	597	356,270	16,256,708
Jewish Congregations.....	3,118	4,081,244	97,401,688
Others.....	340	31,701	946,215
Total.....	23,004	23,074,227	\$ 951,875,664

SUMMARY

Coöperating Protestant Churches.....	149,180	22,922,993	\$2,328,810,375
Non-Coöperating Protestant Churches.....	59,070	8,579,126	558,814,571
Non-Protestant Churches.....	23,004	23,074,227	951,875,664
Grand Total.....	232,254	54,576,346	\$3,839,500,610

TABLE 9—CONGREGATIONAL AND CHRISTIAN UNION

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*						
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Total.....	13,256	15	36	7	12	8	13	9
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	1,019	16	37	6	11	9	15	6
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	377	15	37	9	13	11	11	4
Negro Baptist.....	151	15	38	8	12	8	13	6
Brethren (Dunkers).....	113	14	36	8	9	14	13	6
Christian Scientist.....	28	17	30	4	25	9	8	7
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	76	19	25	14	5	22	11	4
Cong.-Christian.....	1,219	17	41	4	15	4	15	4
Disciples.....	572	21	40	4	11	7	14	3
Evan. Church.....	395	11	31	11	7	9	15	16
Evan. Syn. N. A.....	72	18	22	10	6	14	14	16
Federated Churches.....	[142]	17	41	4	17	4	13	4
Friends.....	326	13	43	4	19	6	12	3
Jews.....	157	18	44	3	13	8	12	2
Lutheran (All).....	592	9	23	19	6	10	7	26
Unit. Luth.....	[342]	10	26	15	6	10	9	24
Mo. Syn. Luth.....	[72]	3	6	39	1	5	4	42
Fundamentalist.....	[77]	12	9	28	4	14	5	28
Meth. Epis.....	3,014	15	38	6	11	7	14	9
Meth. Epis., South.....	717	15	40	5	13	7	12	8
Meth. Prot.....	61	7	34	14	14	7	12	12
Negro Meth.....	210	13	39	5	12	6	11	14
Minor Officials.....	[73]	15	27	12	8	9	13	16
Miscellaneous.....	320	14	34	12	10	10	12	8
Moravian.....	152	14	31	13	7	12	9	14
No Denomination.....	93	15	42	4	22	6	9	2
Pentecostal.....	60	23	26	8	11	13	11	8
Presb., U. S. A.....	1,126	15	37	5	13	8	14	8
Presb., U. S.....	648	14	30	11	9	12	11	13
Unit. Presb.....	128	9	19	18	10	17	6	21
Prot. Epis.....	803	11	31	11	12	9	9	17
Ref. in America.....	139	16	29	11	8	12	10	14
Ref. in U. S.....	137	12	35	4	13	10	16	10
Roman Cath.....	56	16	26	14	13	13	11	7
Unitarian.....	263	16	45	1	28	2	7	1
Unit. Brethren.....	169	13	33	8	9	12	14	11
Universalist.....	63	19	45	1	23	6	6	0

* For text of judgments, see Table XIII.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 10—MINORITIES IN CASES OF MERGERS

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*				
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total.....	12,419	32	12	6	10	40
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	949	31	13	6	12	38
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	363	24	17	8	20	31
Negro Baptist.....	138	26	21	8	7	38
Brethren (Dunkers).....	94	27	16	5	23	29
Christian Scientist.....	22	33	7	9	9	42
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	74	17	24	2	27	30
Cong.-Christian.....	1,142	38	9	5	5	43
Disciples.....	524	30	17	6	6	41
Evan. Church.....	393	30	13	5	10	42
Evan. Syn. N. A.....	72	40	7	4	5	44
Friends.....	299	36	7	3	10	44
Jews.....	157	31	10	5	10	44
Lutheran (All).....	549	27	15	4	21	33
Unit. Luth.....	[305]	28	15	4	17	36
Mo. Syn. Luth.....	[70]	6	22	5	60	7
Meth. Epis.....	2,813	33	14	5	7	41
Meth. Epis., South.....	697	33	12	5	10	40
Meth. Prot.....	46	19	8	15	19	39
Negro Meth.....	160	27	18	9	8	38
Minor Officials.....	[71]	35	5	7	13	40
Miscellaneous.....	308	27	15	9	16	33
Moravian.....	136	23	23	6	16	32
No Denomination.....	94	28	9	12	10	41
Pentecostal.....	61	23	29	5	16	27
Presb., U. S. A.....	1,061	36	10	6	6	42
Presb., U. S.....	621	27	15	6	17	35
Unit. Presb.....	123	29	13	5	14	39
Prot. Epis.....	754	33	10	6	9	42
Ref. in America.....	127	32	10	6	11	41
Ref. in U. S.....	135	39	8	5	2	46
Roman Cath.....	55	32	17	9	15	27
Unitarian.....	251	34	3	9	10	44
Unit. Brethren.....	141	37	10	5	5	43
Universalist.....	60	35	6	3	11	45

* For text of judgments, see Table XIV.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE XI—REUNION OF SIMILAR CHURCHES

Denomination	Per Cent. of Answers Rating Arguments as Strong*						Total Choices
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Total.....	35.0	25.4	26.9	5.9	3.9	2.9	5,308
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	34.4	24.8	27.4	5.7	4.2	3.5	456
Baptist (So. Conv.).....	27.5	28.8	28.8	6.2	2.5	6.2	80
Congregational-Christian.....	36.5	26.8	24.6	6.2	4.1	1.8	544
Disciples of Christ.....	35.6	21.6	28.8	4.0	5.0	5.0	222
Evangelical.....	36.2	27.0	29.4	3.7	2.5	1.2	163
Evangelical Syn. N. A.....	38.7	22.6	31.2	4.3	3.2	0.0	93
Friends.....	28.9	23.3	28.9	7.8	7.8	3.3	90
Lutheran.....	32.1	23.1	28.6	7.8	4.6	3.8	346
Methodist Episcopal.....	38.4	26.2	25.4	4.6	3.5	1.9	922
Meth. Epis. South.....	36.8	27.6	27.0	5.5	1.9	1.2	163
Miscellaneous "X"†.....	33.8	21.1	29.3	6.0	3.0	6.8	133
Miscellaneous "Y"‡.....	30.5	23.6	29.9	7.6	3.5	4.9	144
Miscellaneous "Z"§.....	36.8	22.8	25.7	8.1	1.5	5.1	136
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	36.1	28.0	26.7	4.0	3.4	1.8	678
Presbyterian, U. S.....	34.6	24.3	29.2	4.3	4.3	3.3	185
United Presbyterian.....	40.9	20.5	34.1	1.1	2.3	1.1	88
Protestant Episcopal.....	28.6	26.4	22.1	10.1	7.6	5.2	367
Reformed in America.....	26.7	20.9	23.8	14.3	10.5	3.8	105
Reformed in U. S.....	37.9	26.9	29.7	2.7	0.7	2.1	145
Unitarian.....	36.4	24.0	24.7	10.4	3.2	1.3	154
United Brethren.....	29.8	26.6	33.0	6.4	2.1	2.1	94

* For text of arguments, see Table XV.

† Miscellaneous X—Congregationally organized minor denominations.

‡ Miscellaneous Y—Connectionally organized minor denominations.

§ Miscellaneous Z—All others.

TABLE 12.—PER CENT. OF POSSIBLE DISTANCE SCORE REGISTERED BY SPECIFIED DENOMINATIONS AGAINST OTHER DENOMINATIONS ON 12 MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS

Denomination	Relationship* and Per Cent.											
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12) Total
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	17.5	18.5	5.7	11.7	10.1	16.0	10.2	2.2	37.7	13.3	8.9	13.8
Baptist (So. Conv.).....	19.6	29.9	4.1	11.4	8.3	18.5	9.1	2.6	33.3	13.9	12.9	14.8
Negro Baptist.....	18.1	15.5	4.2	10.3	7.4	17.3	9.2	3.0	25.5	13.5	9.5	11.7
Ch. of the Breth.....	14.2	59.2	7.0	19.6	9.2	15.0	18.9	3.4	56.2	12.9	19.6	17.9
Christian Sci.....	22.6	39.7	8.7	9.5	6.8	28.6	9.1	4.8	36.5	32.9	15.9	19.4
L. D. S. (Mormon).....	40.8	80.2	5.1	70.0	11.4	31.2	50.3	5.5	83.1	55.3	72.4	45.8
Cong.-Christian.....	12.1	10.6	2.6	6.3	5.4	8.7	4.9	1.0	10.6	6.8	3.5	6.7
Disciples.....	15.4	12.9	4.9	10.1	7.4	12.5	10.6	3.8	30.1	11.7	13.4	12.2
Evangelical.....	15.9	14.7	6.5	11.9	8.6	11.0	11.3	2.7	12.8	8.4	11.3	10.5
Evan. Synod.....	16.5	14.7	4.4	5.6	4.1	6.6	8.7	2.0	14.0	7.7	7.5	8.4
Federated Churches.....	11.2	11.2	3.4	4.1	4.9	8.6	5.5	2.3	10.4	6.1	6.8	7.0
Friends.....	15.0	60.0	3.3	12.6	5.9	28.8	8.5	2.9	53.8	13.9	10.3	19.1
Jewish.....	79.0	91.7	38.5	69.1	15.7	74.8	56.4	49.4	87.8	78.2	51.2	60.7
All Lutheran.....	31.4	36.9	16.0	20.6	19.3	22.7	21.6	11.7	28.5	22.6	21.5	23.4
United Lutheran.....	20.6	23.7	6.5	13.8	9.7	11.8	13.0	2.6	19.0	12.7	13.2	20.8
Mo. Synod Luth.....	76.1	76.4	69.8	66.4	67.1	73.8	64.7	64.2	71.6	73.0	66.7	70.8
Fundamentalist.....	36.5	41.5	20.4	17.9	24.7	30.5	26.2	13.4	37.2	24.6	28.6	33.3
Meth. Epis.....	14.8	14.0	4.3	10.5	7.2	10.4	8.5	2.0	12.9	9.8	7.0	9.5
Meth. Epis., South.....	13.6	13.1	3.6	9.2	5.8	10.5	9.1	1.6	13.4	9.8	5.6	9.4
Methodist Prot.....	11.7	14.4	2.1	7.0	4.3	10.7	6.5	0.6	8.4	6.5	5.2	4.0
Negro Methodist.....	16.3	11.6	5.1	6.8	5.2	10.2	8.1	0.7	11.7	11.4	4.5	4.4
Minor Officials.....	13.3	14.5	6.3	5.8	8.9	10.0	9.5	5.6	21.9	5.6	8.8	15.3
Moravian.....	12.0	12.1	3.8	8.4	5.2	6.4	10.2	1.6	9.5	8.6	6.4	11.5
No Denomination.....	28.6	40.7	15.7	18.1	13.3	35.8	11.6	12.1	34.0	22.2	34.0	23.9
Pentecostal.....	24.8	26.2	11.4	11.3	17.0	27.8	15.4	4.0	44.9	16.1	31.5	21.7
Presb., U. S. A.....	13.4	11.0	3.1	6.1	5.7	9.1	5.6	1.3	9.5	7.0	6.0	7.1
Presb., U. S.....	16.3	13.2	5.9	11.6	10.6	16.0	10.7	3.4	19.1	12.0	10.4	12.7
United Presb.....	15.3	13.2	4.2	6.5	6.9	7.5	6.6	2.7	12.2	7.6	12.0	15.8
Prot. Epis.....	15.0	13.7	5.7	18.3	6.7	12.6	7.4	1.5	20.7	15.7	11.0	14.4
Reformed in America.....	15.1	14.1	5.1	7.2	6.2	9.5	7.0	2.7	10.6	8.4	5.9	8.6
Reformed in U. S.....	10.9	7.4	1.8	3.9	4.1	4.6	5.2	0.8	7.0	4.7	6.3	5.2
Roman Catholic.....	65.7	76.1	17.9	56.5	17.1	59.1	28.3	19.6	68.4	58.8	59.0	47.3
Unitarian.....	41.4	95.7	4.4	10.5	10.0	33.3	8.1	7.8	40.2	23.6	24.3	27.5
United Brethren.....	12.6	9.4	3.0	5.7	6.7	6.3	5.6	1.3	8.0	4.9	6.6	6.5
Universalist.....	21.7	15.7	0.5	2.9	2.6	10.9	4.3	0.9	14.5	10.6	7.7	9.1

* For statement, see chapter i, p. 10; for explanation, see chapter iv, p. 103.

TABLE 13—COMPETING DENOMINATIONAL CHURCHES VS. A NON-SECTARIAN COMMUNITY CHURCH

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*						
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Total.....	12,230	18	11	3	2	7	28	31
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	943	20	10	2	2	7	28	31
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	351	20	9	6	4	7	28	26
Negro Baptist.....	140	22	6	3	2	6	27	34
Brethren (Dunkers).....	78	14	20	10	5	8	20	23
Christian Scientist.....	26	22	6	2	0	6	24	40
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	64	9	8	10	23	8	16	26
Cong.-Christian.....	1,105	17	8	1	1	4	33	36
Disciples.....	511	23	7	4	1	5	29	31
Evan. Church.....	396	15	15	4	3	11	26	26
Evan. Syn. N. A.	71	12	16	4	1	11	26	30
Federated Chs.	[136]	18	5	3	1	4	31	37
Friends.....	307	23	4	1	0	5	29	38
Jews.....	157	17	2	2	2	5	31	40
Lutheran (All).....	510	18	17	6	6	14	19	20
Unit. Luth.	[267]	19	15	4	6	9	23	24
Mo. Syn. Luth.	[67]	7	16	12	14	45	2	4
Fundamentalist.....	[73]	22	18	9	5	14	17	15
Meth. Epis.	2,742	19	12	2	2	7	27	31
Meth. Epis., South.....	678	20	8	2	2	6	31	30
Meth. Prot.	41	8	27	9	6	8	23	19
Negro Meth.....	203	17	10	3	4	7	30	29
Minor Officials.....	[70]	11	24	8	2	12	20	23
Miscellaneous.....	312	16	12	6	4	9	24	29
Moravian.....	139	19	12	6	3	12	21	27
No Denom.	94	17	2	3	2	1	37	38
Pentecostal.....	59	23	6	3	1	4	30	33
Presb., U. S. A.	1,059	18	11	1	1	5	30	34
Presb., U. S.	617	20	13	3	2	9	26	27
Unit. Presb.	122	15	19	2	3	12	27	22
Prot. Epis.	736	17	10	5	4	7	27	30
Ref. in America.....	127	16	14	2	2	8	31	27
Ref. in U. S.	131	15	14	1	2	5	31	31
Roman Catholic.....	56	12	8	16	10	9	21	24
Unitarian.....	251	6	2	2	0	2	42	46
Unit. Brethren.....	144	19	20	2	1	13	21	24
Universalist.....	60	8	1	0	0	5	40	46

* For text of judgments, see Table XVII.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 14—FEDERATION WITHOUT DENOMINATIONAL CONSENT

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*						
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Total.....	11,714	14	11	9	4	23	15	24
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	945	14	13	6	3	23	15	16
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	273	13	13	13	5	18	14	24
Negro Baptist.....	119	19	10	9	6		13	31
Brethren (Dunkers).....	67	12	9	7	5	29	11	27
Christian Scientist.....	26	23	15	8	11	13	15	15
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	66	7	6	21	3	26	5	32
Cong.-Christian.....	1,090	14	13	6	3	26	17	21
Disciples.....	516	17	12	7	5	18	20	21
Evan. Church.....	385	10	8	10	2	27	12	31
Evan. Syn. N. A.	71	8	8	11	5	34	13	21
Friends.....	302	13	13	7	4	24	18	21
Jews.....	153	20	16	7	6	17	16	18
Lutheran (All).....	475	7	9	16	2	30	11	25
Unit. Luth.	[263]	7	8	12	2	28	14	29
Mo. Syn. Luth.	[41]	4	1	38	7	33	8	9
Meth. Epis.	4,025	17	12	8	4	21	14	24
Meth. Epis., South.....	624	13	11	10	4	21	16	25
Meth. Prot.	39	10	12	16	2	21	9	30
Negro Meth.	199	12	10	9	4	20	14	31
Miscellaneous.....	291	13	11	14	4	22	13	23
Moravian.....	89	12	15	11	4	26	9	23
No Denom.	89	23	15	7	5	17	22	11
Pentecostal.....	55	11	8	8	5	22	21	25
Presb., U. S. A.	1,003	13	12	9	3	27	15	21
Presb., U. S.	600	13	10	10	3	26	12	26
Unit. Presb.	118	6	14	16	5	28	10	21
Prot. Epis.	725		10	15	5	23	12	24
Ref. in America.....	141		13	9	3	26	17	20
Ref. in U. S.	119	14	9	7	2	28	18	22
Roman Cath.	48	13	8	15	6	22	16	20
Unitarian.....	243	20	18	5	7	15	19	16
Unit. Brethren.....	158		10	12	2	29	11	28
Universalist.....	62				1	28	16	23

* For text of judgments, see Table XVIII.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 15—LEGITIMACY OF PROPAGANDA AMONG STUDENTS

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*					
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Total.	13,278	8	14	4	18	12	44
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	1,033	7	15	4	18	11	45
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	374	12	14	4	16	11	43
Negro Baptist.....	151	14	13	2	17	10	44
Brethren (Dunkers).....	142	8	15	10	8	23	36
Christian Scientist.....	28	7	9	2	16	8	48
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	81	10	14	0	20	5	51
Cong.-Christian.....	1,213	9	14	2	21	8	46
Disciples.....	570	10	15	3	16	13	43
Evan. Church.....	399	5	13	6	17	17	42
Evan. Syn. N. A.	70	10	13	9	11	17	40
Friends.....	334	8	14	2	22	7	47
Jews.....	159	10	5	1	32	3	49
Lutheran (All).....	591	6	12	11	13	20	38
Unit. Luth.	[344]	5	14	5	13	18	45
Mo. Syn. Luth.	[69]	2	6	37	2	39	14
Meth. Epis.	3,000	8	15	3	18	11	45
Meth. Epis., South.....	709	11	14	3	18	10	44
Meth. Prot.	66	4	10	2	15	10	59
Negro Meth.	214	13	15	2	16	10	44
Minor Officials.....	[67]	9	12	12	11	18	38
Miscellaneous.....	322	11	12	6	14	13	44
Moravian.....	149	5	16	6	16	18	39
No Denom.	95	12	14	2	24	4	44
Pentecostal.....	60	11	13	3	10	17	46
Presb., U. S. A.	1,107	7	13	3	21	10	46
Presb., U. S.	641	9	13	7	13	20	38
Unit. Presb.	124	4	10	15	12	25	34
Prot. Epis.	792	12	13	2	20	8	45
Ref. in America.....	181	5	12	6	20	15	42
Ref. in U. S.	136	8	18	3	16	11	44
Roman Cath.	59		14	3	18	12	42
Unitarian.....	260		10	1	29	2	47
Unit. Brethren.....	156		10	5	21	15	42
Universalist.....	62		20	1	22	3	46

* For text of judgments, see Table XXIII.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 16—LEGITIMACY OF PROSELYTYING NON-PROTESTANTS OF FOREIGN BIRTH

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*					
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Total.....	11,006	4	35	29	3	18	11
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	911	4	35	32	2	16	11
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	267	5	27	34	3	16	15
Negro Baptist.....	119	8	19	37	6	17	13
Brethren (Dunkers).....	77	9	39	30	2	13	7
Christian Scientists.....	25	0	30	22	13	15	20
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	50	2	31	51	0	8	8
Cong.-Christian.....	1,023	4	36	24	3	23	10
Disciples.....	442	5	30	32	4	16	13
Evan. Church.....	385	3	35	33	3	14	12
Evan. Syn. N. A.	69	5	40	30	2	15	8
Friends.....	275	4	36	25	3	23	9
Jews.....	144	17	17	14	14	36	2
Lutheran (All).....	487	7	38	28	2	15	10
Unit. Luth.	[248]	3	37	31	1	17	11
Mo. Syn. Luth.	[69]	22	42	25	0	4	7
Meth. Epis.	2,330	5	34	28	3	19	11
Meth. Epis., South.....	564	5	33	29	3	16	14
Meth. Prot.	33	4	36	33	2	19	6
Negro Meth.	196	10	22	31	5	24	8
Miscellaneous.....	295	5	30	32	4	18	11
Moravian.....	93	5	35	32	5	15	8
No Denom.	85	9	28	20	7	23	13
Pentecostal.....	51	2	27	42	1	5	23
Presb., U. S. A.	940	3	37	29	3	17	11
Presb., U. S.	574	4	33	35	2	10	16
Unit. Presb.	115	0	40	35	1	9	15
Prot. Epis.	745	6	36	23	4	23	8
Ref. in America.....	118	2	41	27	3	14	13
Ref. in U. S.	113	0	41	27	1	15	16
Roman Cath.	46	16	23	18	12	29	2
Unitarian.....	239	5	39	14	9	21	12
Unit. Brethren.....	137	1	37	33	2	10	17
Universalist.....	58	1	45	25	4	13	12

* For text of judgments, see Table XXIV.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 17—LEGITIMACY OF PROSELYTYING FROM EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*					
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Total.....	11,910	16	29	20	3	17	15
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	974	15	31	24	2	14	14
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	291	15	29	26	4	13	13
Negro Baptist.....	127	19	28	25	2	15	11
Brethren (Dunkers).....	78	30	27	15	2	12	14
Christian Scientist.....	27	19	35	14	8	12	12
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	75	3	44	36	1	3	13
Cong.-Christian.....	1,125	14	32	21	3	16	14
Disciples.....	470	14	29	22	3	18	14
Evan. Church.....	385	17	27	22	2	16	16
Evan. Syn. N. A.	72	15	26	19	1	16	23
Federated Chs.	[123]	11	35	20	3	17	14
Friends.....	298	15	32	16	2	22	13
Jews.....	154	13	38	9	2	19	19
Lutheran (All).....	501	21	27	20	4	16	12
Unit. Luth.	[264]	19	28	22	2	17	12
Mo. Syn. Luth.	[65]	33	31	23	3	3	7
Fundamentalist.....	[71]	16	24	29	4	13	14
Meth. Epis.	2,644	17	29	19	3	16	16
Meth. Epis., South.....	617	19	26	20	3	18	14
Meth. Prot.	54	26	30	15	0	18	11
Negro Meth.	198	20	19	26	2	24	9
Minor Officials.....	[72]	13	24	24	1	14	24
Miscellaneous.....	300	18	26	24	3	16	13
Moravian.....	88	17	30	25	4	15	9
No Denom.	89	14	30	14	7	16	19
Pentecostal.....	54	8	33	32	4	12	11
Presb., U. S. A.	1,008	13	31	20	2	18	16
Presb., U. S.	611	17	27	25	2	15	14
Unit. Presb.	121	12	25	22	4	20	17
Prot. Epis.	743	20	26	14	4	25	11
Ref. in America.....	156	15	27	23	2	18	15
Ref. in U. S.	126	14	28	20	3	17	18
Roman Cath.	47	18	31	23	3	15	10
Unitarian.....	240	11	37	12	6	14	20
Unit. Brethren.....	167	11	28	22	2	15	22
Universalist.....	60	11	35	20	4	13	17

* For text of judgments, see Table XXV.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication

TABLE 18—UNITED SERVICES OF CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS AND JEWS

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*					
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Total.....	13,600	7	4	7	26	24	32
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	1,049	7	4	7	24	25	33
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	379	11	6	8	23	22	30
Negro Baptist.....	163	5	3	7	26	26	33
Brethren (Dunkers).....	138	10	8	11	20	17	34
Christian Scientist.....	28	5	0	0	24	39	32
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	81	13	3	7	29	30	18
Cong.-Christian.....	1,230	3	2	4	29	29	33
Disciples.....	581	6	3	7	26	24	34
Evan. Church.....	404	8	6	10	23	19	34
Evan. Syn. N. A.	73	17	8	6	21	18	30
Friends.....	335	4	3	4	23	31	35
Jews.....	159	7	2	5	37	37	12
Lutheran (All).....	609	15	13	9	20	18	25
Unit. Luth.	[355]	10	6	9	23	22	30
Mo. Syn. Luth.	[72]	37	42	6	8	3	4
Meth. Epis.	3,081	4	3	7	26	24	36
Meth. Epis., South.....	719	7	3	7	26	25	32
Meth. Prot.	71	2	4	8	23	14	49
Negro Meth.	211	4	3	6	24	24	39
Minor Officials.....	[74]	14	8	7	23	19	29
Miscellaneous.....	331	9	6	6	25	22	32
Moravian.....	154	10	9	9	19	23	30
No Denom.	96	8	4	3	32	35	18
Pentecostal.....	63	13	9	7	19	22	30
Presb., U. S. A.	1,138	5	3	5	29	27	31
Presb., U. S.	666	12	9	10	20	19	30
Unit. Presb.	132	17	11	11	21	15	25
Prot. Epis.	821	8	3	6	28	24	31
Ref. in America.....	183	11	9	9	23	19	29
Ref. in U. S.	141	7	2	4	33	21	33
Roman Cath.	59	11	9	12	28	24	16
Unitarian.....	262	5	2	2	35	38	18
Unit. Brethren.....	171	8	4	6	30	23	29
Universalist.....	62	4	0	2	34	37	23

* For text of judgments, see Table XXVI.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 19—SPIRITUAL UNITY PRECEDING EXTERNAL UNION

Per Cent. of Answers Rating Arguments as Strong*

Denomination	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Total Choices
Total.....	14.7	31.6	9.8	17.4	1.4	3.8	21.3	5,283
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	13.0	34.3	11.0	13.8	2.9	1.7	23.3	455
Baptist (So. Conv.).....	17.1	30.3	19.7	11.9	1.3	3.9	15.8	76
Congregational-Christian...	9.7	38.1	3.8	18.9	0.4	4.2	24.9	546
Disciples of Christ.....	14.1	35.2	4.0	18.9	0.9	8.4	18.5	227
Evangelical.....	21.4	24.5	14.5	11.3	0.0	2.5	25.8	159
Evangelical Syn., N. A.	23.3	27.8	13.3	14.4	3.4	3.4	14.4	90
Friends.....	14.8	31.8	14.8	12.5	2.3	1.1	22.7	88
Lutheran.....	25.4	17.5	23.6	11.4	2.0	1.7	18.4	343
Methodist Episcopal.....	12.6	34.4	6.3	20.7	0.2	3.7	22.1	923
Meth. Epis., South.....	15.3	35.6	6.8	15.3	0.6	4.3	22.1	163
Miscellaneous—X†.....	22.0	33.0	8.7	15.0	1.6	5.5	14.2	127
Miscellaneous—Y‡.....	17.9	29.3	12.8	18.6	2.1	4.3	15.0	140
Miscellaneous—Z#.....	14.6	35.4	9.2	19.2	0.8	2.3	18.5	130
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	12.1	32.9	6.7	19.5	1.5	4.2	23.1	671
Presbyterian, U. S.	16.3	26.1	11.4	19.6	3.2	3.8	19.6	184
United Presbyterian.....	21.8	12.7	23.0	14.9	9.2	4.6	13.8	87
Protestant Episcopal.....	9.5	29.7	13.6	17.2	2.5	6.8	20.7	367
Reformed in America.....	17.9	26.4	15.1	14.2	1.9	1.9	22.6	106
Reformed in U. S.	17.7	28.6	5.4	18.4	1.4	5.4	23.1	147
Unitarian.....	14.0	35.0	7.6	24.3	0.6	0.0	18.5	157
United Brethren.....	18.6	30.9	12.4	12.4	0.0	4.1	21.6	97

* For text of arguments, see Table XXVII.

† Miscellaneous X—Congregationally organized minor denominations.

‡ Miscellaneous Y—Connectionally organized minor denominations.

Miscellaneous Z—All others.

TABLE 20—CONCESSIONS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE UNION

Denomination	Per Cent. of Answers Rating Arguments as Strong*						Total Choices
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Total.....	32.5	6.5	13.1	18.0	22.5	7.4	5,097
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	32.6	7.1	15.0	17.3	20.1	7.9	433
Baptist (So. Conv.).....	17.9	16.7	30.8	3.8	9.0	21.8	78
[Community-Federated.....	43.7	3.6	7.3	10.9	32.7	1.8	55]
Congregational-Christian.....	40.0	3.0	5.3	20.6	29.2	1.9	525
Disciples of Christ.....	35.1	4.7	4.3	13.7	29.9	12.3	211
Evangelical.....	26.0	4.5	14.3	26.6	23.4	5.2	154
Evangelical Syn. N. A.....	33.4	13.1	10.7	20.2	20.2	2.4	84
Friends.....	36.5	9.4	15.3	10.6	22.3	5.9	85
[Fundamentalist.....	14.3	10.2	38.8	4.1	10.2	22.4	49]
Lutheran.....	15.8	10.6	31.3	11.6	11.6	19.1	329
Methodist Episcopal.....	37.3	5.5	8.2	21.9	24.1	3.0	901
Meth. Epis., South.....	34.2	3.7	8.7	21.1	26.7	5.6	161
Miscellaneous—X†.....	40.1	3.2	14.2	10.2	22.8	9.5	127
Miscellaneous—Y‡.....	27.9	6.3	17.5	17.5	17.5	13.3	143
Miscellaneous—Z#.....	35.4	8.7	4.7	15.7	22.1	13.4	127
[Minor officials.....	25.2	9.2	24.4	11.5	19.8	9.9	131]
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	33.3	5.4	11.5	20.7	24.1	5.0	643
Presbyterian, U. S.....	29.2	5.6	20.3	14.6	20.2	10.1	178
United Presbyterian.....	15.2	16.3	30.4	7.6	16.3	14.2	92
Protestant Episcopal.....	25.0	12.1	12.4	16.1	21.8	12.6	348
Reformed in America.....	28.6	6.1	22.4	17.4	18.4	7.1	98
Reformed in U. S.....	39.9	1.4	10.1	21.6	23.6	3.4	148
Unitarian.....	38.4	2.9	21.0	15.2	21.7	0.8	138
United Brethren.....	37.2	6.4	13.8	16.0	20.2	6.4	94
[High Church Episcopal.....	0.0	13.8	24.1	0.0	6.9	55.2	29]

* For text of arguments, see Table XXXIII.

† Miscellaneous X—Congregationally organized minor denominations.

‡ Miscellaneous Y—Connectionally organized minor denominations.

Miscellaneous Z—All others.

TABLE 21—DESIRABILITY OF COMPLETE UNION

Denomination	Per Cent. of Answers Rating Arguments as Strong*								Total Choices
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
Total.....	6.8	12.8	5.4	18.2	14.1	11.1	6.2	25.4	5,506
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	3.8	15.4	3.0	16.8	16.8	11.1	7.5	25.6	469
Baptist (So. Conv.).....	1.2	13.2	6.0	14.5	18.1	7.2	14.5	25.3	83
[Community-Federated.....	12.5	14.3	3.6	28.6	16.1	5.3	1.8	17.8	56]
Cong.-Christian.....	6.3	16.3	3.6	19.6	14.5	12.9	2.7	24.1	577
Disciples of Christ.....	15.0	10.1	19.4	19.4	10.1	11.9	0.4	13.7	227
Evangelical.....	4.8	15.5	4.2	16.2	12.0	10.8	7.8	28.7	167
Evangelical Syn. N. A.....	7.5	16.1	3.2	23.7	10.8	12.9	4.3	21.5	93
Friends.....	3.3	14.4	4.4	22.2	17.8	6.7	6.7	24.5	90
[Fundamentalist.....	9.1	1.8	14.5	9.1	14.5	7.3	20.0	23.7	55]
Lutherans.....	4.5	4.8	5.9	13.2	18.3	9.5	17.1	26.7	356
Methodist Episcopal.....	7.1	14.0	2.8	19.6	12.3	12.8	4.3	27.1	958
Meth. Epis., South.....	6.1	14.6	0.6	20.8	11.6	14.0	6.7	25.6	164
Miscellaneous—X†.....	5.8	8.1	5.8	16.8	18.2	10.9	4.5	29.9	137
Miscellaneous—Y‡.....	4.6	11.9	4.6	12.6	14.6	17.3	10.6	23.8	151
Miscellaneous—Z#.....	11.5	15.2	12.9	18.7	11.5	7.2	4.3	18.7	139
[Minor officials.....	9.8	10.6	7.0	12.7	14.8	10.6	9.1	25.4	142]
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	5.3	14.0	4.2	20.6	12.2	12.1	5.5	26.1	694
Presbyterian, U. S.....	6.8	7.3	5.7	24.6	12.6	14.7	6.8	21.5	191
United Presbyterian.....	6.6	8.8	6.6	13.2	14.3	12.1	12.1	26.3	91
Protestant Episcopal.....	17.0	9.3	14.2	18.0	16.0	6.7	3.6	15.2	388
Reformed in America.....	9.2	10.1	5.5	20.2	16.5	11.0	11.0	16.5	109
Reformed in U. S.....	5.1	17.7	6.3	23.4	14.6	8.9	6.3	17.7	158
Unitarian.....	4.3	14.6	1.2	9.8	25.6	7.9	9.2	27.4	164
United Brethren.....	5.0	21.0	4.0	18.0	13.0	11.0	6.0	22.0	100
[High Church Episcopal.....	35.3	2.9	47.2	5.9	2.9	2.9	0.0	2.9	34]

* For text of arguments, see Table XVI.

† Miscellaneous X—Congregationally organized minor denominations.

‡ Miscellaneous Y—Connectionally organized minor denominations.

Miscellaneous Z—All others.

TABLE 22—DOES UNITY MEAN UNIFORMITY?

Denomination	Per Cent. of Answers Rating Arguments as Strong*						Total Choices
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Total.	3.8	17.9	34.4	2.3	15.1	26.5	5,261
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	1.6	24.3	27.9	1.1	22.0	23.1	445
Baptist (So. Conv.).....	7.8	26.0	22.1	7.8	20.7	15.6	77
[Community-Federated.....	0.0	14.0	40.4	0.0	12.3	33.3	57]
Congregational-Christian.....	0.4	21.0	27.1	1.4	17.7	32.4	553
Disciples of Christ.....	5.4	11.8	37.6	1.3	14.9	29.0	221
Evangelical.....	3.1	9.8	38.3	3.7	13.6	31.5	162
Evangelical Syn. N. A.	1.0	15.6	40.0	0.0	15.6	27.8	90
Friends.....	2.3	27.3	26.1	1.1	25.0	18.2	88
[Fundamentalist.....	4.1	14.3	40.9	12.2	16.3	12.2	49]
Lutheran.....	11.7	18.7	35.3	6.1	13.8	14.4	326
Methodist Episcopal.....	2.6	15.7	35.6	2.1	14.1	29.9	926
Meth. Epis., South.....	7.2	20.4	35.8	1.9	12.3	28.4	162
Miscellaneous—X†.....	3.1	27.2	30.2	0.0	18.6	20.9	129
Miscellaneous—Y‡.....	5.6	19.4	30.5	5.6	13.2	25.7	144
Miscellaneous—Z#.....	4.5	18.0	31.6	6.8	13.5	25.6	133
[Minor officials.....	4.0	21.6	38.4	2.4	11.2	22.4	125]
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	3.2	15.2	38.1	1.5	13.5	28.5	666
Presbyterian, U. S.	2.7	21.9	38.8	1.6	8.8	26.2	183
United Presbyterian.....	11.6	14.0	45.4	2.3	11.6	15.1	86
Protestant Episcopal.....	8.2	12.3	40.0	4.1	11.2	24.2	367
Reformed in America.....	8.7	17.5	38.8	2.9	7.8	24.3	103
Reformed in U. S.	2.6	13.2	42.4	0.7	10.6	30.5	151
Unitarian.....	0.0	27.8	21.9	0.0	26.5	23.8	151
United Brethren.....	1.0	16.3	38.8	1.0	14.3	28.6	98
[High Church Episcopal.....	27.3	0.0	33.3	27.3	6.0	6.1	33]

* For text of arguments, see Table XVII.

† Miscellaneous X—Congregationally organized minor denominations.

‡ Miscellaneous Y—Connectionally organized minor denominations.

Miscellaneous Z—All others.

TABLE 23—DENOMINATIONAL RIVALRIES IN MISSION FIELDS

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*							
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Total.....	12,575	1	4	6	13	16	5	34	21
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	998	2	5	5	16	13	6	34	19
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	364	2	9	5	21	13	7	26	17
Negro Baptist.....	142	3	8	4	15	13	5	36	16
Brethren (Dunkers).....	103	2	16	6	17	12	4	26	17
Christian Scientist.....	26	4	10	6	18	20	4	14	24
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	64	2	21	3	13	13	12	15	21
Cong.-Christian.....	1,128	1	3	6	9	17	3	38	23
Disciples.....	529	2	4	6	10	18	4	34	22
Evan. Church.....	399	1	4	8	12	13	5	34	23
Evan. Syn. N. A.	72	1	3	4	9	19	1	37	26
Federated Chs.	[134]	3	4	5	7	18	5	34	24
Friends.....	300	2	4	3	12	14	4	33	28
Jews.....	157	5	5	7	6	16	13	16	32
Lutheran (All).....	533	2	16	5	22	9	6	26	14
Unit. Luth.	[286]	2	8	6	21	10	6	32	15
Mo. Syn. Luth.	[71]	2	56	0	31	2	3	3	3
Fundamentalist.....	[78]	1	23	8	24	11	4	19	10
Meth. Epis.	2,841	1	3	6	11	17	5	36	21
Meth. Epis., South.....	698	1	4	6	14	17	5	33	20
Meth. Prot.	52	5	3	5	7	7	10	39	24
Negro Meth. .	204	1	3	8	13	17	3	35	20
Minor Officials	[71]	1	9	8	9	21	9	27	16
Miscellaneous.....	319	2	9	5	12	17	7	27	21
Moravian.....	142	1	4	7	15	14	9	32	18
No Denom.	88	7	6	3	8	13	7	24	32
Pentecostal....	59	0	10	9	18	11	2	24	26
Presb., U. S. A.	1,069	1	2	5	9	18	4	40	21
Presb., U. S.	623	1	4	7	17	14	6	33	18
Unit. Presb.	123	1	5	8	14	10	2	35	25
Prot. Epis.	746	2	5	6	13	17	5	33	19
Ref. in America.....	183	2	4	6	11	20	6	34	17
Ref. in U. S.	133	1	3	5	6	21	1	39	24
Roman Cath. . .	52	3	17	4	12	17	8	20	19
Unitarian.....	227	10	5	5	6	20	7	13	34
Unit. Brethren.....	140	1	1	6	11	16	4	36	25
Universalist.....	61	1	4	3	5	17	3	32	35

* For text of judgments, see Table XLVI.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 24—DIFFERENCES WITHIN DENOMINATIONS

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*				
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total.....	12,222	17	32	10	5	36
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	981	17	32	11	5	35
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	329	17	34	15	7	27
Negro Baptist.....	135	15	33	10	6	36
Brethren (Dunkers).....	82	19	37	8	8	28
Christian Scientists.....	28	11	28	23	8	30
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	68	16	45	11	4	24
Cong.-Christian.....	1,145	16	30	11	3	40
Disciples.....	417	18	30	11	5	36
Evan. Church.....	394	19	31	7	5	38
Evan. Syn. N. A.	71	20	30	9	1	40
Federated Chs.	[130]	14	31	13	3	39
Friends.....	307	16	31	13	2	38
Jews.....	153	12	38	12	4	34
Lutheran (All).....	501	16	38	10	10	26
Unit. Luth.	[260]	17	39	12	3	29
Mo. Syn. Luth.	[67]	8	40	2	44	6
Fundamentalist.....	[74]	22	40	6	18	
Meth. Epis.	2,748	18	31	9	4	
Meth. Epis., South.....	676	16	31	14	5	
Meth. Prot.	44	14	28	12	11	
Negro Meth.	168	13	33	14	6	
Minor Officials.....	[74]	21	33	8	5	
Miscellaneous.....	312	18	32	11	8	
Moravian.....	121	19	33	10	9	
No Denom.	87	13	28	18	5	
Pentecostal.....	60	15	38	6	13	
Presb., U. S. A.	1,050	17	31	10	4	
Presb., U. S.	624	15	37	9	8	
Unit. Presb.	127	19	41	6	5	
Prot. Epis.	767	16	33	12	3	
Ref. in America.....	163	18	33	10	5	
Ref. in U. S.	133	22	28	8	2	
Roman Cath.	50	14	37	11	15	
Unitarian.....	254	16	22	19	3	
Unit. Brethren.....	167	17	32	9	3	
Universalist.....	60	16	26	15	1	

* For text of judgments, see Table XLVII.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 25—UNIFORMITY VERSUS VARIETY IN THE LOCAL CHURCH

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*					
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Total.....	13,318	24	17	8	14	8	29
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	1,027	23	18	9	11	11	28
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	378	19	17	14	14	14	22
Negro Baptist.....	154	17	17	9	22	7	28
Brethren (Dunkers).....	134	25	20	15	7	13	20
Christian Scientist.....	27	11	17	8	23	10	31
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	79	24	23	21	4	17	11
Cong.-Christian.....	1,216	25	16	4	17	5	33
Disciples.....	574	27	16	6	14	6	31
Evan. Church.....	396	22	19	11	10	13	25
Evan. Syn. N. A.	72	32	22	10	9	9	18
Federated Chs.	[140]	20	21	3	20	2	34
Friends.....	331	23	16	4	20	3	34
Jews.....	159	21	20	3	18	5	33
Lutheran (All).....	593	21	15	19	6	18	21
Unit. Luth.	[342]	23	19	15	5	13	25
Mo. Syn. Luth.	[72]	3	1	44	3	42	7
Fundamentalist.....	[79]	15	9	35	2	30	9
Meth. Epis.	3,029	25	18	6	13	6	32
Meth. Epis., South.....	726	23	17	5	19	7	29
Meth. Prot.	62	18	20	6	14	7	35
Negro Meth.	205	18	15	7	22	5	33
Minor Officials.....	[73]	29	16	16	7	12	20
Miscellaneous.....	327	22	13	12	16	11	26
Moravian.....	151	16	24	11	7	14	28
No Denom.	94	14	13	5	30	4	34
Pentecostal.....	62	19	15	19	9	14	24
Presb., U. S. A.	1,127	26	16	5	15	5	33
Presb., U. S.	645	21	18	14	11	15	21
Unit. Presb.	130	20	18	18	8	16	20
Prot. Epis.	798	24	18	8	12	7	31
Ref. in America.....	138	25	15	10	11	9	30
Ref. in U. S.	136	32	16	2	13	6	31
Roman Cath.	57	12	21	16	11	17	23
Unitarian.....	265	28	20	3	24	2	23
Unit. Brethren.....	164	23	17	8	14	9	29
Universalist.....	62	28	21	3	17	5	26

* For text of judgments, see Table XLVIII.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 26—ARE DENOMINATIONS AN EVIL?

Denomination	Per Cent. of Answers Rating Arguments as Strong*								Total Choices
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
Total.....	10.8	9.3	15.7	8.3	4.1	6.5	18.9	26.4	5,456
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	11.2	8.8	24.2	6.7	1.9	7.3	14.7	25.2	464
Baptist (So. Conv.).....	14.0	9.3	29.1	2.3	2.3	20.9	5.8	16.3	86
[Community-Federated.....	5.2	17.3	5.2	12.1	3.4	3.4	25.8	27.6	58]
Cong.-Christian.....	7.8	11.1	10.2	9.3	3.2	3.9	25.1	29.4	561
Disciples of Christ.....	2.6	11.9	3.5	20.6	14.0	1.3	24.6	21.5	228
Evangelical.....	12.6	7.2	16.7	4.2	4.8	9.6	15.0	29.9	167
Evangelical Syn. N. A.....	10.5	7.4	16.8	8.4	4.2	10.5	17.9	24.3	95
Friends.....	15.7	7.9	18.0	6.7	1.1	7.9	20.2	22.5	89
[Fundamentalist.....	14.6	5.4	30.9	9.1	10.9	12.7	9.1	7.3	55]
Lutheran.....	18.2	3.7	25.6	4.3	5.4	16.8	10.3	15.7	351
Methodist Episcopal.....	9.0	9.0	15.5	7.7	2.3	4.7	21.0	30.8	942
Meth. Epis., South.....	10.4	12.3	16.6	8.0	1.8	6.7	17.8	26.4	163
Miscellaneous—X†.....	10.1	10.9	19.6	6.5	4.3	7.3	19.6	21.7	138
Miscellaneous—Y‡.....	13.2	10.5	15.1	7.9	2.6	7.9	15.8	27.0	152
Miscellaneous—Z§.....	9.4	9.4	12.9	12.9	10.8	4.3	18.7	21.6	139
[Minor officials.....	14.5	6.5	21.1	6.5	3.6	12.3	10.1	25.4	138]
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	9.3	10.9	13.2	8.2	2.7	3.8	22.1	29.8	691
Presbyterian, U. S.....	16.0	10.2	19.3	4.8	3.7	8.0	15.5	22.5	187
United Presbyterian.....	14.7	8.4	20.0	7.4	2.1	6.3	6.3	34.8	95
Protestant Episcopal.....	8.3	8.9	9.9	11.7	10.4	2.6	22.7	25.5	384
Reformed in America.....	19.1	7.6	19.0	11.4	2.9	8.6	13.3	18.1	105
Reformed in U. S.....	11.5	7.0	12.7	10.2	1.9	5.7	21.0	30.0	157
Unitarian.....	17.7	7.9	15.2	3.7	1.2	13.4	14.6	26.3	164
United Brethren.....	10.2	12.2	16.3	7.1	4.2	5.1	16.3	28.6	98
[High Church Episcopal.....	3.1	3.1	6.3	12.5	40.6	0.0	12.5	21.9	32]

* For text of arguments, see Table L.

† Miscellaneous X—Congregationally organized minor denominations.

‡ Miscellaneous Y—Connectionally organized minor denominations.

§ Miscellaneous Z—All others.

TABLE 27—CONTINUANCE OF DENOMINATIONS WITHIN A UNITED CHURCH

Denomination	Per Cent. of Answers Rating Arguments as Strong*						Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Choices
Total.	26.8	14.3	13.9	30.9	5.9	8.2	4,691
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	36.8	10.2	5.9	32.7	3.1	11.3	391
Baptist (So. Conv.).....	28.2	8.5	9.8	15.5	9.8	28.2	71
[Community-Federated.....	31.0	14.3	7.1	38.1	7.1	2.4	42]
Congregational-Christian.....	33.1	14.5	7.4	35.3	4.9	4.8	484
Disciples of Christ.....	18.9	9.7	8.2	40.8	15.8	6.6	196
Evangelical.....	27.3	20.0	12.7	30.0	5.3	4.7	150
Evangelical Syn. N. A.	27.1	21.2	23.5	24.7	2.3	1.2	85
Friends.....	43.2	10.8	1.4	32.4	4.1	8.1	74
[Fundamentalist.....	23.9	6.5	17.4	6.5	13.0	32.7	46]
Lutheran.....	16.0	6.3	24.4	16.6	12.2	24.5	319
Methodist Episcopal.....	29.4	14.3	13.6	33.9	4.1	4.7	824
Meth. Epis., South.....	29.0	17.2	13.1	26.9	2.8	11.0	145
Miscellaneous—X†.....	32.4	14.7	2.9	32.4	4.9	12.7	102
Miscellaneous—Y‡.....	24.0	16.0	11.2	30.4	6.4	12.0	125
Miscellaneous—Z#.....	26.7	16.2	7.6	28.5	10.5	10.5	105
[Minor officials.....	27.8	13.9	15.7	23.5	4.3	14.8	115]
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	25.8	13.5	19.0	33.9	4.4	3.4	590
Presbyterian, U. S.	24.7	10.0	20.6	30.6	2.9	11.2	170
United Presbyterian.....	11.1	3.7	27.2	38.2	7.4	12.4	81
Protestant Episcopal.....	9.9	30.0	19.0	28.3	7.3	5.5	343
Reformed in America.....	24.0	15.6	18.7	25.0	5.2	11.5	96
Reformed in U. S.	26.9	12.4	17.2	30.4	6.2	6.9	145
Unitarian.....	51.0	18.0	3.0	16.0	6.0	6.0	100
United Brethren.....	23.2	10.5	17.9	34.7	7.4	6.3	95
[High Church Episcopal.....	0.0	24.1	13.8	27.6	24.2	10.3	29]

* For text of arguments, see Table LII

† Miscellaneous X—Congregationally organized minor denominations.

‡ Miscellaneous Y—Connectionally organized minor denominations.

Miscellaneous Z—All others.

TABLE 28—CREEDLESS FEDERATION AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*				
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total.	10,877	22	18	8	20	32
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	875	21	19	8	21	31
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	298	20	22	13	18	27
Negro Baptist.....	116	24	20	12	15	29
Brethren (Dunkers).....	60	36	13	7	14	30
Christian Scientist.....	28	24	24	6	12	34
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	41	32	28	18	10	12
Cong.-Christian.....	1,073	24	14	5	21	36
Disciples.....	376	26	14	8	21	31
Evan. Church.....	363	17	23	10	18	32
Evan. Syn. N. A.	72	22	22	3	25	28
Federated Chs.	[114]	24	9	5	25	37
Friends.....	269	27	10	3	22	38
Jews.....	153	28	24	8	15	25
Lutheran (All).....	478	15	24	20	18	23
Unit. Luth.	[240]	16	24	13	21	26
Mo. Syn. Luth.	[64]	3	23	68	5	1
Fundamentalist.....	[78]	21	27	27	12	13
Meth. Epis.	2,350	21	17	8	21	33
Meth. Epis., South.....	588	23	16	7	21	33
Meth. Prot.	35	15	13	17	23	32
Negro Meth.	153	19	18	13	17	33
Minor Officials.....	[72]	31	20	6	18	25
Miscellaneous.....	291	24	20	15	16	25
Moravian.....	89	20	22	9	23	26
No Denom.	87	26	20	7	20	27
Pentecostal.....	51	25	24	19	13	19
Presb., U. S. A.	974	23	16	5	22	34
Presb., U. S.	552	21	24	11	18	26
Unit. Presb.	115	22	27	5	23	23
Prot. Epis.	690	23	20	8	21	28
Ref. in America.....	118	25	21	7	18	29
Ref. in U. S.	117	20	18	4	23	35
Roman Cath.	51	28	22	18	15	17
Unitarian.....	228	36	12	3	21	28
Unit. Brethren.....	126	19	21	5	21	34
Universalist.....	60	26	13	3	21	37

* For text of judgments, see Table LVI.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 29—PER CENT. OF CHURCH LEADERS EXPECTING AND APPROVING THE PERFORMANCE OF THE FOLLOWING FUNCTIONS
BY A UNITED CHURCH

Function	Total	Dis- ciples	Meth. Epis.	Presb., U.S.A.	Re- formed	Denomination				Luth- eran	Prot. Epis.
						Bapt. (No. Conv.)	Meth. Epis., South	Miscel- laneous	Cong- Chris- tian		
Maintain officially a comprehensive system of church phil- anthropies											
Expecting.....	80.5	87.5	85.4	82.1	80.7	80.3	79.3	78.7	72.9	72.7	65.7
Approving.....	77.4	90.0	81.7	80.6	74.2	83.6	82.8	74.0	79.2	63.6	57.1
Set up lesson systems and standard methods in religious education											
Expecting.....	79.0	92.5	78.0	76.1	87.1	90.2	86.2	80.0	71.9	69.7	62.9
Approving.....	68.4	75.0	79.3	70.2	71.0	73.8	82.8	65.3	62.5	57.6	48.6
Promote such legislation on moral questions as is officially approved by the church											
Expecting.....	75.0	75.0	74.4	73.1	74.2	80.3	79.3	74.0	79.2	75.8	62.9
Approving.....	76.8	72.5	75.6	65.7	67.7	68.9	79.3	64.0	68.8	36.4	48.6
Speak authoritatively on current moral issues in the name of total Protestant body of America											
Expecting.....	68.7	72.5	67.1	70.2	71.0	82.0	65.5	64.0	67.7	69.7	65.7
Approving.....	63.1	62.5	65.8	73.1	58.1	70.4	69.0	60.0	64.6	45.5	57.1
Conduct home missions and church extension through one board or system											
Expecting.....	67.3	70.0	63.4	76.1	77.4	65.6	69.0	64.0	69.8	63.6	60.0
Approving.....	69.6	72.5	72.0	80.6	80.6	72.1	62.1	67.3	69.8	48.5	60.0
Conduct foreign missions through one board or system											
Expecting.....	65.7	70.0	61.0	85.1	70.8	54.1	72.4	64.0	67.7	60.6	51.4
Approving.....	64.9	57.5	69.5	82.1	70.8	60.7	65.5	60.7	67.7	48.4	57.1
Maintain a comprehensive official system of church col- leges and secondary schools											
Expecting.....	46.5	47.5	41.5	56.7	51.6	49.2	69.0	50.0	34.4	54.6	20.0
Approving.....	41.8	47.5	41.5	53.7	41.9	52.4	48.3	38.7	27.1	60.6	25.7
Decide officially whether or not to support a war under- taken by the U. S. government											
Expecting.....	27.4	27.5	25.6	25.4	35.5	37.7	10.3	26.7	26.0	39.4	20.0
Approving.....	29.8	25.0	32.9	31.3	22.0	36.1	24.1	34.7	27.1	9.1	31.4
Advise how to vote in a Presidential election											
Expecting.....	11.2	10.0	11.0	1.5	9.7	18.0	10.3	16.0	4.2	30.3	2.9
Approving.....	6.9	10.0	6.1	1.5	3.2	9.8	17.2	10.7	4.2	3.0	0.0

TABLE 30—ENLARGEMENT IN SCOPE OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL

Per cent. of Answers Rating Arguments as Strong*

Denomination	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Total Choices
Total.....	20.4	30.6	15.6	1.9	8.7	22.8	4,889
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	19.3	24.9	18.6	1.2	11.1	24.9	425
Baptist (So. Conv.).....	20.8	12.5	12.5	5.6	23.6	25.0	72
[Community-Federated.....	22.4	38.8	22.4	0.0	2.1	14.3	49]
Congregational-Christian.....	24.5	34.7	14.9	1.0	5.0	19.9	522
Disciples of Christ.....	13.8	33.5	20.7	3.4	8.4	20.2	203
Evangelical.....	21.4	28.9	18.9	0.6	6.9	23.3	159
Evangelical Syn. N. A.....	30.9	35.7	14.3	2.4	3.6	13.1	84
Friends.....	20.2	23.8	21.5	1.2	8.3	25.0	84
[Fundamentalist.....	9.8	14.6	12.2	12.2	26.8	24.4	41]
Lutheran.....	13.1	14.6	16.9	5.4	22.3	27.7	314
Methodist Episcopal.....	23.5	37.0	15.0	0.9	4.5	19.1	863
Meth. Epis., South.....	24.2	35.0	9.6	1.3	7.0	22.9	157
Miscellaneous—X†.....	19.3	29.4	17.7	0.8	6.7	26.1	119
Miscellaneous—Y‡.....	23.6	27.9	16.9	2.2	8.8	20.6	136
Miscellaneous—Z#.....	13.6	29.7	16.9	4.2	12.7	22.9	118
[Minor Officials.....	18.3	22.6	17.4	0.9	10.4	30.4	115]
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	20.4	36.1	14.1	0.8	6.7	21.9	602
Presbyterian, U. S.....	23.7	23.1	15.4	1.2	10.0	26.6	169
United Presbyterian.....	7.5	18.7	18.7	1.3	17.5	36.3	80
Protestant Episcopal.....	15.9	31.4	11.1	5.7	10.5	25.4	315
Reformed in America.....	13.5	27.8	24.7	1.0	8.3	24.7	97
Reformed in U. S.....	22.4	33.5	13.3	2.1	4.2	24.5	143
Unitarian.....	22.1	24.3	13.2	0.7	13.2	26.5	136
United Brethren.....	22.0	34.1	13.2	1.1	6.6	23.0	91
[High Church Episcopal.....	0.0	17.9	7.1	28.6	21.4	25.0	28]

* For text of arguments, see Table LVIII.

† Miscellaneous X—Congregationally organized minor denominations.

‡ Miscellaneous Y—Connectionally organized minor denominations.

Miscellaneous Z—All others.

TABLE 31—THE CHURCH FEDERATION MOVEMENT AND ORGANIC UNION

Denomination	Per Cent. of Answers Rating Arguments as Strong*							Total Choices
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
Total	26.2	13.8	8.6	15.3	20.9	8.0	7.2	4,920
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	19.8	16.1	11.7	10.6	24.7	7.4	9.7	434
Baptist (So. Conv.).....	23.4	20.7	7.8	9.1	23.4	1.3	14.3	77
Congregational-Christian.....	32.5	9.2	6.2	17.0	19.7	10.2	5.2	501
Disciples of Christ.....	30.3	7.6	7.6	23.2	14.2	11.9	5.2	211
Evangelical.....	27.2	14.6	7.6	22.1	22.1	3.2	3.2	158
Evangelical Syn. N. A.....	33.3	12.6	8.1	16.1	15.0	10.3	4.6	87
Friends.....	15.9	20.7	9.8	8.5	28.1	8.5	8.5	82
Lutheran.....	14.2	18.7	13.5	6.8	27.1	6.5	13.2	310
Methodist Episcopal.....	30.3	11.2	6.0	17.9	19.8	9.3	5.5	868
Meth. Epis., South.....	26.3	15.4	6.4	12.8	25.0	3.8	10.3	156
Miscellaneous—X†.....	24.4	14.6	8.2	13.0	25.2	7.3	7.3	123
Miscellaneous—Y‡.....	23.7	17.3	10.1	17.3	21.6	5.0	5.0	139
Miscellaneous—Z#.....	25.4	11.9	11.9	16.1	20.3	6.8	7.6	118
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	30.0	13.3	7.0	16.4	21.4	7.0	4.9	611
Presbyterian, U. S.....	24.4	12.5	13.1	15.9	19.3	5.7	9.1	176
United Presbyterian.....	12.5	26.3	16.3	6.2	21.2	5.0	12.5	80
Protestant Episcopal.....	24.2	15.1	9.4	17.5	13.9	13.0	6.9	331
Reformed in America.....	23.5	12.8	9.8	12.7	19.6	6.9	14.7	102
Reformed in U. S.....	29.4	14.7	4.9	15.4	22.3	8.4	4.9	143
Unitarian.....	23.5	21.0	12.6	8.4	20.2	7.6	6.7	119
United Brethren.....	24.5	13.8	10.6	18.1	18.1	5.3	9.6	94

* For text of arguments, see Table LIX.

† Miscellaneous X—Congregationally organized minor denominations.

‡ Miscellaneous Y—Connectionally organized minor denominations.

Miscellaneous Z—All others.

TABLE 32—THE QUESTION OF "CLOSE" AND "OPEN" COMMUNION

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*				
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total.....	13,159	31	6	12	10	41
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	1,026	27	6	14	10	43
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	376	27	15	15	9	34
Negro Baptist.....	151	35	9	11	7	38
Brethren (Dunkers).....	143	13	29	15	14	29
Christian Scientist.....	28	39	2	16	6	37
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	72	11	30	24	12	23
Cong.-Christian.....	1,208	31	4	13	10	42
Disciples.....	563	32	4	11	10	43
Evan. Church.....	402	32	3	11	11	43
Evan. Syn. N. A.....	72	29	6	8	12	45
Federated Churches.....	[141]	33	3	11	9	44
Friends.....	313	29	5	21	8	37
Jews.....	157	27	5	18	10	40
Lutheran (All).....	572	24	15	11	11	39
Unit. Luth.....	[325]	27	7	11	10	45
Mo. Syn. Luth.....	[69]	6	66	9	2	17
Fundamentalist.....	[74]	22	24	11	11	32
Meth. Epis.....	3,011	31	5	12	10	42
Meth. Epis., South.....	712	36	5	11	8	40
Meth. Prot.....	61	27	6	8	9	50
Negro Meth.....	213	35	4	8	10	43
Minor Officials.....	[72]	28	9	9	11	43
Miscellaneous.....	323	30	10	13	10	37
Moravian.....	150	30	4	11	12	43
No Denomination.....	91	31	6	15	11	37
Pentecostal.....	61	29	8	9	14	40
Presb., U. S. A.....	1,117	30	4	14	10	42
Presb., U. S.....	642	33	7	11	9	40
Unit. Presb.....	126	26	7	12	11	44
Prot. Epis.....	777	26	9	13	12	40
Ref. in America.....	137	30	6	11	11	42
Ref. in U. S.....	140	34	2	9	11	44
Roman Cath.....	56	20	20	23	13	24
Unitarian.....	247	39	10	12	7	32
Unit. Brethren.....	153	30	4	11	10	45
Universalist.....	59	36	9	15	5	35

* For text of judgments, see Table LXIX.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 33—RECEPTION OF STRANGERS AT COMMUNION

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*				
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total.....	11,328	9	40	27	14	10
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	909	9	40	26	14	11
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	307	10	30	22	19	19
Negro Baptist.....	128	12	38	27	16	7
Brethren (Dunkers).....	77	9	33	20	20	18
Christian Scientist.....	24	7	35	39	12	7
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	48	6	22	11	35	26
Cong.-Christian.....	1,104	9	43	30	11	7
Disciples.....	399	8	42	27	16	7
Evan. Church.....	387	8	43	24	14	11
Evan. Syn. N. A.....	71	12	45	21	10	12
Friends.....	263	9	37	37	9	8
Jews.....	152	16	42	26	10	6
Lutheran (All).....	493	7	32	17	23	21
Unit. Luth.....	[253]	8	39	20	18	15
Mo. Syn. Luth.....	[67]	1	5	1	46	47
Meth. Epis.....	2,460	11	39	28	13	9
Meth. Epis., South.....	618	8	40	33	10	9
Meth. Prot.....	37	5	46	23	16	10
Negro Meth.....	203	11	40	24	17	8
Miscellaneous.....	301	12	36	24	16	12
Moravian.....	107	12	42	23	16	7
No Denomination.....	89	13	33	38	9	7
Pentecostal.....	56	7	47	17	18	11
Presb., U. S. A.....	963	9	42	30	11	8
Presb., U. S.....	590	8	41	24	14	13
Unit. Presb.....	122	9	39	20	19	13
Prot. Epis.....	727	12	39	23	14	12
Ref. in America.....	118	11	42	25	13	9
Ref. in U. S.....	117	7	43	33	9	8
Roman Cath.....	50	11	24	23	20	22
Unitarian.....	212	13	33	40	6	8
Unit. Brethren.....	137	6	44	32	11	7
Universalist.....	59	6	39	40	6	9

* For text of judgments, see Table LXX.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 34—THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERCOMMUNION

Denomination	Per Cent. of Answers Rating Arguments as Strong*						Total Choices
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Total.	42.5	5.5	24.6	12.4	3.2	11.8	4,982
Baptist (No. Conv.)	41.0	5.9	22.2	13.6	3.7	13.6	427
Baptist (So. Conv.)	25.7	20.5	11.5	12.8	6.4	23.1	78
Congregational-Christian	46.3	1.7	24.3	15.8	0.4	11.5	518
Disciples of Christ	44.1	3.3	27.0	17.6	1.4	6.6	211
Evangelical	43.1	3.9	30.1	9.2	1.3	12.4	153
Evangelical Syn. N. A.	44.3	8.0	29.5	5.7	2.3	10.2	88
Friends	46.7	6.7	17.3	13.3	2.7	13.3	75
Lutheran	24.8	22.0	15.8	9.6	5.2	22.6	323
Methodist Episcopal	45.7	1.2	28.0	13.4	1.2	10.5	891
Meth. Epis., South	51.3	1.3	27.0	9.9	2.0	8.5	152
Miscellaneous—X†	40.2	9.0	20.5	17.2	4.1	9.0	122
Miscellaneous—Y‡	45.6	7.3	23.2	12.3	4.3	7.3	138
Miscellaneous—Z#	38.5	8.2	23.8	13.9	3.3	12.3	122
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	47.3	2.4	27.9	11.6	1.4	9.4	630
Presbyterian, U. S.	46.2	4.7	21.6	12.3	4.1	11.1	171
United Presbyterian	43.0	11.6	26.7	4.7	1.2	12.8	86
Protestant Episcopal	27.1	9.6	21.3	8.2	15.7	18.1	343
Reformed in America	42.1	11.6	22.1	9.5	4.2	10.5	95
Reformed in U. S.	47.9	1.4	30.6	11.8	2.1	6.2	144
Unitarian	49.2	0.8	18.9	18.9	2.5	9.7	122
United Brethren	51.6	5.4	30.1	7.5	0.0	5.4	93

* For text of arguments, see Table LXXII

† Miscellaneous X—Congregationally organized minor denominations.

‡ Miscellaneous Y—Connectionally organized minor denominations.

Miscellaneous Z—All others.

TABLE 35—EQUALITY OF MINISTRIES

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*					
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Total.....	10,543	35	8	11	13	32	1
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	907	36	7	11	11	34	1
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	239	31	13	11	16	29	0
Negro Baptist.....	118	35	14	6	17	27	1
Brethren (Dunkers).....	61	30	11	15	13	28	3
Christian Scientist.....	20	37	5	13	21	21	3
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	44	15	34	7	3	10	31
Cong.-Christian.....	992	35	5	12	13	34	1
Disciples.....	413	36	6	10	16	31	1
Evan. Church.....	377	36	7	12	7	37	1
Evan. Syn. N. A.....	70	39	6	14	11	30	0
Federated Churches.....	[114]	37	6	10	17	30	0
Friends.....	253	34	4	12	20	30	0
Jews.....	146	38	5	11		23	2
Lutheran (All).....	461	33	16	10		31	2
Unit. Luth.....	[238]	33	12	11		35	1
Mo. Syn. Luth.....	[63]	49	32	5		8	5
Fundamentalist.....	[71]	27	18	13		32	2
Meth. Epis.....	2,165	35	7	11	12	33	2
Meth. Epis., South.....	532	38	4	11	14	32	1
Meth. Prot.....	32	36	6	14	8	34	2
Negro Meth.....	152	36	6	9	13	34	2
Minor Officials.....	[72]	29	7	16	14	33	1
Miscellaneous.....	281	32	12	12	13	30	1
Moravian.....	94	32	10	12	9	34	3
No Denomination.....	86	39	6	6	25	24	0
Pentecostal.....	51	43	4		8	33	0
Presb., U. S. A.....	922	35	5		12	34	1
Presb., U. S.....	562	38	5		13	36	0
Unit. Presb.....	112	30	11	15	7	37	0
Prot. Epis.....	686	24	18	14	11	24	9
Ref. in America.....	113	34	6	14	12	34	0
Ref. in U. S.....	108	33	4	12	12	38	1
Roman Cath.....	42	24	22	12	10	14	18
Unitarian.....	213	40	4	11	28	17	0
Unit. Brethren.....	134	37	3	16	9	35	0
Universalist.....	57	38	2	9	20	31	0

* For text of judgments, see Table LXXVI.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 36—THE QUESTION OF INTERCOMMUNION

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*					
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Total.....	12,567	8	5	16	12	34	
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	969	8	5	14	13	34	26
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	354	15	7	15	14	27	22
Negro Baptist.....	138	12	5	21	9	32	21
Brethren (Dunkers).....	93	13	6	10	19	35	17
Christian Scientist.....	27	8	12	20	8	24	28
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	68	28	9	7	29	8	19
Cong.-Christian.....	1,164	6	5	17	10	35	27
Disciples.....	531	6	6	19	11	33	25
Evan. Church.....	389	4	3	15	13	37	28
Evan. Syn. N. A.....	72	9	4	11	17	35	24
Federated Churches.....	[138]	7	5	17	10	33	28
Friends.....	286	7	5	19	10	32	27
Jews.....	156	6	3	13	12	31	35
Lutheran (All).....	543	16	6	9	18	31	20
Unit. Luth.....	[303]	12	5	9	19	35	20
Mo. Syn. Luth.....	[65]	53	7	3	20	9	8
Fundamentalist.....	[71]	21	11	14	17	23	14
Meth. Epis.....	2,895	7	4	18	11	35	25
Meth. Epis., South.....	697	7	5	17	12	35	24
Meth. Prot.....	49	10	9	17	11	37	16
Negro Meth.....	165	6	3	25	7	36	23
Minor Officials.....	[69]	13	10	16	13	30	18
Miscellaneous.....	315	10	7	17	11	33	
Moravian.....	138	8	4	18	12	33	
No Denomination.....	91	5	7	17	10	28	
Pentecostal.....	60	6	9	16	17	31	
Presb., U. S. A.....	1,082	6	4	15	11	37	
Presb., U. S.....	632	8	6	18	13	34	
Unit. Presb.....	124	6	6	14	11	37	
Prot. Epis.....	768	17	6	12	16	26	
Ref. in America.....	127	9	5	20	10	29	
Ref. in U. S.....	134	4	3	18	13	38	
Roman Cath.....	55	25	7	15	19	16	
Unitarian.....	239	9	7	23	9	23	
Unit. Brethren.....	145	6	7	16	11	38	
Universalist.....	61	9	5	15	7	34	

* For text of judgments, see Table LXXIX.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 37—EQUAL STATUS AND GENUINENESS OF CHURCHES

Denomination	Per Cent. of Answers Rating Arguments as Strong*						Total Choices
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Total.	23.4	33.9	2.0	4.2	1.6	34.9	5,206
Baptist (No. Conv.).....	22.4	33.0	0.9	2.9	1.4	39.4	442
Baptist (So. Conv.).....	32.4	25.7	4.1	1.3	10.8	25.7	74
Congregational-Christian.....	24.8	34.4	0.2	2.9	0.2	37.5	541
Disciples of Christ.....	23.0	33.3	4.7	11.3	0.9	26.8	213
Evangelical.....	23.7	32.7	0.0	0.6	0.6	42.4	165
Evangelical Syn. N. A.....	22.7	40.9	1.1	4.6	0.0	30.7	88
Friends.....	23.8	36.4	2.3	0.0	1.1	36.4	88
Lutheran.....	29.2	29.2	3.1	3.7	5.6	29.2	325
Methodist Episcopal.....	24.1	34.3	0.3	2.7	0.8	37.8	921
Meth. Epis., South.....	24.4	35.4	1.8	3.6	0.0	34.8	164
Miscellaneous—X†.....	22.4	38.8	0.0	0.8	0.0	38.0	134
Miscellaneous—Y‡.....	18.9	34.5	1.4	3.4	4.0	37.8	148
Miscellaneous—Z#.....	21.7	27.1	7.0	6.2	7.0	31.0	129
Presbyterian, U. S. A.....	23.7	36.0	0.9	4.4	0.5	34.5	658
Presbyterian, U. S.....	19.4	39.2	3.8	3.2	1.6	32.8	186
United Presbyterian.....	24.4	34.9	0.0	5.8	0.0	34.9	86
Protestant Episcopal.....	21.7	25.6	11.7	12.8	4.6	23.6	351
Reformed in America.....	12.5	35.4	2.1	8.3	0.0	41.7	96
Reformed in U. S.....	22.3	37.2	0.7	4.0	0.0	35.8	148
Unitarian.....	24.0	36.4	0.0	0.6	0.0	39.0	154
United Brethren.....	21.1	38.9	1.1	4.2	0.0	34.7	95

* For text of arguments, see Table LIII.

† Miscellaneous X—Congregationally organized minor denominations.

‡ Miscellaneous Y—Connectionally organized minor denominations.

Miscellaneous Z—All others.

TABLE 38—DEGREE OF AGREEMENT OF 624 CHURCH LEADERS ON 30 PROPOSITIONS BEARING UPON CHURCH UNION

Question Number	Propositions Summarized and Classified	Per Cent. Accepting	Agreement (Weighted Score)		
			Greatest	Medium	Least
<i>Prior Questions</i>					
16	Protestant and Catholic principles not contradictory	41 9			0.11
15	Basis of Church a fixed body of revealed truth.....	18 4			—0.61
12	No distinction between essentials and non-essentials in religion.....	16 2		—0.95	
<i>Nature of the Church</i>					
18	The church to be identified by spiritual marks.....	88 1	1 43		
1	The church both spiritual and external society of Christians.....	87 7	1.41		
25	The church essentially an invisible society	69 6		0 90	
13	The church the sum of the denominations.....	61 6			0.60
<i>Unity of the Church</i>					
21	Kind and degree of unity necessary which will convince the world.....	86 0	1 33		
10	Unity in diversity essential, not uniformity	85 3	1 35		
7	Federation a satisfactory method of achieving church union.....	41 2		0 74	
17	Only one Christ, consequently only one visible church.....	18 2			—0 45
<i>The Faith</i>					
11	Inward experience, not creeds, the essential reality for faith.....	93 8	1 70		
27	Variations in religious emphasis controlled by fellowship not authority	89 3	1 46		
4	New Testament, verified by experience, the rule of faith	79 8		1 18	
24	The ancient creeds not sufficiently comprehensive.....	78 4		1 11	
9	Historic creeds subject to contemporary interpretation.....	63 1			0 63
<i>Ministry and Sacraments</i>					
10	Experimental common worship desirable, looking toward intercommunion...	87 0	1 34		
1	Ordination constitutes ministers a separate order in the church	31 1			—0.46
8	Apostolic succession, but no special theory of it, necessary for valid ministry	31 1			—0.18
29	Authority to administer sacrament depends on proper episcopal ordination...	23 7		—0 75	
23	Authority to govern church given Peter and successors.....	2 1	—1 58		
<i>Government of the Church</i>					
30	Common faith and order essential to unity, not single government	59 0			0 63
6	Three ancient types of polity combined in a united church	49 0			0 39
19	Most suitable modern government is constitutional episcopate	43 4			0 23
<i>Significance of Unity Movements</i>					
3	Federation movements valuable as substituting fellowships for division	94 9	1 71		
16	Evangelization and brotherly service to be cooperatively practiced	91 7	1 58		
22	Church union vital on foreign mission field	81 7		1 24	
28	Ecclesiastical formulation of church union issues unconvincing	76 1		1 04	
5	Coöperation without agreement in faith and order not significant for union...	46 3			0 10
14	Non-coöperation usually best	16 2		—0.81	

TABLE 39—OPINION OF CHURCH LEADERS AS TO THE PROBABILITY AND DESIRABILITY THAT A UNITED CHURCH WOULD PERFORM 23 SPECIFIED FUNCTIONS

No	Functions and Conditions	Per Cent.		Rank Approving
		Expecting	Approving	
11	Make room for indigenous expressions of faith and distinctive systems of government in churches on the foreign-mission field.....	84 0	84 9	1
4	Permit modifications of church practices for people of different races and antecedents in some parts of the United States	82 9	84 5	2
2	Maintain officially a comprehensive system of church philanthropies.....	80 5	77 4	6
18	Allow various modes of worship and of observing the sacraments depending upon the preference of adherents.....	79 1	84 3	3
23	Set up lesson systems and standard methods in religious education	79 0	68 4	11
16	Promote such legislation on moral questions as is officially approved by the church	75 0	76 8	7
8	Recognize the right of its members to interpret the church's doctrines in different	74 1	74 0	4
15	Leave room for different systems of government and different methods of internal organizations if desired by local churches	71 8	76 8	7
1	Allow the use of their own confessions of faith and customs of worship by special societies or distinctive groups within the church	71 0	73 9	9
12	Speak authoritatively on current moral issues in the name of total Protestant body of America	68 7	63 1	13
17	Conduct home missions and church extension through one board or system	67 3	60 6	10
5	Recognize a single ministry with equal authority and full standing throughout the whole church	66 0	78 1	5
14	Conduct foreign missions through one board or system	65 7	64 0	12
10	Maintain a comprehensive official system of church colleges and secondary schools	46 5	41 8	14
10	Continue the existence of the present denominations as distinct organizations within the church	35 1	22 8	15
21	Require a single code of discipline for the moral offenses of members	32 5	33 6	16
6	Allow the subdivisions of the church (state, district and local) to adopt their own policies without the consent of the central body	28 0	33 5	17
19	Decide officially whether or not to support a war undertaken by the U S government.....	27 4	29 8	18
9	Centralize authority more than any of the leading Protestant denominations centralize it at present	21 5	11 4	19
13	Impose a common creed upon all adherents	15 5	10 4	20
12	Advise members how to vote in a Presidential election	11 2	6 9	21
3	Compel all ministers to be ordained by Bishops receiving their authority in historic succession from the Apostles	10 1	5 9	22
7	Make the churches of the United States parts of a church with headquarters in some foreign country	3 9	4 0	23

APPENDIX D

Method of Classifying Answers to Questionnaires According to "Position"

DATA

Instruments used in the study were classified as senior, intermediate and junior questionnaires. The first consisted of thirty propositions, the second of seventy-eight arguments or considerations, and the third of 108 comments on situations and incidents, all more or less closely related to church unity.

PROBLEM

With each set of answers the problem of generalization was, (1) to get like answers together, that is to say, those which reflected some particular coherent

viewpoint or position; (2) to arrange the classified lots in serial order from one extreme to the other; and (3) to find and justify a designation for each.

METHOD

With each set of answers likeness or unlikeness was determined by the following criteria:

(a) Representative Origin. Each of the 216 items included in the three questionnaires originated in an authoritative or representative utterance of someone whose party attitude with respect to church union was known. Thus, in the senior questionnaire, Propositions 23, 12 and 15 were directly drawn from the papal encyclical of 1928 in opposition to non-Roman movements for church unity. Proposition 29 was a direct quotation from the rector of Trinity Parish, New York City, criticizing integrating movements on other than a high-church basis as "superficial federation." Propositions 1 and 17 were formulations of the Lausanne World Conference on Faith and Order proposed as the basis of common agreement but revealing a Catholic bias when read in the light of the accompanying discussion. The method of the Lausanne discussions was that representatives of particular churches or denominations registered one after the other the position or outlook of their particular groups. This method has been followed in numerous published symposia, so that the position behind a given proposition is definitely known.

The original source and version of each of the 216 items were thus located. The statements or arguments appearing in the questionnaire either transcribed these originals literally or merely subjected them to verbal condensation.

(b) Logical Form. A next methodological step undertaken by the study was to discover statements attaching conditions or qualifications to some of the original partisan propositions in order to register some limitation of the degree or definiteness of approval or opposition to them. This introduced the principle of classification by logical form. A qualification of an extreme Protestant statement set forth with the purpose of finding a common agreement was rated as a concessive Protestant statement. Many of these qualifications had actually been attached to the original statements in such irenic discussions as that of Lausanne.

(c) Habitual Opposition of Denominations. Tabulation of replies to the questionnaires revealed certain denominations habitually taking opposite sides from certain others. While this opposition was not unvarying, it served in the majority of cases to place an item, with others receiving opposition from similar sources, at one end of the scale or the other.

(d) Median Position. Mediating character was assigned to propositions which avoided extreme positions and did not attach qualifications or conditions to some extreme position whose origin was known; that is to say, especially to those which fell statistically at the middle of the distribution curve between two actual extremes.

(e) Judgments. In the case of the seventy-eight answers to the intermediate questionnaire, extreme and mediating positions were identified by a high rate of agreement in the ratings of a group of judges as to the strong and the weak arguments.

The foregoing analysis has indicated that some criteria of classification were particularly applicable to concessive or conditional positions and others to mediating and extreme ones. Not all criteria apply to either case, and the author's judgment had to determine ultimately what degree of convergence of criteria was strong enough to justify the classification adopted. It was, nevertheless, by the systematic application of this set of criteria that the classification was built up. When there was no convergence of criteria the item was set out as equivocal and disregarded in classification.

RESULTS

The classification of the 216 items according to positions designated in the text follows. Each item is indicated by the code number attached to it in the original questionnaires as summarized in Appendix A, followed by the number of the table in which it appears.

Senior Questionnaire

1. *Positive Unity*: No. 23, Table XXVIII; No. 12, Table XXXI; No. 15, Table XXIX; No. 17, Table XXXVIII; No. 1, Table LXXV; No. 29, Table LXXVI.

2. *Unity Trend*: No. 5, Table LX; No. 16, Table LXXXVIII; No. 8, Table LXXVIII; No. 19, Table LXXXII; No. 30, Table LXXXIII; No. 6, Table LXXXI; No. 9, Table LXIII.

3. *Mediating*: No. 4, Table XXX; No. 11, Table LXVII; No. 22, Table XLV; No. 10, Table LXI; No. 26, Table LIV; No. 7, Table LIII.

4. *Diversity Trend*: No. 18, Table XXXVII; No. 2, Table XXXVI; No. 20, Table XLII; No. 21, Table XLIV; No. 3, Table LV.

5. *Positive Diversity*: No. 25, Table XXXV; No. 13, Table XLIII; No. 24, Table LXII; No. 27, Table LXI; No. 28, Table C; No. 14, Table XXXIV.

Intermediate Questionnaire

1. *Diversity Position*: Table XXXIX, (Argument 7); Table L, (Arguments 1 & 6); Table XL, (Argument 5); Table LXXX, (Argument 2); Table LVIII, (Argument 5); Table XXVII, (Argument 3); Table XXVII, (Argument 5); Table LII, (Argument 6); Table LXXII, (Argument 4).

2. *Diversity Trend*: Table XXXIX, (Argument 5); Table L, (Argument 3); Table XL, (Argument 2); Table LXXX, (Argument 1); Table LXXX, (Argument 6); Table XV, (Argument 2); Table XV, (Argument 3); Table LVIII, (Argument 1); Table XXVII, (Argument 1); Table LXXII, (Argument 3).

3. *Mediating*: Table XXXIX, (Argument 2); Table XXXIX, (Argument 6); Table XXXIX, (Argument 8); Table L, (Argument 8); Table XL, (Argument 6); Table XV, (Argument 1); Table LVIII, (Argument 2); Table XXVII, (Argument 2); Table XXVII, (Argument 7); Table LII, (Argument 1); Table LIX, (Argument 1); Table LXXII, (Argument 1); Table XXXII, (Argument 1); Table XXXII, (Argument 5).

4. *Unity Trend*: Table XXXIX, (Argument 4); Table L, (Argument 2); Table L, (Argument 7); Table XL, (Argument 3); Table LXXX, (Argument

viewpoint or position; (2) to arrange the classified lots in serial order from one extreme to the other; and (3) to find and justify a designation for each.

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The original source and version of each of the 216 items were thus located. The statements or arguments appearing in the questionnaire either transcribed these originals literally or merely subjected them to verbal condensation.

(b) *Logical Form.* A next methodological step undertaken by the study was to discover statements attaching conditions or qualifications to some of the original partisan propositions in order to register some limitation of the degree or definiteness of approval or opposition to them. This introduced the principle of classification by logical form. A qualification of an extreme Protestant statement set forth with the purpose of finding a common agreement was rated as a concessive Protestant statement. Many of these qualifications had actually been attached to the original statements in such irenic discussions as that of Lausanne.

(c) *Habitual Opposition of Denominations.* Tabulation of replies to the questionnaires revealed certain denominations habitually taking opposite sides from certain others. While this opposition was not unvarying, it served in the majority of cases to place an item, with others receiving opposition from similar sources, at one end of the scale or the other.

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Senior Questionnaire

1. *Positive Unity*: No. 23, Table XXVIII; No. 12, Table XXXI; No. 15, Table XXIX; No. 17, Table XXXVIII; No. 1, Table LXXV; No. 29, Table LXXVI.

2. *Unity Trend*: No. 5, Table LX; No. 16, Table LXXXVIII; No. 8, Table LXXVIII; No. 19, Table LXXXII; No. 30, Table LXXXIII; No. 6, Table LXXXI; No. 9, Table LXIII.

3. *Mediating*: No. 4, Table XXX; No. 11, Table LXVII; No. 22, Table XLV; No. 10, Table LXI; No. 26, Table LIV; No. 7, Table LIII.

4. *Diversity Trend*: No. 18, Table XXXVII; No. 2, Table XXXVI; No. 20, Table XLII; No. 21, Table XLIV; No. 3, Table LV.

5. *Positive Diversity*: No. 25, Table XXXV; No. 13, Table XLIII; No. 24, Table LXII; No. 27, Table LXI; No. 28, Table C; No. 14, Table XXXIV.

Intermediate Questionnaire

1. *Diversity Position*: Table XXXIX, (Argument 7); Table L, (Arguments 1 & 6); Table XL, (Argument 5); Table LXXX, (Argument 2); Table LVIII, (Argument 5); Table XXVII, (Argument 3); Table XXVII, (Argument 5); Table LII, (Argument 6); Table LXXII, (Argument 4).

2. *Diversity Trend*: Table XXXIX, (Argument 5); Table L, (Argument 3); Table XL, (Argument 2); Table LXXX, (Argument 1); Table LXXX, (Argument 6); Table XV, (Argument 2); Table XV, (Argument 3); Table LVIII, (Argument 1); Table XXVII, (Argument 1); Table LXXII, (Argument 3).

3. *Mediating*: Table XXXIX, (Argument 2); Table XXXIX, (Argument 6); Table XXXIX, (Argument 8); Table L, (Argument 8); Table XL, (Argument 6); Table XV, (Argument 1); Table LVIII, (Argument 2); Table XXVII, (Argument 2); Table XXVII, (Argument 7); Table LII, (Argument 1); Table LIX, (Argument 1); Table LXXII, (Argument 1); Table XXXII, (Argument 1); Table XXXII, (Argument 5).

4. *Unity Trend*: Table XXXIX, (Argument 4); Table L, (Argument 2); Table L, (Argument 7); Table XL, (Argument 3); Table LXXX, (Argument

4); Table XV, (Argument 4); Table XV, (Argument 5); Table LVIII, (Argument 6); Table LII, (Argument 2); Table LII, (Argument 3); Table LII, (Argument 4); Table LIX, (Argument 4); Table LIX, (Argument 6); Table LXXII, (Argument 6); Table XXXII, (Argument 2); Table XXXII, (Argument 4).

5. *Unity Position*: Table XXXIX, (Argument 1 & 3); Table L, (Argument 4 & 5); Table XL, (Argument 4 & 1); Table LXXX, (Argument 3 & 5); Table XV, (Argument 6); Table LVIII, (Argument 4); Table XXVII, (Argument 6); Table LII, (Argument 5); Table LXXII, (Argument 2 & 5); Table XXXII, (Argument 3 & 6).

Junior Questionnaire

1. *Progressive*: Table XXVI, (Answer 4 & 5); Table XIII, (Answer 2 & 4); Table XLVIII, (Answer 6); Table XXIII, (Answer 6); Table LXIX, (Answer 1 & 5); Table LXXIX, (Answer 3 & 5); Table XIV, (Answer 5); Table XLVI, (Answer 5); Table XLVI, (Answer 8); Table XVII, (Answer 6 & 7); Table XCIV, (Answer 4 & 5); Table XLVII, (Answer 5); Table LVI, (Answer 1 & 5); Table LXX, (Answer 2 & 3); Table XXV, (Answer 5 & 6); Table XVIII, (Answer 1 & 6); Table LXXVII, (Answer 1 & 5); Table CI, (Answer 2).

2. *Conditionally Progressive*: Table XXVI, (Answer 6); Table XIII, (Answer 1 & 6); Table XLVIII, (Answer 1 & 2); Table XXIII, (Answer 2); Table LXIX, (Answer 4); Table LXXIX, (Answer 6); Table XIV, (Answer 1); Table XLVI, (Answer 3 & 7); Table XLVII, (Answer 1); Table LVI, (Answer 4); Table LXX, (Answer 1); Table XVIII, (Answer 2).

3. *Conditionally Conservative*: Table XXVI, (Answer 2); Table XIII, (Answer 5); Table XLVIII, (Answer 5); Table XXIII, (Answer 4); Table LXXIX, (Answer 4); Table XLVI, (Answer 4); Table XVII, (Answer 2 & 5); Table XLVII, (Answer 2); Table LVI, (Answer 2); Table XVIII, (Answer 5); Table LXXVII, (Answer 2); Table CI, (Answer 3).

4. *Conservative*: Table XXVI, (Answer 2); Table XIII, (Answer 3 & 7); Table XLVIII, (Answer 3); Table XXIII, (Answer 3 & 5); Table LXIX, (Answer 2); Table LXXIX, (Answer 1); Table XIV, (Answer 2 & 4); Table XLVI, (Answer 2); Table XVII, (Answer 4); Table XCIV, (Answer 2); Table XLVII, (Answer 4); Table LVI, (Answer 3); Table LXX, (Answer 4 & 5); Table XXV, (Answer 1 & 3); Table XVIII, (Answer 3); Table XXIV, (Answer 1); Table LXXVII, (Answer 6); Table CI, (Answer 4, 6, and 7).

5. *Depreciatory*: Table XXVI, (Answer 1); Table XLVIII, (Answer 4); Table XXIII, (Answer 1); Table LXIX, (Answer 3); Table LXXIX, (Answer 2); Table XIV, (Answer 3); Table XLVI, (Answer 1); Table XVII, (Answer 3); Table XCIV, (Answer 1); Table XLVII, (Answer 3); Table XXV, (Answer 4); Table XVIII, (Answer 4); Table XXIV, (Answer 4); Table LXXVII, (Answer 4); Table CI, (Answer 5).

6. *Equivocal*: Table XLVI, (Answer 6); Table XVII, (Answer 1); Table XCIV, (Answer 3); Table XXV, (Answer 2); Table XXIII, (Answer 7); Table XXIV, (Answer 2, 3, 5, 6); Table LXXVII, (Answer 3); Table CI, (Answer 1).

TABLE 40—CHURCH LEADERS' OPINIONS BY SEX AND AGE

No.	Proposition	Total	Weighted Score*		Female
			Total	Male Under 60		Over 60
<i>Prior Questions</i>					
16	Protestant and Catholic principles not contradictory	+0 12	+0 12	+0 09	+0 19
15	Basis of church a fixed body of revealed truth	-0 61	-0 64	-0 78	-0 29
12	No distinction between essentials and non-essentials in religion	-0 95	-0 95	-1 14	-1 21
<i>Nature of the Church</i>					
18	The church to be identified by spiritual marks	+1 43	+1 43	+1 41	+1 49
<i>Unity of the Church</i>					
1	Kind and degree of unity necessary which will convince the world	+1 33	+1 34	+1 29	+1 44
17	Only one Christ, consequently only one visible church	-0 45	-0 49	-0 54	-0 44
<i>The Faith</i>					
11	Inward experience, not creeds, the essential reality for faith.....	+1 70	+1 69	+1 65	+1 77
17	Variations in religious emphasis controlled by fellowship, not authority ..	+1 46	+1 45	+1 46	+1 44
9	Historic creeds subject to contemporary interpretation.....	+0 63	+0 62	+0 56	+0 74
<i>Ministry and Sacraments</i>					
1	Ordination constitutes ministers a separate order in the church.....	-0 46	-0 44	-0 47	-0 37
8	Apostolic succession, but no special theory of it, necessary for valid ministry	-0 28	-0 29	-0 31	-0 23
10	Authority to administer sacrament depends on proper episcopal ordination ..	-0 75	-0 77	-0 82	-0 65
13	Authority to govern church given Peter and successors.....	-1 58	-1 68	-1 70	-1 63
<i>Government of the Church</i>					
30	Common faith and order essential to unity, not single government.....	+0 63	+0 61	+0 50	+0 89
19	Most suitable modern government a constitutional episcopate	+0 25	+0 23	+0 26	+0 17
<i>Significance of Unity Movements</i>					
3	Federation movements valuable as substituting fellowship for division....	+1 71	+1 71	+1 71	+1 71
16	Evangelization and brotherly service to be coöperatively practiced.....	+1 58	+1 58	+1 54	+1 68
22	Church union vital on foreign-mission field.....	+1 24	+1 24	+1 24	+1 23
5	Coöperation without agreement in faith and order not significant for union ..	+0 20	+0 23	+0 22	+0 27

* Arrived at by giving each certain reply the value of plus or minus 2, each probable reply the value of plus or minus 1, and each undecided reply the value of 0, and dividing the result by the number of cases.

TABLE 41—OPINION OF YOUTH ON ECCLESIASTICAL DISCUSSIONS OF CHURCH UNION

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*				
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Total.....	12,498	2	13	19	33	33
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	972	2	15		33	30
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	345	2	15	20	32	31
Negro Baptist.....	137	3	11	16	37	33
Brethren (Dunkers).....	72	1	22	23	24	30
Christian Scientist.....	28	4	13	32	23	28
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	64	2	28	20	19	31
Cong.-Christian.....	1,158	1	9	18	37	35
Disciples.....	590	3	20	15	35	27
Evan. Church.....	392	2	14	20	29	35
Evan. Syn. N. A.....	72	3	8	21	26	42
Friends.....	291	1	7	17	38	37
Jews.....	152	1	4	22	34	39
Lutheran (All).....	515	5	17	23	25	30
Unit. Luth.....	[274]	2	12	21	32	33
Mo. Syn. Luth.....	[68]	18	44	26	2	10
Meth. Epis.....	2,732	2	13	19	35	31
Meth. Epis., South.....	696	2	12	17	34	35
Meth. Prot.....	41	0	16	21	27	36
Negro Meth.....	211	3	13	15	36	33
Miscellaneous.....	314	3	16	18	31	32
Moravian.....	123	4	22	18	30	26
No Denomination.....	90	3	6	17	35	39
Pentecostal.....	62	2	29	17	24	28
Presb., U. S. A.....	1,055	2	10	21	32	35
Presb., U. S.....	640	3	17	21	28	31
Unit. Presb.....	123	2	18	27	21	32
Prot. Epis.....	781	3	12	22	30	33
Ref. in America.....	171	2	12	24	29	33
Ref. in U. S.....	134	2	7	17	31	43
Roman Cath.....	55	7	24	24	18	27
Unitarian.....	244	3	1	11	41	44
Unit. Brethren.....	176	2	13	21	30	34
Universalist.....	62	3	3	13	38	43

* For text of judgments, see Table XCIV.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

TABLE 42.—THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENT FOR CHURCH UNITY

Denomination	No. of Replies†	Per Cent. Distribution Among Judgments*						
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Total.....	11,312	23	18	23	5	4	18	9
Bapt. (No. Conv.).....	923	25	15	21	5	3	20	11
Bapt. (So. Conv.).....	249	28	13	21	4	7	18	9
Negro Baptist.....	127	19	18	21	8	5	17	12
Brethren (Dunkers).....	65	27	16	30	2	3	13	9
Christian Scientist.....	22	29	20	19	5	10	12	5
L. D. S. (Mormons).....	70	27	18	20	9	4	17	5
Cong.-Christian.....	1,004	23	21	23	3	4	19	7
Disciples.....	477	18	23	20	6	5	20	8
Evan. Church.....	366	23	15	23	6	3	20	10
Evan. Syn. N. A.....	68	25	23	22	1	3	21	5
Friends.....	291	25	20	28	2	4	16	5
Jews.....	137	28	20	27	3	4	11	7
Lutheran (All).....	489	27	12	24	5	2	19	11
Unit. Luth.....	[256]	31	13	24	4	2	17	9
Mo. Syn. Luth.....	[66]	16	1	11	9	0	31	32
Meth. Epis.....	2,625	21	19	21	6	4	18	11
Meth. Epis., South.....	570	23	20	23	5	5	17	7
Meth. Prot.....	30	15	31	15	7	0	28	4
Negro Meth.....	178	24	22	13	8	6	16	11
Miscellaneous.....	267	22	17	25	6	4	16	10
Moravian.....	90	22	13	20	13	3	16	13
No Denomination.....	81	22	29	18	2	9	14	6
Pentecostal.....	52	29	17	15	7	5	16	11
Presb., U. S. A.....	991	24	23	24	5	3	16	5
Presb., U. S.....	589	26	14	27	7	4	15	7
Unit. Presb.....	115	29	15	31	4	4	15	2
Prot. Epis.....	699	23	14	24	8	4	18	9
Ref. in America.....	128	22	18	31	5	2	16	6
Ref. in U. S.....	116	22	27	25	4	2	16	4
Roman Cath.....	41	20	18	24	15	4	11	8
Unitarian.....	241	25	26	22	1	9	13	4
Unit. Brethren.....	151	25	18	26	3	3	19	6
Universalist.....	60	26	22	26	2	3	17	4

* For text of judgments, see Table XCIV.

† Bracketed figures indicate duplication.

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